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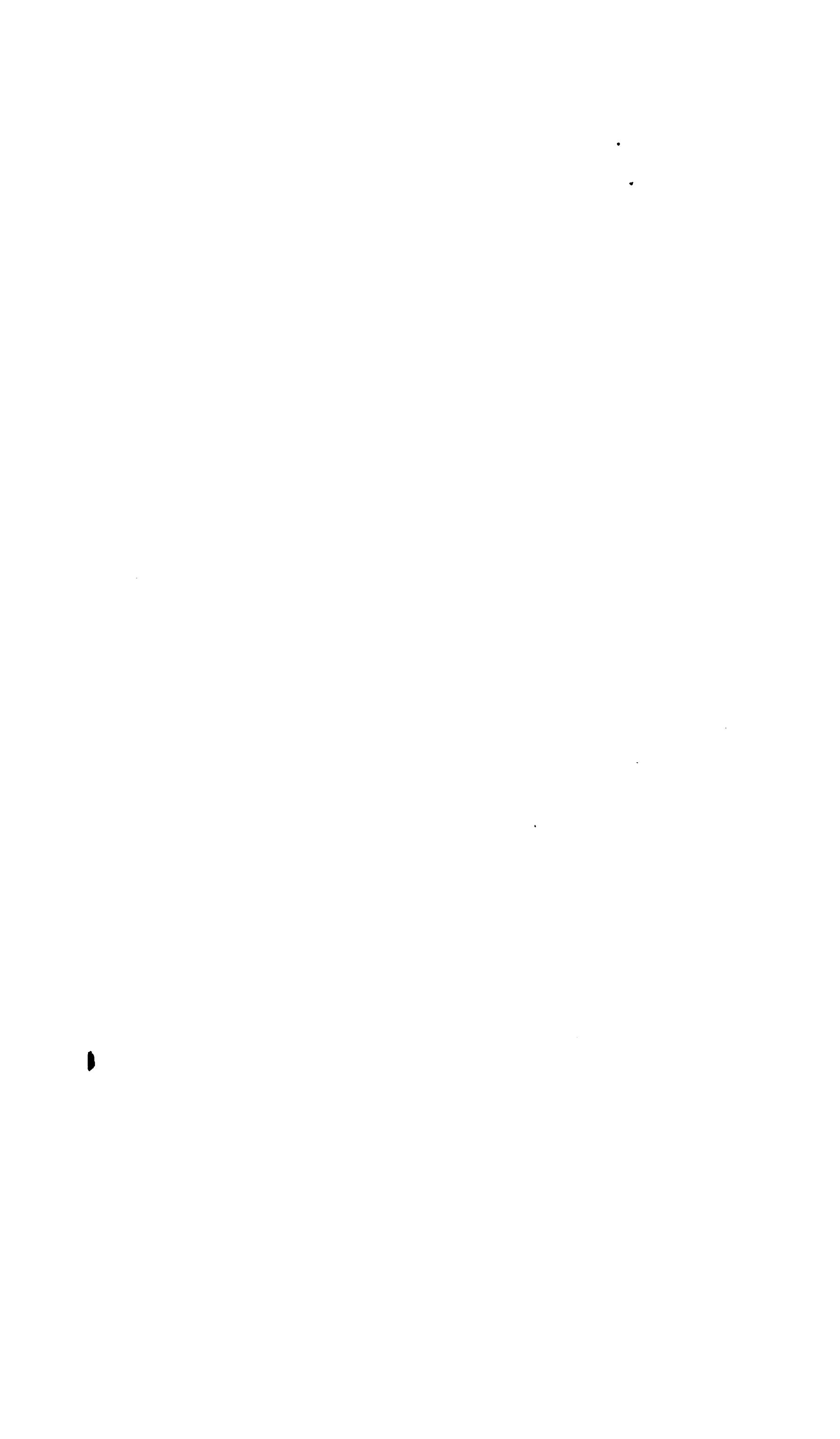
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1970



THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.
—
VOL. XXV.

PUBLISHED IN
SEPTEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1848.



LONDON:
THOMAS RICHARDSON AND SON,
172, FLEET STREET; 9, CAPEL STREET, DUBLIN; AND DERBY.
A. R. HARRIS, EDINBURGH—HUGH MARGEY, GLASGOW.
NEW YORK: EDWARD DUNIGAN AND BROTHER, 151, FULTON STREET.
A PARIS: 9, RUE DU COQ, NEAR THE LOUVRE, STASSIN AND XAVIER.

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1848.

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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1848.

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En Monographi af J. C. SCHYTSE. (*Hekla and its latest Eruption*, on the 2nd of September, 1845. A Monograph by J. C. SCHYTSE.) 8vo. pp. 154. With 10 lithographed plates, and 2 maps. Copenhagen, 1847.

A BOUT two years ago, some imperfect notices appeared in the English journals, to the effect that the long slumbering volcano of Hekla, in Iceland, had again woke up into activity. From the Orkneys and Shetland Islands accounts were also received, that a shower of fine volcanic sand or dust, had fallen in September, 1845, in these remote portions of the British dominions, and that this phenomenon was probably occasioned by the outbreak of some volcano in the northern seas. Naturally enough, however, the subject attracted but little attention, except from a few scientific men, and the public was perfectly well satisfied with a representation of Mount Hekla in eruption, which appeared in one of the illustrated newspapers, where that volcano was depicted as a conical rock on the borders of the ocean, belching forth fire and smoke, and sending a copious stream of lava directly down into the waves which boiled around its base. Inaccurate and absurd as this delineation undoubtedly was, we will assert that it was fully commensurate with the amount of actual knowledge possessed by the majority of the reading English public, in regard to the true position and character of this remarkable volcano, and of the island in which it is situated. Iceland is indeed classed by our countrymen in the same category as Spitz-

bergen and Nova Zembla; it is to them a frozen land clothed in perpetual ice and snow, where no grass springs, and no bush can exist, and on whose southern shore an ever burning mountain flames up, as a beacon to guide the mariner who shuns the inhospitable coast. The perils of a long sea voyage, the difficulties of an almost unknown language, and the very want of information respecting this remote island, have caused Iceland to remain more or less of a "terra incognita," while every nook and cranny of the continent of Europe have been explored by our adventurous countrymen. We do not possess a single good work on the physical geography of Iceland, such as a hundred years ago was published in Denmark by the diligent investigators, Olaffsen and Povelsen. We have, indeed, scattered and imperfect notices of the natural phenomena it presents, in the travels of Sir George Mackenzie, of Dr. Hooker, and of Dr. Henderson, and one or two more recent observers: while, for its remarkable history, both literary and civil, we can only refer to the volume on Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroe Isles, published eight years ago in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library.* Few indeed, then, are aware, that this northern land is not the ice-bound country that it is generally represented, that the flocks and herds of the Icelander afford no contemptible proof of its general prosperity, and that the numerous warm springs, and the internal volcanic fires smouldering beneath, impart to the soil a degree of fertility that could not otherwise be looked for so near the Arctic circle.

The volume now before us, can be regarded only as a contribution to the geology and physical history of Iceland; but it is evidently the production of a competent and scientific observer. Mr. Schythe had ample opportunities for personally studying the volcano and the surrounding districts, shortly after the eruption of 1845. With the true spirit of an ardent naturalist, he remained for weeks in the neighbourhood of the mountain, and wandered day after day amid the most hideous solitudes, with the firm resolve of seeing all for himself, and of not trusting to the imperfect or exaggerated descriptions of others. In his zeal,

* We think it right to observe, that this little volume is admirably compiled and arranged, and for its compass presents us with an exceedingly accurate and complete view of the present state and past condition of Iceland.

however, to complete the survey of the volcano, and to describe the phenomena of the eruption, he has omitted altogether those details of personal adventure, and those sketches of character and of scenery which render a scientific work readable to the unscientific public. His book is indeed a pure monograph of Hekla and of the eruption, and we have found no little difficulty in reducing the original scientific details to the standard of the general reader's capacity. But while this dryness of tone detracts from its merit as a popular work, it does not diminish its value as a faithful record or exposition of the present state of the mountain, after the throes and convulsions which it has lately endured.

The first chapter is devoted to the general description of Hekla and its environs. The geological formation of this district is given at some length, but its principal features are,

"That a broad belt of volcanoes, running from south-west to north-east, separates the stratified trap formations of the east and west portions of Iceland. It might be imagined, that the crust of the newly upraised island had been thinnest in the centre, and that a huge rent had severed in this direction, the whole island into two portions ; while within this mighty chasm, still in some parts not quite filled up, the volcanic fires have found constant vent."

Among these outlets of the pent-up forces, Hekla stands pre-eminent in history, though many of the Icelandic volcanoes exceed this mountain in height, and many, too, have caused more terrible devastations. Thus, in 1783, the Skaptar Jokul, to the north-east of Hekla, burst into violent eruption, and for two months continued to pour forth such immense torrents of lava, with showers of heated ashes and of pumice, that the pastures all around were entirely destroyed, and hundreds of human beings, with thousands of sheep and cattle, died of hunger and disease.

The volcano of Hekla is situated in the southern part of Iceland, between two of its principal rivers, the Olfus-aa, and the Markar-fliot. From the southern coast, a broad plain stretches up in this district towards the interior. Gradually, as we advance towards the north, we find the level surface broken by spurs from the adjacent mountains, and at length it changes to a swelling upland of irregular shape, traversed by numerous ancient streams of lava.

Here we observe numerous valleys and depressions, clothed with rich green vegetation, but separated by wide tracts of brown or black volcanic sand. This sand, or volcanic ash, is indeed the scourge of many districts in Iceland.

"The enormous quantities of sand and ashes, which the volcanoes to the east of this plain have thrown out, are carried by the east and north winds in clouds over this level district. The sky on such occasions becomes obscured, and all nature is wrapt in a brown mist, through which the sun's rays struggle with a faint red light. The acrid powder floating in the atmosphere, causes such violent smarting in the eyes, that it is nearly impossible to walk out in the open air, while the finer dust makes its way into the interior of the cottages, destroying the articles of food, and rendering the milk unfit for domestic use."—(p. 5.)

The volcano of Hekla is situated about thirty English miles from the coast, between the forks of two rivers, the East and the West Rang-aa, the course of both of these streams being generally south-west.

"If we ascend from the confluence of these two rivers towards the mountain, the ground is observed to rise gradually, one lava stream covers the other, but each succeeding stream has stopped short in its progress over the preceding one, so that we ascend step by step, or by a succession of terraces, to the volcano itself. At first the growth of grass is rich and good, but soon sand and ashes predominate, and the absolute sterility of large tracts is only broken by a few prominent sandhills, which support a low scrubby dwarf vegetation of *Salix arctica*, and are held together by the strong roots of the *Elymus arenarius*. Mounting up still further, all traces of vegetation vanish, save when a slight covering of moss varies the surface of the rugged and most recent lava streams. Water too becomes scarce, for the porous nature of the lava allows the surface water to percolate through its loose texture, to issue again in copious streams from the lower edges of the lava courses, or 'Röins,' as they are termed in Iceland. Higher still, perpetual ice and snow reign pre-eminent, especially in the almost unknown districts to the north-east of Hekla, but these too are abundantly supplied with warm springs, and with jets of steam and of hot air, especially in the district between Hekla and the Markar-fliot."

The present height of Hekla is scarcely 5,000 feet; the trigonometrical survey of the Lector Gunlögsen has established it at 4,956 feet (Danish.) It is well known, however, that the height of volcanoes is constantly liable to change; the tremendous forces frequently in operation on the

summit may destroy the higher peaks; and again, at another time, may upraise from the bowels of the mountain scoriæ and lava to a height greater than any that had hitherto existed. But it is in the years succeeding an eruption that the greatest alteration takes place. Each new outbreak, rending the highest portions of the top, accumulates a vast heap of loosely aggregated masses on the summit and on the sides, where they often hang half suspended on the acute angle of the descent, till, loosened by the rain, and by the ever advancing process of their own disintegration, they roll down the steep declivity to the base. In this way the general height of the mountain is constantly lowered, till a fresh eruption piles up new masses on the top. Mr. Schythe estimates the diminution of the height of Hekla, subsequent to the last eruption, to be nearly 100 feet; but he has some doubts as to the accuracy of the former trigonometrical measurements. The mass of the mountain is mainly composed of lava, scoriæ, and ashes, and in most cases, the lava is remarkably loose and porous in texture. Portions of more solid lava may often be observed impacted in a breccia of tufaceous matter, with imperfect crystals of christianite.

The general direction of the Icelandic volcanoes, from south-west to north-east, is particularly well marked in the elevation of Hekla, which is prolonged to the south-west as far as the Selsund's Field, while the lower grounds are covered with vast streams or Röins of lava, of which the successive inroads have, within historical periods, gradually destroyed a rich pasture ground that formerly extended up to the very base of the great volcano itself. Three isolated portions of these farms still remain; but they suffered severely in the late eruption, and by another will be probably overwhelmed.

On the east and north of Hekla, desolation reigns pre-eminent. Enormous streams of lava cover the whole land, while numerous Raudöldur, or "red craters" of former eruption, attest the activity of the volcanic fires in this hideous solitude. The name of the Raudöldur, or "red crater," is sufficiently expressive, and corresponds to the "Monte Rosso" of the Italian volcanoes. Only one of these diminutive craters is to be found on the western side of Hekla. It is about two hundred feet in height, and consists of a wall of tile-red slaggy lava, surrounding a deep kettle-shaped crater with nearly perpendicular sides. This wall

is complete, excepting on the north-west side, where the crater has been split from top to bottom, and a large portion of it carried away by some tremendous explosion.

The age of the different lava streams of Hekla is best determined by the amount of vegetation and of mould that they bear upon the surface. The most ancient are covered with a depth of soil sufficient to support a fair growth of grass. On those of later date, the grass is thinly scattered; but a spongy moss renders the footing tolerably secure, though it often, at the same time, hides treacherous rents and fissures in the lava. Finally, the sharp and rough masses of the newest lavas, are not only totally bare of vegetation, but present so rugged and broken a surface, that an active man cannot make his way over them at a greater rate than half an English mile per hour. It is not merely here the unevenness of the surface which obstructs the traveller's progress, but the light and porous lava breaks treacherously under the slightest pressure, and precipitates the adventurer into deep fissures which before were concealed from his sight. Long, however, before grass appears on the recent lavas, vegetation in the shape of dwarf birch wood, "Birkekrat," has appeared in some of the more sheltered spots. The woods of Selsund are well known in Rangaavalle Syssel, though the birch rarely rises to the height of a man; but, to the Icelander, the smallest portion of fire-wood is of the utmost value. No inconsiderable part of the income of the owner of Selsund farm is derived from the cuttings of his *forests* for charcoal, a species dollar (about four shillings English) being obtained readily for a small horse load of this material. To be sure, this is not paid in hard cash, which is at all times a very scarce commodity in Iceland, but is bartered for twenty fish at four skillings each.

On the north side of the Hekla range, there is a stream of lava which cannot be traced to the craters of that mountain, and has evidently flowed from some volcanoes in the interior of the country. Some of the streams of lava in this district, appear to have been consolidated under very high pressure, and our author thinks it probable, that at one time the sea extended as a great inlet over the present Rangaavalle Syssel. The great rivers of this district have, in some cases, cut their way through pre-existing streams of lava. The most ancient lavas of Hekla are completely identical with those of the most recent date, as regards their structure, and the few minerals they contain.

In traversing the vast “Röins” on the west of Hekla, the traveller observes huge black furrows running parallel to the course of the lava stream, and separated by rugged crests of the most distorted forms. Where the lava current has been confined between two cliffs, (as in the gorge below Selsund, opposite to the now ruined farm of Næfrholt), it rises high against the perpendicular walls on either side; for the lateral portions are arrested in their course, and cooled, sooner than the central and more fluid parts, which continue their downward progress. Many of our readers may, no doubt, have witnessed the advance of a stream of lava from the craters of Vesuvius; but, by the public at large, very erroneous ideas are entertained as to the rapidity of its advance and its general appearance. A lava stream has *not* the aspect of a fiery torrent, dashing along with the impetuosity of a river that has newly burst its bounds, and overwhelming all things, living or dead, in its irresistible course. The progress of a current of lava is often slow, excepting when it is highly fluid, and rolls over some steep declivity. The greater the distance from the crater, the more slowly does it advance, as the mass constantly tends to cool; but, on the other hand, the stream is frequently augmented by fresh eruptions. In the broad day light, a lava stream shows little or no signs of fire, so rapidly does the outer crust form from the cooling effects of the atmosphere. Across a gentle incline, it moves very slowly, and, to use a most humble simile, it resembles not a little a huge ash heap in slow and gradual progression. We have often stood beside a lava stream in the crater of Vesuvius, so near that we could thrust our walking-stick into the moving mass, from whence we withdrew it with the end in flames, though no fire could be seen on the external surface, amid the loose heaps of blackened scoriae. At night, however, the scene is different. Wherever the stream rolls over a steep incline, the outer crust is broken, and the fiery torrent beneath comes into view. When the lava is pouring fast out of the crater, the bright ruddy glow of the melted matter forms a long line of fire winding down the sides of the mountain, while the huge masses thrown high in air by the furious outbursts of steam, resemble vast rockets in their flight through the darkened atmosphere. But perhaps the most fearful and extraordinary spectacle, is that presented by the fiery torrent when it encounters in its course a deep and rapid river. The

conflict between the two opposing elements then becomes tremendous. The water is raised in its bed by the cooling and consolidation of the lava pouring into it, and overflows the adjoining lands ; while, on the other hand, the melted masses convert the water into steam, with a most hideous tumult and noise. In the great eruption of the Skaptar Jokul, in 1783, the burning stream forced its way to the torrent of the Skaptaa at the point where its waters were precipitated into an abyss of unknown depth and of great extent. For a whole day, the fearful conflict of the elements lasted in this seething cauldron. Huge masses of flaming rock were seen swimming in the boiling water ; the fish were thrown out, dead and parboiled, on to the land, while the explosions of steam projected large bodies of water into the air, with a sound resembling the discharge of the largest artillery. Fresh torrents of lava continued to pour in, and after a night of fearful tumult and terror, the deep abyss was in the morning completely filled, and the waters of the Skaptaa inundated the surrounding farms.

The third chapter of our author's monograph is devoted to the history of the former eruptions of Hekla, from the first recorded outbreak in 1104, to the present time. The Icelandic historians have supplied ample dates and details of these eruptions. The most fearful and the most disastrous, were those of 1300, of 1693, and of 1766. On the 13th of July, A.D. 1300, the whole mountain was, as it were, rent from top to bottom, huge masses of burning stone were projected into the air amid the column of smoke and ashes that rose from the crater, and fell at so great a distance, that the roof of the farm of Næfrholt, six miles from the mountain, was set on fire by them ; while a hideous darkness covered the plains, so that none could find their way, and no boat could put to sea to prosecute the fishery.

The eruption of April 5th, 1766, commenced at four a. m. with the appearance of an enormous column of ashes and smoke on the summit of the mountain, intermingled with glowing scoriae and constant gleams of forked lightning, while the most fearful sounds issued from the bowels of the mountain. The column of ashes, driven by a south-easterly wind, inclined towards the north-west, and fell in such vast quantities to the earth, that the surface was covered to the depth of an ell in the immediate

vicinity of the volcano. In two hours' time five farms in the neighbourhood of Hekla were laid entirely desolate by the “rain of ashes,” while the rivers Thiorsaa and Rangaa, bore on their waters such enormous quantities of scoriæ, that they impeded the progress of the fishing boats at a considerable distance from the land. On the 9th of April two craters could be seen pouring out vast quantities of lava, and one of these is supposed to have been the Raudöldur or red crater on the west side of Hekla, for this remarkable conical hill is not noticed by Eggert Olafsen in his visit to Hekla in 1753, though from the course he took in ascending the mountain, it could not have escaped his observation, if it had then existed. On the 23rd of April 1766, the height of the column of ashes and smoke was ascertained by measurement to be not less than sixteen thousand feet, and on previous days it had appeared to attain a still greater elevation. Counting from the first recorded eruption, we find that Hekla's periods of repose have been extremely unequal, they vary from six to seventy-four years. We subjoin these intervals in the order of their occurrence from the year 1104, viz., 53 years, 48, 16, 72, 6, 41, 48, 47, 74, 44, 24, 19, 22, 17, 57, 73. It has not been found that the length of the periods of repose have exerted any peculiar influence on the violence of the eruptions; for the great outbreak of the year 1300, took place only six years after that of 1294.

Our author next briefly notices the various ascents of Hekla that have been made by scientific travellers, from the first visits of Eggert Olafsen and Biarne Povelsen in 1753, to his own repeated observations from 1839 to 1846. The clouds, fog, and chilling winds on the summit of the volcano, have unfortunately proved most serious obstacles to scientific investigators on these occasions, save in the single instance of Eggert Olafsen's visit, and of some of our author's repeated and arduous expeditions in the same quarter.

The gradual cooling of the crater after the eruption of 1766, may be traced in the records of the various travellers, who have since, at successive periods, visited the summit of Hekla. Thus Banks and Solander, in 1772, found so hot a vapour rising in many places from cavities on the mountain, that they were unable to approach these to ascertain their temperature by the thermometer; while Thienemann in 1821, and Paul Gaimard in 1836, and

lastly, our author himself, in 1839, observed no signs of subterranean heat, save in one spot, where a small jet of steam raised the thermometer to '10° centigrade.' The fourth chapter of Mr. Schythe's book will undoubtedly present the greatest attractions to the general reader, as it embodies the history of the recent eruption of 1845-46, as collected and carefully detailed by one thoroughly competent for the task. From the slight jet of steam that Mr. Schythe had observed upon the mountain in 1839, he had ventured to predict, that the subterranean forces were again in operation, and that ere long, a serious outbreak might be expected. But for five years longer the volcano remained perfectly quiet, and it was not till the year 1845, that the peculiar condition of the atmosphere excited some little alarm among the inhabitants, as from ancient tradition it was well known that such alterations were commonly the precursors of an eruption. The winter of 1844-45, was remarkable for its extraordinarily mild character; the grass shot forth as early as the month of April, and the unvarying dryness of the summer was eminently favourable for the hay harvest. The medium temperature of the spring of 1845, was more than two degrees (centigrade) above that of the fourteen previous years. The barometer showed during this period extremely little variation. As the summer advanced, it was observed that less snow than usual lay in patches on the mountain, but the mild spring, and the very dry months that succeeded it, may perhaps account for this, without supposing an increase of subterranean heat. In the beginning of August it was universally remarked, that a great decrease suddenly took place in the quantity of the milk yielded by the sheep and cows, especially in the highly volcanic districts to the east of Hekla. Our author suspects that acid vapours may at this period have been rising from the earth, and tainting the grass, for such emanations were detected by him in abundance after the eruption. It was observed too by the inhabitants of the Rangaa valleys, that the numerous hot springs and vapour jets in the Reykiadal, near the Mar-kar-flot, had increased during the last year both in number and in power, but this rather tended to allay their fears of an eruption, as they hoped that in this way the subterranean fires of Hekla had found vent. Our author, however, regarded it rather as an indication that the subterranean heat was approaching nearer to the surface. The

former eruptions of Hekla, and of other of the volcanoes of Iceland, had been frequently preceded by earthquakes, but on this occasion no such phenomena were observed, save two slight shocks at Reykiavik during the winter.

We shall avail ourselves, in describing the eruption of September 2nd, 1845, of the words of Mr. Schythe, though we could have desired a little more life and vivacity of colouring in his descriptions.

"The dry weather which had lasted during the whole of the spring and autumn of 1845, was succeeded on the 22nd of August by heavy rains, which continued during the rest of the month. September came in, dark and gloomy, with occasional drizzling rain, while a fearful stillness prevailed in this usually stormy part of the country. Such was the state of the atmosphere on Thursday, the 2nd of September, when after seventy-nine years of repose, the longest interval of quiet yet on record, the eighteenth eruption of Mount Hekla commenced. Dark heavy mists obscured all the mountain ranges on this eventful morning, but about nine a. m., the attention of the inhabitants of the neighbouring farms, was attracted by dull booming sounds like distant cannon shot, from the eastern range of Hekla, and at the same time, by some, a slight tremulous motion of the earth was observed. Many, who at that hour were proceeding to the fields on foot or on horseback, believed that what they heard was thunder, and others thought that a heavy storm was approaching from the east. But the ceaseless succession, and loud tone of the detonations, soon dispelled these ideas, while Hekla and its whole range still continued wrapt in impenetrable mist. This fog however seems to have been less dense towards the east of the mountain, for the inhabitants of that district saw, about ten a. m., a dark cloud rising over the range, to the west and north-west of their position, and at the same time they heard with awe and terror, a constant noise as of a heavy cannonade, from the same quarter. All doubt respecting the origin of these sounds was however dispelled, when, about eleven in the morning, the dark cloud which had now spread itself over the whole horizon, began to rain down a thick shower of ashes and grayish scoriæ about the size of swanshot. (*Rævehagl*). Lower and lower did the dense canopy descend upon the earth, till, at mid-day, the darkness was as that of the obscurest winter night, and they who were surprised out in the fields, had the greatest difficulty in regaining their dwellings. After an hour's lapse, a sort of twilight reappeared, as when morning first breaks in the east, but day was not fairly restored till about three p. m. The shower of scoriæ continued for about an hour longer, and was succeeded by a fall of black volcanic sand, which lasted till mid-day on the 3rd, by which time the ground was covered with sand, scoriæ, and ashes, to the depth of an inch and a half."—p. 51.

On the western side of Hekla a similar obscurity prevailed, but no ashes fell in this quarter, as a strong north-west wind was blowing. The darkness over this district was caused by the sun's rays being intercepted by the column of smoke and ashes that rose from the mountain; it was, in fact, a novel sort of eclipse of the sun.

"Some of the farmers in this district, hastily consulted their almanacks, believing it to be a true eclipse of the sun, and such indeed it was, but not one predicted in the almanack."

It is curious that the first outburst of the volcanic forces was not accompanied with louder detonations, for in many places these were so indistinctly heard, that they were regarded as distant thunder, or as the noisy ebullitions of the ever active Geysers. Still more singular is it, however, that these detonations of the volcano were heard in the most distant quarters of the island. At Kirkiuvogr, 24 miles from Reykiavik, it was thought that a cannonade was going on at the latter town; while still further off, at Stappen, under the Sneefield Jokeln, it was believed that a whale of large size had got on shore, and was lashing his tail upon the rocks. Even in the desolate isle of Grimsey, on the north coast, booming shots were heard at three p. m., on the 2nd of September, and were supposed at the time by the inhabitants, to be cannon fired by the French cutter, cruising in that fishing ground.

The extent over which actual earthquakes were observed at the time of the eruption, may be comprised in two elliptical lines, extending about 24 miles in direct length, by about 10 at the greatest breadth between these, and thus enclosing the whole range of Hekla, from south-west to north-east. A slight tremulous motion of the earth was, however, observable at much greater distances.

When the sky cleared about three in the afternoon of the 2nd of September, the huge column of smoke and ashes rising from the summit of the volcano, became for the first time apparent, and continued distinctly visible till night set in, about half-past seven.

"Just as the darkness closed, a louder detonation than any yet heard, spread terror all around, and the numerous dogs that attend on an Iceland farm, fled howling from their master's dwellings, far away into the district of Holterni, from whence many did not return for the lapse of a week. Night now fairly set in, and a bright flame rose high in the air from the volcano, while huge

masses of glowing scoriæ shot up to an enormous height, and a stream of red molten lava appeared flowing down the western declivity of the mountain towards the plains."

The effects of the volcano on the rivers in the immediate western vicinity of the range, were sufficiently remarkable. The waters of the western Rangaa diminished very sensibly about mid-day on the 2nd, probably in consequence of the scoriæ and ashes that fell into and obstructed its upper course; but a few hours later its stream suddenly rose to an unprecedented height, and bearing on its surface huge masses of scoriæ, it swept with irresistible force onwards to the ocean. At the same time the temperature of the water became so much elevated, that the hand could not be kept in it for a moment, and hundreds of trout, in a half-boiled condition, were cast out upon the banks. But ere the night had fairly set in, the river had returned within its limits, and its waters in a short time regained their clear pellucid character.

On the morning of the first eruption, the atmosphere around the mountain was perfectly still, but from the rapidity with which the huge column of ashes travelled towards the south and east, it is evident that a powerful north wind blew in the upper regions of the air, shortly after the volcano burst forth. We have evidence that the shower of ashes and of volcanic sand extended far out to sea in this direction. The sloop *Helena*, Captain J. Larsen, was, at twelve o'clock a. m., on the 2nd of September, in 60-58 north latitude, and 9-43 longitude west from Greenwich. At nine p. m. on that day, a heavy cloud came driving over the ocean, and covered the ship's decks and sails with dark ashes, while a strong wind blew from the north-west. It follows, therefore, that in the space of less than twelve hours, the ashes from Mount Hekla passed over a distance of about 360 English miles, giving a velocity of above 30 English miles per hour. The showers of ashes fell in the Faro isles at the same hour, and in Shetland early on the morning of the 3rd of September. At the period of the year when the eruption took place, the sheep, which form no inconsiderable portion of the riches of the Icelanders, had not as yet been brought in from their summer pastures, and thousands of these animals were grazing on the high ranges around the volcano. The utmost anxiety was necessarily felt regarding their fate; but on the evening of the first day they arrived in troops

at the several farms, with their fleeces blackened with ashes, and their flesh severely burned in many places by the red-hot scoriae. Many, however, still remained upon the hills, and were not recovered for more than a week, when their feet were found to be dreadfully cut and bruised by the sharp lava, so that the lambs had to be carried home, and for a long time afterwards these were observed to feed in a kneeling position, as their feet were too sore to support the weight of the body. On the east side of Hekla, which was the direction in which the showers of ashes principally fell, the flocks were widely dispersed. Scared by the fearful detonations from the mountain, and burnt by the glowing cinders falling around, the terrified animals fled to a great distance, and some forty or fifty head even made their way into the district of Skaptartunga, which lies nearly 60 miles to the east of Hekla. When the farmers and herdsmen subsequently traversed the eastern district in search of their lost herds, they observed the remarkable fact, that the boiling springs, so common about the Markar-fliot, had become only luke-warm, or about the temperature of new milk. One particular spring, at the eastern base of the Torfa Jokul, which had hitherto always been used by the Icelanders to prepare their coffee when in its vicinity, without the need of fire or of boiling apparatus, was now so cooled, as to be utterly unfit for that purpose.

The rate of progress of the lava stream, in its descent from the crater, was not accurately noted; by general report it was said, in the first twelve days of the eruption, to have advanced at the average of about fifty feet per hour. In seven days the new 'Roin' had progressed more than two miles from the foot of Hekla, but its cooling from that time went on rapidly, though when an iron bar was thrust into the rough scoriae that composed its crust, it easily reached the melted mass below, and quickly became red hot. But it was somewhat dangerous to approach very near the melted mass, for if it encountered any obstacle in its course, such as a large stone or rock, it accumulated behind it, and then suddenly burst forth on either side in a stream of liquid fire. The depth of the new lava stream was generally estimated at from 40 to 50 feet, but when compressed within a cleft or defile, it often rose to 120 feet or more.

Up to the 12th of September, the lava stream had only

flowed over beds of ancient lavas, and had not as yet reached the mountain pastures. On the 12th, the volcano, after eight days of comparative tranquillity, again became active, and poured forth additional showers of lava and scoriæ. The injurious effects of the rain of ashes soon became apparent in the vegetable world. Cabbages, &c. which were healthy and flourishing in the gardens on the 13th, were completely withered and dried up by midday on the 14th, and the same fate befell the herbage, wherever the ashes rested thereon. Still worse were the consequences when the ashes fell mixed with rain, as they then adhered more closely to the grass, marking each blade with a dull brown spot wherever the ashes adhered ; and then, as these spots increased in number, they gradually blended with each other, and the whole plant became brown and sapless.

On the 14th of September, the detonations from the volcano were fearfully loud, and occurred with great regularity, at intervals of about a minute. They were always preceded by an active outburst of black smoke, probably ashes and steam, from the interior of the volcano. A new crater opened this afternoon on the southern part of the range, and emitted a copious torrent of lava. The ashes and sand rained down in such quantities over all the district to the south-east of Hekla, that in three hours' time the ground was covered to the depth of two inches. During the succeeding days, the lava stream, receiving fresh augmentation from the new crater, advanced on to the mountain pastures, and surrounded the Mel-Field, a small hill of Tufa, isolated among the green pastures at the foot of Hekla. By the 21st of September, the lava stream had progressed nearly 100 fathoms beyond the Mel-Field, through a deep valley on the northern side of that elevation. Throughout the month of October, the volcano continued active, though to a less degree, and though snow covered all the lower ranges, the mountain itself remained bare. On the 10th of November, the subterranean action seemed to have almost entirely ceased, but on the 13th of that month, a violent paroxysm again occurred, and on the 19th, the lava stream reached its furthest limits, having progressed during the preceding six days, at the rate of 1,250 feet per day. During the months of December and January, ashes repeatedly fell, but the loud detonations from the mountain were now replaced by

a kind of continuous murmur. On the 26th of March, 1846, the last paroxysm occurred, and Hekla has since then continued perfectly tranquil.

We have thus endeavoured to condense, as much as possible, Mr. Schythe's narrative of the eruption, as we felt it unnecessary to detail, as he has done, the phenomena of each succeeding day. From the observations collected from our author, it is evident that at least three craters or outlets for the pent-up fires within the mountain were opened at a very early period of the eruption. One of these was on the north-east point of the volcano, another on the central or highest part of the summit, and the third on its western declivity. The column of ashes was repeatedly measured by Gunlögsen, and was ascertained to range from 6,000 to 14,000 feet above the summit.

Our author could not learn that the great warm springs, the Geyser and Strokr, exhibited any remarkable variations during the eruption; but when he subsequently visited these celebrated fountains, he found that the depth of the pipe of the Geyser had diminished from 78 to 60 feet, while the water at the bottom exhibited a temperature of 115 centigrade, the boiling point being, it is needless to say, 100.

The fifth chapter of this book contains much of high interest to the scientific geologist. In it are described, from personal observations made during repeated and prolonged visits, the alterations produced in the mountain by the last eruption. We shall briefly condense these details, and by omitting much that is purely scientific, we hope to render them more acceptable to the general reader.

On the 5th of June, 1846, Mr. Schythe arrived at the farm of Næfrholt, the nearest to the base of Hekla, and distant only 150 yards from the still steaming lava of the recent eruption. It was not, however, till the 26th of this month that Hekla was sufficiently clear of mist to enable him to reach the summit, in company with the owner of Næfrholt, whose property had been greatly devastated by the eruption. On the top he found four recently formed craters in a line parallel to the extension of the range, viz., from south-west to north-east. From these craters there rose up an enormous quantity of dense steam, which, settling down on the sides and summit of the mountain, soon enveloped him in so impenetrable a fog, that at the distance of three paces he could not see his guide, and, at times,

he could not even discern the ground on which he stood. We ourselves once encountered a similar fog on the summit of Vesuvius, while all below was calm and serene ; but the steam was in this case so heavily charged with ammoniacal vapours, that respiration was nearly impeded, and it was with some difficulty that we escaped into a purer atmosphere. On the second of September, 1846, there was not a cloud during the whole day on the summit of Hekla, and Mr. Schythe was enabled to devote many hours to the exploration of the mountain. The morning was sharp and frosty, and the recent lava steamed vigorously in the cold air, for a large quantity of rain had fallen during the night, and this, soaking through the porous covering of scoriæ and ashes, rose again in steam when it came in contact with the still melted lava beneath. Mr. Schythe first examined the western crater, from whence the great stream of lava that had flowed down towards Næfrholt had evidently come. Here the now congealed torrent was seen piled in huge masses, and in the wildest confusion, as it issued from the mountain's side. The bottom of the crater was filled with new fallen snow to a considerable depth. The next crater was separated from the former by a very narrow ridge of porous slags of the most beautiful carmine red colour. The snow, melting at the bottom of the crater, and sinking through the scoriæ to the hot lava beneath, caused a considerable steam to rise, and emitted a constant sound, as it were, of boiling water.

We have but space remaining for a brief extract of our author's theory of the rise and progress of the last eruption. It began, he believes, by the rending of the upper part of the mountain in a direction from south-west to north-east. It was not merely that vent was found for the subterranean forces by the four craters ; but an actual disruption of the summit took place in the direction above stated. This rent or cleft did not occur, however, exactly along the line of the summit, but a little to the south of the highest elevated ridge ; and, in consequence thereof, the craters and the portions of the rent still remaining open, are higher on their northern than on their southern sides. This circumstance, our author thinks, may have partially influenced the direction of the ashes and scoriæ. In the neighbourhood of the fourth or north-eastern crater, the great disruption was still visible, while parallel to it, at

various distances, ran similar smaller rents, evidences of the fearful forces that had shattered the whole summit in this direction. The distance to which the lava stream advanced from Hekla on this occasion, was between seven and eight English miles; but the quantity thrown out, though large indeed, was yet far less than what has been ejected on former occasions. Its aggregate amount is estimated by our author at 14,400 million of cubic feet, a quantity sufficient to bury the whole city of Copenhagen to the depth of 330 feet.

As far as could be explored, the lava stream appeared everywhere to consist of loosely aggregated fragments of scoriæ, and in no part did it exhibit that solid and often mamillated form observed in those lavas which have been subjected to pressure, or that have cooled more slowly than this would do under the influence of an Iceland winter. Still, six months after the lava had reached its furthest point, it was found to be in many places only half cooled, and the thermometer, at no great distance below the surface, rose to 84 centigrade. From the rents in the mass, a vast quantity of steam constantly issued, forming a brilliant contrast of white vapour on the hideous black surface of the torrent. The longer that these vapours continued to rise from the crevices, the more did they become charged with acid, and this acid, as might be expected from the extreme whiteness of the steam, was chiefly the hydrochloric. Of carbonic acid, and of sulphuretted hydrogen gas, but few traces could be discovered. Salmiak (muriate of ammonia) was observed in considerable quantities on the surface of the lava, and was thought by the natives to be an efflorescence of pure salt, such as the ancient historians record to have been formerly ejected from the mountain. No doubt the pure salt of the old writers was nothing else but salmiak; though even the Icelanders of the present day regarded this appearance as produced by the influx of the sea water through the subterraneous communications between Hekla and the ocean. So convinced were they of this, that one speculating Icelander, during the summer of 1846, loaded his horses with the muriate of ammonia from the mountain, and actually employed it in curing his fish; but with what success may easily be imagined.

Little or no pumice-stone (pimpsteen) seems to have been ejected by Hekla during the late eruption. Indeed, our

author strongly doubts the fact of pumice ever having been thrown out by this volcano. Into his arguments regarding this disputed point, want of space forbids us to enter; but his researches go far to prove that the small quantities of pumice found about this mountain, are probably the produce of some other volcano.

A short but interesting chapter on the injury caused to the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts by the eruption, closes the book. No damage was done directly to any of the dwellings; but it was found necessary to desert the farmhouse of Næfrholt, as the near approach of the lava had dried up the springs which supplied that house with water. It was fortunate that the enormous showers of ashes and scoriae which fell on the earlier days of the eruption, descended chiefly upon the almost uninhabited districts to the east of Hekla. Several of the grazing farms in this direction, however, did not escape, and as the hay had not yet been entirely got in, all that remained in the fields was lost and spoiled. In this way the horses and cattle were deprived of the food absolutely necessary for their maintenance during the winter, and the farmers were forced to diminish their stock by disposing of them for what they would bring. Much more serious, however, was the damage done to the mountain pastures. Of nearly two hundred ewes and lambs possessed by the farms of Næfrholt, in August, 1845, there remained only sixty head in the spring of 1846, the remainder had been killed on account of the deficit of winter provender, and the destruction of the mountain pastures of the summer season. Indeed, the mountain ranges where the sheep had fed during the previous summer, were in great part ruined beyond all hope; for where they had not been overflowed by the lava, they were covered by a dense layer of ashes and sand to the depth of two feet and more. As a consequence of the scarcity of provender, sickness soon showed itself amongst the cattle. Many of the sheep were seriously lamed by their hoofs being torn and cut to the quick by the sharp and rugged scoriae they had traversed in their homeward flight; their wool, too, was blackened and burnt, and fell off so much, that the fleeces were of little value in the succeeding season. The Iceland Ptarmigan, which forms no unimportant item in the winter's consumption among the farmers, almost entirely deserted the country, and the fishing on that part of the coast where the consequences of the eruption were

chiefly felt, was specially unproductive. Although so many years had elapsed since the previous eruption of Hekla, this last cannot be classed with some of the more serious outbreaks upon record. Its chief interest indeed is, that in Mr. Schythe a historian has been found, thoroughly competent to describe and to judge of the phenomena presented by its progress. Of his own individual exertions, our author says little or nothing ; but from a few scattered hints, we learn that he spent many days wandering through the almost unexplored districts to the east of Hekla, where the natives themselves rarely venture, save in search of strayed cattle, or as guides to more adventurous travellers.

The volume of which we now take our leave is most creditable, as regards printing and paper, to the Copenhagen press ; but the lithographs which accompany it are of a very inferior character. The geological portion of the work, and especially the second and fourth chapters, form most interesting papers for translation into some of our many scientific journals.

ART. II.—1. *Oratio habita a P. F. X. de Ram, Rectore Magnifico, &c., &c., ad Academicos, &c. Anno 1847, Louvain. Valinthout et Vandezande, 1848.*

2.—*Documents relatifs à l'erection et l'organisation de l'université Catholique de Louvain. E. M. Devroye and Co., Brussels, 1844.*

3.—*Quelques Mots sur L'Université Catholique de Louvain. J. J. Vanderborght, Brussels.*

4.—*Annuaires de L'Université Catholique de Louvain. Louvain, Valenthout et Vandezaude.*

WE had promised in a past number, to furnish our readers with a sketch of the history of the University of Louvain, and its re-establishment under the constitutional monarchy which now governs the little kingdom of Belgium, since its revolution and separation from Holland. The letter of his Holiness Pius IX. to the Bishops of Ireland, in proposing the example of the Bishops of Belgium, to whose efforts the present university owes its recovered existence, as a pattern worthy to be followed, has

rendered the name of Louvain doubly interesting. Without further preface therefore, we enter upon our task, believing that not only the interest of the subject, but the obvious usefulness to the Catholics of Great Britain, of some authentic information respecting a seminary so easy of access, will be such as to render all apology needless.

We had proposed, had space permitted, to have begun with a sketch of the history of the former University, specially with regard to its faculty of theology ; respecting which we may mention by the way, that Henry VIII. after having prevailed, principally by bribery, with so many of the chief Universities of Europe to declare in favour of the nullity of his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, made no application to the doctors of Louvain from sheer despair of its success. On a future occasion we may perhaps be able to complete our subject, by taking a glimpse of its history, as this would bring to light many interesting facts, touching the manners of our forefathers in conducting the great work of education.

The ancient university came to an end in a manner worthy of its long and faithful career. The following account of its suppression is given in a collection of historical documents, by Dr. Vandevelde, vol. 3, p. 1122.

" In the year 1797, on the 25th of October, the central administration of the Department of the Dyle, which was held at Brussels, made a decree, by which the ancient University of Louvain, celebrated throughout Europe for so many centuries, is suppressed, overthrown and trampled down ; the Professors are forbidden to continue their academic prolections, and the administrators of the revenues and property of the colleges, to concern themselves any further in receiving and managing them. The libraries, the archives, museums, are all sealed up. The presidents and other members of the Colleges are commanded to leave them within ten days' time, to be expelled by the military if they neglect too bey. The professors are all deprived of their office, dignity, prerogatives and emoluments, without the least indemnification ; a penalty is laid upon the Rector, John Joseph Havelange, and some others among the ecclesiastical professors..... If it be asked, what is the cause of this work of destruction, their answer is—That the University of Louvain, from its constitution and the nature of the sciences taught in it, did not follow the kind of instruction suited to republican principles, (*que l'Université de Louvain, par sa forme et par la nature des sciences qui y sont enseignées, ne suivait pas le mode d'instruction publique, conforme aux principes républicains.*) But what sort of principles, these republican principles

were, could be neither doubted nor concealed. The University of Louvain, abhorring these counsels of impiety which it dared not approve either in word or thought, came to a glorious end, '*certans bonum certamen fidei confessa bonam confessionem coram multis testibus.*' —(1 Tim. vi. 12.)"

The members of the University thus suppressed, were dispersed, and forced to take refuge and maintain themselves as they best could, and so long as Belgium continued subject to the French, the survivors could entertain no hope of being able to unite again as an University.

Their hopes however revived when Napoleon was forced to commence his retreat from Russia, with the remains of the most formidable army that a conqueror had probably ever collected together. In that year, 1813, Belgium, together with the Low Countries, was separated by the allies from France, to which Napoleon had annexed it, on the plea of its being France's natural territorial complement. In the month of November, William Frederick, son of the last Stadholder, was called from his retirement in England, where he was living unknown, to become prince, and shortly king of the Low Countries; and on the 30th of the same month he disembarked at Scheveningen, from whence nineteen years ago he had effected his escape, together with his father. He appears to have proceeded with some prudence and moderation in taking the first steps to establish himself as monarch, promising his people a constitution to protect their interests and liberties. On the 11th of February, a temporary government was organized in Belgium, by Baron Wolzogen, General-major in the service of Russia, and Baron de Boyen, in the name of Prussia, on the 30th of May, 1814. The treaty of Paris was concluded by the allies, in which Belgium was annexed to Holland in virtue of the right of conquest, and for the ostensible motive of preserving the equilibrium of power in Europe. On the 14th of August, 1814, William, already firmly secured in the possession of Holland, published a proclamation, taking possession of the provinces of Belgium as governor-general. This concession was purchased on the part of Holland, by ceding to England all claims on the colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, Berbice, and Ceylon.

No sooner was the union with France dissolved, than a meeting of such of the dispersed survivors of the old

University as could be found forthcoming, was held at Louvain, in which the Drs. Vandevelde and Van Auderode were chosen as deputies, and authorized to take all the steps that should be found necessary to procure the re-opening the University, the suppression of which they regarded as an act of violence, that could neither abolish or even weaken their rights. The meeting consisted of eighteen doctors and professors. Their first step was to present a petition to the Baron de Vincent, the governor-general of Belgium, who had been appointed provisionally by the allies. It bears the date of June 1814. It produced, however, no result, the governor considering it prudent to wait to see what measures could be taken for the formation of a permanent government in Belgium.

On the occasion of a visit of the prince of Orange to Louvain, the same request was energetically made by the burgomaster of the town, and M. Lamal, the dean of St. Peter's, but again without success. It seemed as if a party was formed, which opposed its re-establishment. Towards the end of September, the same parties met together again, to consider what means they still possessed of urging their demand, and resolved to address a petition to the emperor of Austria, and to the Sovereign Pontiff. They thought that they might seek the protection of the emperor and the Pope with success, inasmuch as the same august personage, who, by his edict, confirmed the rights of the University in 1793, was still alive, and a congress was about to take place at Vienna, where the Pope's legate would be in a condition to advocate the cause of the University. M. M. Vandevelde and Auderode found an active agent at Vienna, in the person of L'Abbe Martens, priest of the diocese of Ghent, to whom they transmitted, before the end of October, all the documents necessary to their cause. The first of these was a petition to the emperor Francis II., and the second a letter to the reigning Pope Pius VII., each signed by the deputies, J. F. Vandevelde, and P. F. Van Auderode; the third, a letter to prince Metternich Winnebourg, minister of state. A letter of a similar character was also addressed to cardinal Gonsalvi, the Pope's legate at the court of Vienna. An application also, to the same effect, was made to the powers assembled in Congress, by the vicars-general of the diocese of Ghent.

It would appear that all these measures remained equally

fruitless, for in the month of August, 1815, a deputation was sent to Frederick William, the king of Holland, and another long petition addressed to the king on the 12th of October, 1815. The little effect all these attempts had may be collected from the letter of P. H. S. Vermœlen, mayor of Antwerp, addressed to Dr. Vandevelde, (11 Dec. 1815.)

"The king has spoken to me, respecting the note I wrote to him, remarking that I seemed to be a great partisan of the University, whereupon I had the honour to observe to him, that I was not alone, but that the greater part of the people of Belgium were of the same opinion. He observed that the Bishops had not always agreed with the Faculty of Theology, that they had certainly sometimes been unfavourable to it, and would continue to be so, that it had always been with jealousy that they had seen the pupils of the University preferred to those of their own seminaries, and that the faculty had sometimes professed opinions, with which they disagreed, at least tacitly. I replied that the principles of the University were the same as those received in other countries, except perhaps by some few persons in France, and that I had never heard it said that they differed in doctrine ; and if there were inconveniences to be apprehended, from a preference for the University pupils, it would be possible to remedy them. The prince asked me in joke, whether I wanted the re-establishment of the University *at* Louvain, or *of* Louvain ; I said, I asked for the University of Louvain *at* Louvain. The conversation was throughout very amicable, nevertheless I did not see the signs of any very favourable disposition, although no absolute reason to despair."

All hopes, however, were put to an end by the publication of the decree for the organization of the upper branches of public instruction, issued by the king the 25th of September, 1816. Articles seven and eight of this decree, create three new Universities—at Louvain, at Ghent, and Liege ; each to possess the usual five faculties, of—1, Theology, 2, Jurisprudence, 3, Medicine, 4, Mathematical and Physical sciences, 5, Philosophy and Letters, although the theological faculty for the moment was to remain in abeyance. These Universities continued to exist throughout the reign of William, and numbered from two to three hundred students each. A full account of every detail connected with them, may be found in the report of M. Nothomb, Minister of the Interior, presented to the chambers, and published in Brussels, (1844.)

All hopes of the eventual restoration of the ancient

Catholic University of Louvain, under the sovereignty of Holland, being thus destroyed, we have now to examine the circumstances which prepared the minds of the clergy and people to combine together to effect its restoration, as soon as their new constitution, obtained by the Revolution of 1830, set them at liberty to unite their efforts towards the attainment of their long desired end.

The policy of William, from the moment of his taking possession of the Belgium provinces, shows symptoms of having been directed towards the fusion of the two countries into one kingdom, and the creation, if the expression may be allowed, of one nationality. With this object in view, the Dutch language was forcibly made the language of all the public documents, and a knowledge of it required as a qualification for nearly all departments of the state. The Catholic Church also was regarded as the most formidable obstacle in the way of this policy, it being very justly thought, that so long as the Catholic faith and worship possessed the heart and affections of the Belgians, it would be morally impossible that they would blend into one empire and people with their protestant neighbours of Holland. With this view of the ruling principle of William's policy, it is easy to explain the fruitlessness of the repeated applications for the restoration of the ancient University, which had been in its former history so distinguished for its attachment to the holy see, and for its active propagation of the Catholic faith.

After the battle of Waterloo, it became one of the first objects of William's government, to lay the basis of a constitution that should embrace the whole of his new kingdom. A commission was named to draw up a document for the purpose of being submitted to the states. On the 8th of August, the result of their labours was submitted to the general assembly of the states, at the Hague, under the title of "*The Fundamental Law,*" and accepted; but when proposed to the principal persons of Belgium, assembled at Brussels, it was rejected by a majority of 796 to 527. This was the beginning of the king's actual quarrels with the Catholic clergy, whom he accused of having used their influence to procure its rejection. Not daunted by this check, the king published a proclamation, declaring the law accepted, and that, since the majority had founded their opposition on a mistaken view of the provisions contained in it, their decision could not be admitted.

As early as the month of October, 1814, M. de Broglie, bishop of Ghent, had addressed a memorial to the congress of Vienna, in which he demanded authority to assemble the principal persons of Belgium, to deliberate upon their interests, and to form a solemn compact with the prince that should be chosen for them, which should have for its principal end, the maintenance of the Catholic religion inviolable in all its rights; the demand came too late, as the treaty of London, of the 20th of June, had already decided every thing.

The 28th of July, 1815, the diocesan bishops addressed a protest to the king, of which the following is an extract:

"Sire,—We are obliged unceasingly to warn the people committed to our care, against all doctrines in opposition to those of the Catholic Church. This we cannot neglect without betraying one of our most sacred duties. And in case Your Majesty were to uphold and to protect, in virtue of a fundamental law of the state, the public profession and the propagation of these doctrines, to the progress of which we are bound to oppose ourselves, with all the eagerness and activity which the Catholic Church expects from our ministry, we should thus find ourselves in formal opposition with the laws of the state, and with the measures Your Majesty might take to maintain them, and in spite of all our efforts for the preservation of peace, the public tranquillity might find itself compromised.

"And since, according to article 136 of the projected new constitution, the public exercise of any worship may be prevented, if there be any danger of its being the occasion of disturbance to public peace, *it follows that the free exercise of our religion might be suppressed in these provinces.*"

The 2nd of August, 1815, the bishop of Ghent addressed to his clergy, and to the faithful of his diocese, a pastoral instruction, of which the following extracts are specimens:

"Liberty is by (art. 196) guaranteed to all forms of worship, by the laws of the state, and (art. 198) adds that every subject of the king is admissible to any of the offices of the state, without distinction of belief. Were you to approve of such a law, you would be thereby sanctioning the dreadful principle that all religions are equally true, and that it is as possible to be saved in one as in another."

The bishop then remarks, that, by the admission of persons without distinction of faith,

"That sooner or later very important offices in this portion of the kingdom would come to be filled by persons of a religion different from our own. Who canot see at the first glance the

probable consequences of such a result? Our dearest interests, those of the Holy Catholic Church, her laws, her morality, and her discipline, would be in their hands.

"..... In virtue of the authority entrusted to us by the Church, we solemnly protest against the adoption and the insertion of the forementioned articles in the new constitution of the kingdom, *and we forbid all of our diocese who are and may be chosen representatives, to give any adherence to them whatever upon any pretext whatsoever.*"

The bishop of Tournai addressed a similar pastoral to his diocese, dated the 11th of August, and the bishop of Namur had prepared a similar one, which, however, was seized by the police in the hands of the printer, and the whole edition destroyed, a step which was regarded as a somewhat ominous interpretation of the clause in the new constitution which guaranteed the liberty of the press.

The king having, notwithstanding its rejection by the majority, declared by his decree of the 24th of August, that the new constitution had been formerly accepted; the bishops jointly published their doctrinal judgment upon it, in which the following passages were found:

"It is to fulfil one of the most essential duties of our Episcopate, and to discharge an obligation to our people, that has been strictly imposed upon us by the Church, *that we have judged it necessary to declare that no persons of our dioceses can, without betraying the dearest interests of our religion, and rendering themselves guilty of a great crime, take the different oaths prescribed by the constitution, in which the party taking them is bound to observe and support the new law, or to assist towards procuring its observance.*"

"To swear," observes one of the Bishops in his remarks on the new law, "to obey or to maintain a law, which attributes to the Sovereign, and that to a sovereign who does not profess our holy religion, the right to dispose of the public instruction, that is, of the higher, middle, and lower schools, is to abandon to his discretion the public instruction in all its branches, and shamefully to betray the dearest interests of the Catholic Church. In fact, by means of a law expressed in such general terms, what limit can there be to the powers of the monarch, and what Bishop is there who would not have just reason to fear, according to the text of the law, an invasion of his own most sacred rights over the instruction of his Diocese, and especially over the upper and middle schools, destined to receive the Church Students and to form their principles?"

Upon (art 2.) the Bishop remarked, "that to swear to regard as obligatory until it be otherwise enacted, and to maintain all the laws now in force, would be to concur to the eventual execution of

many anticatholic and unjust laws, contained in the civil and penal code of the former French government, which enact many severe penalties against ministers of the Gospel who are faithful to their duties."

The most dangerous person in the eyes of the Dutch court, and the man who had most exasperated it by his active and indefatigable resistance, was M. de Broglie, bishop of Ghent, descendant of an ancient and noble family in France: endowed with great abilities and talents as a preacher, and remarkable for his faith and exemplary piety, he was looked up to in his diocese with general confidence and esteem. He partook somewhat of the man of the world, the lord and the courtier, but the character of the priest notwithstanding predominated. Having been in the outset Almoner-in-ordinary to the emperor Napoleon, and subsequently named to the bishopric of Acqui, in Piedmont, he was for some time a professed admirer of Napoleon, but, when later on in his career, Napoleon, blinded by ambition, began to ill-treat the Pope, M. de Broglie showed him the most determined resistance. He refused the decoration of the legion of honour, in order to avoid an oath that would have bound him to defend the integrity of the empire, to which Napoleon had now annexed the states of the Pope.

When Napoleon, in a council assembled at Paris in 1811, had decreed that the nomination of the bishops should be vested in the chief personage of the state, and that the Pope should be bound to proceed to institution six months after receiving notice of the nomination, and in case of a refusal on his part, the metropolitan should proceed in his place, M. de Broglie, then bishop of Ghent, was among the few to raise his voice to oppose this impious aggression of the temporal power against the most sacred rights of the Pontiff. Whereupon the wrath of the emperor burst upon the bishop; he was seized in his palace, imprisoned in Vincennes, and from thence removed to the isle of St. Margaret. The vicars general and canons were seized, the episcopal seminary suppressed, the students drafted into the army, and M. de Broglie came out of prison only when the allies took possession of Belgium in 1814.

The king having met with so determined a resistance on the part of the bishops, began to see even more clearly than at the commencement of his reign, how justly he had

regarded the Catholic Church as the great obstacle in the way of his policy, and hence he determined to take every measure to sap the church, and to render it pliable to his designs. With this view, in 1817, he selected M. de Mean, in whose character, as appears from the sequel, he seems to have been happily deceived, to be presented to the Pope for the vacant archbishopric of Mechlin. But the Sovereign Pontiff, who had already, in a letter of 1st of May, 1816, approved of the conduct of the bishops touching the oaths prescribed by the constitution, refused to send the necessary bulls, unless the oath of adherence to the constitution were modified. Whereupon M. de Mean, who had already taken the oath, made haste to announce, (May 18th, 1817,) that in swearing to protect all the religious communions in the state, that is, the persons who compose them, taken collectively or individually, he had meant merely a *civil protection*, without thereby approving directly or indirectly the maxims that they professed, and which the catholic religion forbids. The Pope was content with this explanation, requiring merely that it should be published in the newspapers, in consequence of which M. de Mean published it in the journals of the 28th of July following, and henceforward the most scrupulous Catholics felt no difficulty in taking the oath. From this time the greatest court was paid to the new Archbishop, as greater condescension was expected from him than from the other bishops, and all kinds of seductions were tried upon him. However, in the end, M. de Mean fell into disgrace at court, and becoming more and more importuned by the government, he discovered that the time for compliments was gone by, and began to show that he felt himself a bishop.

Shortly after the nomination of the Archbishop, the king desiring to disembarass himself of the Bishop of Ghent, directed a suit to be commenced against him, on which he was contemptuously styled "Maurice de Broglie," without any allusion to his dignity as bishop, and several different offences were laid to his charge. On the 9th of October, the court condemned the bishop, who had refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the temporal court, as contumacious, to banishment and the costs of proceedings, and charged the procureur-general to see the decree of the court carried into execution, conformably to article 472 of the Penal Code.

"On this sentence," 'L'observateur Belge,' a newspaper distinguished by no partiality to the Catholic cause, remarked, 'People would have taken the man for a fool or worse, who in the year 1814 would have thought it possible that before 1818, a bishop could be condemned in Belgium, under a prince not a Catholic, by a secular tribunal, to the punishment proper to a criminal, for having, together with his colleagues, subscribed and published a doctrinal decision on the question of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of an oath, for having written two letters to the pope relatively to certain public prayers that the prince was supposed to require, for having received an answer conformable to the wishes of the government, and having given it immediate publicity, with the double advantage of tranquillizing the minds of the people, and of justifying the demand of the government by the solemn public act in which he acquiesced in it.'

"Much less could it have been thought that, without necessity or utility, and against all reason, there should have been thrown into the manner of executing the sentence, all that could be devised in the way of ignominy to the person of the accused, of outrage to the religion of which he is a minister, and of insult to a people that has remained faithful to the Creed of their fathers."

The ignominy here alluded to, was the following: there were at that time in the prison of Ghent, two felons, condemned to perpetual hard labour, Joseph Vervaet, and Joseph Schietecat. The former had been condemned on the 11th November, and the other on the 18th, and their sentence contained the additional item of a public branding, and exposition in the pillory. By art. 373 of the criminal code, each criminal should have undergone his punishment three full days after it was passed, that is, for the former on the 15th, and for the second on the 22nd. By article 470 of the same code, the extract of the judgment passed against M. de Broglie for not appearing, was to be affixed to a gallows within the three days of its being passed, i. e. from the 9th to the 11th, in the public market-place. But, with the view of making the sentence as ignominious as possible, and to associate the bishop with the worst malefactors, the 19th of November was chosen, as being market-day at Ghent, and the two thieves were brought out for that day, delaying the sentence for the one, and accelerating it for the other, in order that the writ of M. de Broglie's condemnation might be seen by all the inhabitants, exposed between two of the worst criminals—unwittingly exposing him to the same treatment that a Roman governor and a blinded people had inflicted upon his divine

Master, which did, in reality, but the more redound to his honour. The effect upon the people was quite different from what was expected. It was regarded as a public insult to the Catholic religion, a profanation of a sacred and venerable character, and as such, justly deserving the severest indignation.

The government being resolved to follow up their measures, caused M. Gouban, whom the king had named director-general of the Catholic worship, to summon the vicars-general to take upon themselves the administration of the diocese, *inasmuch as M. de Broglie was now to be regarded as if he were naturally dead.* The vicars answered, that the civil code did not touch persons declared contumacious until five years had elapsed after the sentence; nor could they admit that the civil authority had the power of setting aside the spiritual character of the bishop. On this refusal, M. Gouban replied: “Gentlemen, you must not now be surprised that I find myself obliged to put *an embargo on your salaries* until you comply with my request. I think I have a right to refuse payment *to those who refuse service.*”

The vicars-general having continued to correspond with their spiritual superior, and to publish pastoral instructions emanating from him, this gave occasion to a fresh prosecution on the part of the government. The solicitor-general, Spruyt, maintained before the court at Brussels, that M. de Broglie was civilly dead, that the episcopal jurisdiction was a function of the state, and therefore dependant upon the civil power, on which account it ceased *de jure* and *de facto*, from the date of the sentence passed upon M. de Broglie. This doctrine, which was nothing more or less than the bringing back the times of Henry VIII., and the establishing William “temporal and spiritual head,” king and sovereign pontiff of the Catholic Church in Belgium, did not pass in the court of Brussels. Public opinion pronouncing itself so strongly against it, the court acquitted the accused on the 12th May, 1821. The same year M. de Broglie died at Paris, and the diocese of Ghent remained for many years without a bishop, as was the fate, also, of some of the other dioceses, owing to the quarrels of the government with the clergy and the Holy See.

From this time the king’s policy may be observed, step by step, showing its more undisguised hostility to the

Catholic Church. In July 1822, an edict was published forbidding all persons to exercise the functions of school-master in the higher branches of education, who had not been authorized by the board of instruction. Another decree of February 1, 1824, extended this decree so as to make it apply to all associations, whether *civil* or *religious*, that were employed in instruction, and finally a decree was issued on the eleventh of February, as a prelude to their entire dissolution, that no person could be received as member, or be admitted to take vows in them, unless provided with certificates of fitness, to be obtained from the agents of the Government.

But the crowning measure on which the king chiefly relied, was the establishment of a philosophical college, in which all who were destined for the ecclesiastical state were to be required to pass two years in study, as a necessary condition for admission into any episcopal seminary. This measure was announced in two separate edicts, both bearing the date of the 14th of June, (1825), in the first of which all independent schools and seminaries were suppressed "in virtue of art. 226, which entrusts the public instruction to *our* care;" and in the second, the philosophical college was ordered to be erected near to one of the universities. The ostensible reasons assigned for this latter measure were, the alleged representations of some of the heads of the clergy on the insufficiency of the preparatory instruction for young persons intended for the ecclesiastical state. On the 11th July another edict was published, containing the details of the establishment of the philosophical college, in which occurs the following proviso: That from the date of this day, there shall be no persons admitted into the episcopal seminaries, except such as shall have completed the proper term of study (two years) in the philosophical college. As the professors were to be appointed by royal authority, with merely the form of a consultation of the archbishop of Mechlin, the king felt sure of attaining his purpose, if he could but succeed in gaining into his own hands the whole public instruction, lay and ecclesiastical, and in being able to entrust it to men of his own choice.

"It is impossible to doubt," observes M. de Gerlâche, from whose history these details are chiefly taken, "that this project of William was part of a vast plan concerted with the protestant princes of Europe, and that it was but a step to still more open measures against the Church."—(page 374. vol. i.)

Circumstances also seemed to favour the attempt. There was an aged prelate at the head of the episcopate at Belgium, whom it was expected to be an easy task either to gain over or to intimidate. The press, that had advocated the Catholic interests, or even those of liberty, had been now silenced by the different prosecutions; and the body of the people, wearied with continued change and agitation, had become indifferent. The publication, therefore, of these decrees, did not create any strong immediate sensation; some men only of experience said that the king had been badly advised, and that he was laying the seeds of an insurrection against his government.

The bishops immediately protested to the king against the measure, who gave them nothing but evasive answers. They then wrote to Rome, and were informed that the Pope would represent the matter strongly to the Dutch court, and they would do well to await the result, keeping themselves passive, if any steps were taken to put the decrees into immediate execution.

The government pursued its policy with vigour, and all the necessary preparations were made for opening the philosophical college, which was fixed at Louvain, in the former college of Pope Adrian VI. and the brothers of Christian doctrine, who had large schools in Dinant, Namur, Liege, and Tournai, were suppressed, and the members who were not natives conducted to the frontiers. About the same time different other schools and seminaries, kept by private individuals, both priests and laymen.

The king's object was now to gain the archbishop's consent and approbation of the new college, and every kind of attention was shown him with this view, the project being studiously represented as planned wholly on the interests of the Catholic faith. Happily the venerable prelate was surrounded by prudent and firm advisers, who saw through the scheme, and rejected it courageously.

In the mean time a very animated debate took place in the chambers, in which several very distinguished speakers on the Catholic side claimed, as their last safe resource, universal *liberty of instruction, of the press, and of worship*—doctrines that the clergy of the time were not prepared to accept. “How can *we*,” said they, “approve the liberty of all religions, we who believe that there is but one *good*? Truth and falsehood mutually exclude each other. This tolerance which is required from us is absurd, for it sup-

poses an indifference in the matter of religious belief, the most precious interest of humanity, in regard to which we can yield and pass over nothing ; as to absolute liberty of the press, we regard it as an inexhaustible source of calamities.....The spirit of the Catholic religion is a spirit of obedience, peace, and agreement. Liberty of the press, with its sequel of quarrels, abuse, lies, and calumnies, is nothing but combat and confusion, and the annihilation of all principle.”

The clergy had not yet perceived that the course proposed was not the positive and absolute advocacy of these liberties as good in themselves, which, on the principle of one and only one true faith, doctrine and worship, they cannot be, but the advocacy of an entire abstinence on the part of the civil power from taking any steps in favour of any doctrine or worship opposed to the interests of the Church. The government at this time was seeking to undermine and cripple the Church, and the Catholic speakers in the chambers claimed, that the government should be strictly neutral, and allow perfect freedom to every creed and sect ; not at all as approving such a state of things *in itself* as the best conceivable for the interests of humanity, but under the circumstances, as better for the Church to be herself free to act in the midst of equally free antagonist and rival doctrines, than to be subject to a government, seeking to fetter her action and tamper with her very existence.

But this by the way. The bishops had informed the king they should refuse to ordain the pupils of the philosophical college, and matters continued in this unsatisfactory state until the year 1827, the seminaries receiving in the mean time no fresh pupils. Negotiations were now being carried on with Rome ; but, as they moved forward but slowly, the Pope showing great patience, the government determined if possible to attempt to separate the Church of Belgium, preserving its hierarchy after the Anglican pattern of Henry VIII. The project for this purpose was drawn up by M. Goubau, by order of the minister, Van Gobbel-schoog, and lithographed. Only twelve copies were distributed to trustworthy persons, and the archbishop was pressed to enter into the plan by every art of seduction that the government knew how to employ. There appears every reason to think that these attempts to weaken the Church were made in combination with the governments

of Wurtemburg, Baden, Hesse, Darmstad, Hesse, Cassel, Nassau, and Francfort. But at length the king became convinced of the danger of the plan, and it was given up, it being found impossible to tamper with the fidelity of the episcopate or the clergy. Had Henry VIII. encountered an equally noble body of clergy, we had been spared the memorable and deplorable schism of our own country.

On the 18th of June, a concordat was concluded with the court of Rome, in virtue of which the episcopal theological seminaries were again opened, and the bishops set at liberty to provide at their own discretion for the instruction of the pupils.

Such continued to be the aspect of affairs, when the subject of public instruction was threatened to be again mooted in the chambers in the month of November, 1829. The king had been requested to withdraw the decrees, against which the Catholics remonstrated, but could not bring himself to make any material concession. He consented however to the bishops again opening their smaller seminaries. When, at length, civil and religious discontent had reached so great a height as to break out in the Revolution of 1830, which led to the entire banishment of the Nassau dynasty, the election of the present sovereign, Leopold, and the formation of a constitutional monarchy, of which the equal liberty of all creeds and religious communities is the basis. Leopold was enthroned at Brussels on the 21st of July, in 1831, and in 1833 had to sustain a campaign against a large and well disciplined Dutch army, with which William invaded the country, an invasion which would have terminated fatally to the independence of the new kingdom, had not the French army come to its rescue.

From this short survey of the policy of the Dutch government, it is easy to see that the Catholics of Belgium were taught by a painful experience, the practical lesson which the Catholics of every other part of Europe must sooner or later learn, viz., that in the present aspect of political affairs, the Catholic religion depends in an especial degree for its maintenance and propagation, on the independent efforts of the Catholic body itself in each nation. The old alliance of the civil and ecclesiastical estates has been in point of fact dissolved; and by virtue of the prevalent doctrines of liberty for all creeds and religious communities, as long as they may last, the

Catholic Church will find herself without civil embargo upon her efforts, free to work out the divine mission for the salvation of souls in the next life, and the remedy of social evils and disorders in this. *This liberty*, therefore, is a precious talent which must be turned to its account before it be taken away.

The activity with which the episcopate set themselves to embrace the opportunity thus afforded them by the constitution of their country, of proving the inherent power of the Catholic Faith to maintain and propagate itself, has been judged so creditable to their own zeal and to that of their people, as to have merited to be set forth as an example worthy of being followed by the prelates of Ireland in the rescript of the present reigning Pontiff, which was last year addressed to the archbishops of that country.

It will not be necessary to extend our account beyond the mere recapitulation of the steps taken by the bishops of Belgium for the re-establishment of a Catholic university, these being but matters in the ordinary way of ecclesiastical business. The sterling importance of the event is the example contained in it of energy and wisdom in the heart of the Catholic body, seizing the favourable occasion to put the internal resources of the Catholic religion into play for the wants and needs of its own members. It is the example of a Catholic people acting, whilst others talk and jar with each other, who, instead of being buried in divisions and mutual suspicions, or in lukewarm timidity and vague apprehensions of creating unnecessary labour, set to work to provide an excellent instruction for themselves, and to exhibit the instructive fact to other states, that the Catholic religion has not only charms for men of learning and genius; but, possessing such men, knows how to employ their gifts for the social benefits of the whole body. How much have we Catholics of her majesty's dominions to learn from the study of such an example!

In 1833, in answer to an application to Rome, the bishops received a brief from Gregory XVI. empowering them to erect an university. This was followed in February, 1834, by a circular of the archbishops and bishops to the clergy and people, setting forth the advantages that would accrue from possessing a Catholic university, now that general freedom of instruction was secured by the constitution, and requiring them to make collections in their parishes for its foundation. And on the 10th of June,

1834, the decree for its erection was published, signed by all the bishops of Belgium.

The following account of the inauguration of the new university, which for a short time had its seat at Mechlin, is taken from the "Acta Academica."

"The 4th of November 1834, the bells rang early in the morning, as they had done the evening before, to announce the solemnity. At half-past nine the Rector* Magnificus and the professors, went in a body to the palace of the Archbishop. About ten o'clock the most illustrious prelate, the Archbishop, accompanied on the right by the Rector, and followed by the Vice Rector and other professors, walked to the Cathedral, in which were already assembled the Canons, the Clergy, and the Magistracy of the town, and other distinguished persons. The most illustrious and reverend Archbishop, vested in full pontificals, entoned the hymn *Veni Creator*; and when this was sung, he gave from his throne, to the Venerable Canon Gennè, his secretary, the decree for the restoration of the University, that it might be read aloud, and after its being read he committed it, accompanied with a short address, to the Rector. The Pontifical Mass then began, and after the Gospel had been sung the Rector preached. The Mass being terminated, the *Te Deum* was sung, and the Archbishop having spent the usual time in prayer, returned to his own palace about half-past twelve."

The day after the professors commenced their courses, which comprised in the beginning only the two faculties of theology and philosophy. In April, 1835, a third joint circular was addressed by all the bishops to their clergy, to obtain collections for the support of the university.

On December the first, 1835, a pontifical high mass was celebrated by the archbishop, in the collegiate church of St. Peter in Louvain, on the occasion of the installation of the university in Louvain, its ancient seat, the authorities of the town having entered into a compact with the university to cede to them four of the ancient colleges, the halls, and various other privileges.

Thus was the Catholic university of Louvain, after a period of thirty-eight years of suppression, restored, to the great joy of the few survivors who were spared to witness the fulfilment of hopes so long delayed. And through the zeal of the exemplary prelates, the university, by the time of its removal to Louvain, had obtained the two additional faculties of medicine and jurisprudence.

* The ancient title of the Rector of Louvain.

The university has now a body of between 700 and 800 students, and numbers the ablest and most distinguished men of Belgium among its professors. There are four colleges where students are received, and where they are under a salutary discipline: 1st, for the faculty of theology, 2nd, for medicine, 3rd, philosophy, and the fourth for the earlier branches of education. Those students who live in the town in lodgings, are strictly forbidden to keep late hours, and to be absent from their homes after ten o'clock; and the whole body of students presents a striking contrast to the lawless aspect of things in a German university, a result due to the maintenance of a vigilant and salutary discipline. The statutes of the old university have been revived, with such modifications as were found necessary for an altered state of society; and the old and significant ceremonial for the conferring of degrees, together with many other noble customs of the olden time, are still in vigour.

M. Casimir Ubaghs, the President of the college of theology, has become eminent as a writer on philosophy, and the faculty of theology possesses in all its branches, men remarkable for their learning and ability as instructors. Where all is so excellent it would be invidious to particularize; nevertheless, the course of Professor Tits as the work of an original mind and a keen reasoner, and from its eminently practical bearing upon living principles of error, as current in Germany and elsewhere, could not be passed by without a notice. This course, which will be published when it has received its author's finishing revision, occupies nearly seven years, and consists of four parts.

I. Part. Philosophical, (or, an introduction to the study of general dogmatic theology.)

1 section. A historical review of the principal systems of modern philosophy.

2 section. An exposition of the principles of a true christian philosophy.

II. Part. Treats of the doctrines of natural religion, for two similar sections.

III. Part. Treats of the Christian Religion.

1 section. Historical. The books of the New and Old Testament, and the fragments of the true tradition subsisting in the pagan literature, &c.

2 section. Philosophical. The reasonableness and fitness of the Christian Religion.

IV. Part. Catholic Demonstration.

Historical section takes a view of the substance of the doctrine of the principal Fathers and modern Catholic Apologists, and gives a history of the developement of the Protestant principle into the Rationalism of Germany.

Philosophical section. An exposition of the principles of Catholic *belief* and knowledge, and their reasonableness; or, the doctrine of the institution of the Church explained.

The students of the faculty of theology are principally composed of such as are chosen from the episcopal seminaries, on account of their distinguished abilities, to pursue in the higher branches of theology, a deeper course of study than what is taught in the seminaries. Consequently, according to Solomon's maxim, “*cum sapiente graderis et sapiens eris,*” the Theological College of Louvain in the society of its members, as well as in the kindness of its professors, and the vicinity of a most extensive library, offers every advantage that the theological student ought to desire; to which may be added, that the necessary expenses of a student are exceedingly moderate, and the habits of the students themselves highly frugal and exemplary.

Would that we could look forward to the time when the zeal of the Catholics of Great Britain shall become such as to bring forth fruit similar to this.—However, a good university is the work of time and grace, and cannot be called into being by any human fiat. It would be an idle dream to expect any such thing at once; yet at least this one eminently practical lesson may be learned—that when the Church obtains perfect freedom from the temporal power, to put forth her resources for the work of instruction, which is her proper work by a divine charter, she is bound to seize the favourable moment and set to work. In whatever way or form it may present itself, her work is ever one of active unceasing instruction, and active unceasing labour to put to rights the disorders of society, and to remedy the evils to which it is subject, and from which it suffers. England, at this moment in particular, is crying in every part of the kingdom for persons qualified and able

to instruct and to lead a well disposed and enquiring population to the knowledge of the Catholic Faith; to teach them to abhor those vices, to which for want of instruction and warning they fall an easy prey. In a word, our need on all hands, is for an exemplary clergy to win and to teach the people. But this clergy, we need not say, will not fall from the skies; they must be gathered from the ranks of the people placed in seminaries, patiently and vigilantly taught. And to this end our seminaries are not fully adequate. Now at least if we are not in a condition at once to follow the example of Belgium, let us all embrace with one heart and soul the principle from which it has flowed, viz. that the propagation and maintenance of the Catholic Faith, in an age that clamours for universal civil liberty, looks to the zeal and activity of her own children, and depends upon her own internal resources, and her own inherent powers. Oppression and contempt has not been our lot so long without leaving its baneful effects behind. But now the day of favour and mercy is coming, and it is our bounden duty not to let it pass by. Education, in all its forms, is now our great work. External peace and freedom of action is ours: we have the divine word saying, "Go ye and teach." What then do we want? An increase of zeal and of the love of God.

- ART. III.—1. *Oestreich's Befreiungstage! oder der 13, 14, und 15 März, 1848 in Wien. (The Liberation Days of Austria, or the 13th, 14th, and 15th of March in Vienna.)* Vienna, 1848.
- 2.—*Wider Seine Schein-heiligkeit Papst Pius den IX., und fur das Verheirathen der Katholischen Geistlichen. (Against his seeming Holiness Pope Pius IX., and for the Marriage of the Catholic Clergy.)* Vienna, 1848.
- 3.—*Die Pressfreiheit und das Pressgesetz, Von Dr. J. U. BERGER. (The Liberty of the Press, and a Law for the Press, by Dr. J. U. BERGER.)* Vienna, 1848.
- 4.—*Ueber Pressfreiheit und Pressgesetze fur Oesterreich, von J. G. NEUMANN. (The Liberty of, and Laws affecting the Press in Austria, by J. G. NEUMANN.)* Vienna, 1848.
- 5.—*Unsere Gegenwart, von CAMEO. (Our Present Position, by CAMEO.)* Vienna, 1848.

- 6.—*Der rechte Augenblick, von CAMEO. (The right Moment, by CAMEO.)* Vienna, 1848.
- 7.—*Was ist, and was enthält eine Constitution? Von EMERICH, von LEGRADY. (What is a Constitution, and what is comprehended by it?)* by E. von LEGRADY.) Vienna, 1848.
- 8.—*Des Constitutionellen Oesterreichers politischer katechismus. (The Political Catechism of a Constitutional Austrian.)* Vienna, 1848.

IN the month of September, and in the year 1838, the writer of this article was present in the cathedral of Milan when the brows of Ferdinand, emperor of Austria, were bound with the iron crown of Italy, as supreme sovereign of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. Ten years had not passed away, although their course was nearly completed, when the same writer stood on the ramparts of Vienna, and saw the revolted, or rather revolutionized subjects of the same emperor, with arms in their hands, practising the trade of soldiers, and as civic recruits reviewed by a field-marshal of the empire. At that moment the soldiers of the emperor had been driven from Milan, and the emperor himself was contemplating a flight to Innspruck from the citizens of Vienna.

The coronation of Ferdinand at Milan, was not a mere emblem of the downfall of the French principles that had at one time prevailed in Lombardy; it was a fact which every concurrent circumstance corroborated—not less proved by the fifteen thousand Austrian troops, who were reviewed in front of the Porta Orientale, than it was testified in the loyalty, the love, and affectionate demonstrations of the people towards every member of the imperial family, with the exception of the archduchess-empress, Maria Louisa, whose presence upon that, as upon every other occasion of a similar kind, proved that her attachment was with her family, and never had been with that gigantic parvenu to whom a political necessity had wedded her. The coronation at Milan, and under the same sacred roof where Napoleon had been crowned, was not less a demonstrative proof of the annihilation of the usurper, than the review of the national guard of Vienna by field-marshall Hoyos, was incontrovertible evidence, that the lustre of the imperial diadem had been dimmed by coming in contact with the rude hands of insurgent citizens.

Of all the revolutions of modern times, the most important as well as the most interesting, the most strange as

well as the most unexpected, was that which took place in Vienna in its "three days of March" of the present year.

Paris made vacant with a brief struggle the crown of an usurper ; Berlin relied more upon its arms than the word of its monarch, and therefore it had a blood-stained revolution ; but Austria, whose sovereigns have ever had loving subjects, destroyed in a moment a system which had been settled for ages, and that required all the sagacity of the wisest statesman of the century to preserve in its pristine strength, when the customs, manners, and even thoughts of all other portions of Europe were undergoing a change.

Austria was revolutionized because the sovereign of Austria preferred the lives of the citizens of Vienna to his own prerogatives, and because he willingly sacrificed his interests to their wishes. What a pity it is that the people did not prove themselves more worthy of so good a king, or that they should have so conducted themselves as to afford to future tyrants the pretence for affirming, that it is more prudent for a sovereign to resist than to yield to popular demands, that the revolted subject cannot safely be treated with tenderness, and that there is danger to the monarch who concedes what is just, when the concession may appear as a submission made from fear, and not from the conviction that it has been too long refused.

There is much instruction for the rulers and the ruled in the history of the revolution of Vienna ; but the attention which the event merits has not been bestowed upon it, because there was not much blood shed on the occasion. Its apparent peacefulness has doomed it to an undeserved obscurity ; for the readers of English journals are in one respect like to the readers of the French feuilletons—they take no pleasure in perusing over details which are not dabbled with human gore ; they regard that as a dull political event which narrates nothing more than the parental virtues of a monarch ; they wish for accounts of battles, they revel in a carnage, they are only contented when they have before them the most minute particulars of a popular massacre, like that of Paris last June. Their hero is a Robespierre or a Cavaignac, and their favourite author the "great unknown," who does "executions" for the morning papers !

All that a nation could demand, all that a people could require, all that a monarch could concede, except his crown, were not merely yielded, but bestowed upon his

subjects by the Austrian emperor. He gave all these, on condition that he should obtain peace—that the rights of others should be respected—that the power yielded to the populace should not be exercised for the purposes of persecution. The conditions were not fulfilled—the violators of the compact were the enfranchised populace. Those who had been apparently contented, and certainly were tranquil, when they had neither liberty of speech, nor freedom of the press, nor trial by jury, nor a constitution, became riotous, discontented, persecuting, tyrannical—rebellious even in their bearing to their sovereign. These are strange facts—they are not creditable to the subjects of the Austrian emperor; but still they can be accounted for, and an explanation of them may tend to make us wiser—perhaps better men.

What we have to state may not be popular, but it is true, and therefore deserves to be known.

There was a time when the fault to be remarked in literary men, was, that they flattered kings, and shrank from the exposure of their vices. Modern literature errs in the opposite way. It flatters popular passions, and succumbs to popular prejudices, and is reluctant to laud kings, when those kings are so far removed, that they may be equally unconscious of what is, to them, alike useless praise and ineffective censure.

Having no object in view but the promotion of the cause of truth, and no purpose to serve but in its promulgation, we wish now to draw the attention of the reader to the most remarkable of all the wonderful revolutions of the year 1848—the Viennese Revolution of March—its causes and its consequences. *The latter we have seen*, not merely in Vienna, but in Berlin, in Prague, and in the metropolis of the German parliament, Frankfort-on-the-Main. When we know why revolutionary liberty has not given peace in Vienna, we have the explanation afforded why revolutionary liberty has not diffused the blessings of peace, contentment, and happiness, in any part of Germany.

The form of government that prevailed in all parts of Germany, previous to the revolutions of 1848, was that which can alone be designated a pure despotism. Each sovereign, whether kaiser, king, or grand duke, was, in strict accordance with Doctor Donnegan's definition of the word *Δεσποτης*, “one who rules as a master over his slave

with uncontrolled power.”* As it is not permitted to the slave to murmur against his master—as the slave is not permitted to hold any species of property, but with the approval or connivance of his master—as the slave is not permitted to depart from the farm which he cultivates, or the burgh he inhabits, but with the sanction of his master—so were the Germans treated, and so ruled by their several governments; and therefore the liberty of speech, the freedom of the press, the enjoyment of property, and even the capability of locomotion were restrained or enlarged, modified or abolished, in accordance with the will of the rulers, and not because it was either admitted or supposed that there was an inherent right in the ruled to exercise as they wished, such privileges. The despotism might be, as it was in many places, a mild despotism, or it might be a harsh, cruel, teasing, and pedantic despotism as it was in Prussia; but in the former cases it was mild, because the despot chose to make concessions; or it was a harsh despotism, because the despot chose to strain his power to its utmost limits: “Alii enim liberiori, alii adstrictiori nexu obligantur.”† In Germany, where the name of “slave,” as applied to a degraded race of men, first originated,‡ the harshness of slavery has been for the longest period most rigidly maintained, even though its bitterness might occasionally be disguised beneath the forms and the courtesies of civilized society. It was easily perceptible in the uncompensated and forced labour of the peasant, although it might not, at first sight, be distinguished in the towns, in such places, for instance, as Vienna, which, so long back as the year 1230, was recognized by Frederick II., as a permissible home or refuge for runaway serfs and slaves.

* Greek and English Lexicon, p. 407. Edition 1842.

† Potgessier, *De Statu Servorum*, Lib. v. c. ii. p. 824.

‡ The Slavi first defeated by Charlemagne, were subsequently conquered by Otho, Henry the Lion, and Albert the Bear, and such numbers dispersed as slaves over the different parts of Germany, that the name which first distinguished a nation, at length was used as the denomination of class. The proofs are afforded by Potgessier that it was the practice amongst the ancients, both Greeks and Romans, to retain the name with their slaves of the nations to which those slaves had formerly belonged. See Potgessier “de variis servorum speciebus eorumque nomibus,” in “*Statu Servorum*,” Lib. i. c. iv. p. 286. note b.

It was in Vienna that despotism was to be found in its most agreeable form, and slavery in its least repulsive aspect ; for there the despotism was, in fact, that of a truly kind, tender-hearted, and affectionate sovereign ; it might be termed that which is an indispensable despotism; the despotism of a good father over a large family of children, as yet incapable of guiding and governing themselves.

"In short," (says a modern traveller who visited Vienna when it was thought the system he described was to be for ever preserved,) "there is not the slightest appearance of despotism, save the censorship and the unjust restrictions on foreign literature, together with the rigour with which political babblers are punished. The code of laws deserves the most attentive study ; impartial justice between man and man is its distinguishing feature, and mercy characterises all its enactments ; hence, the punishment of death is only inflicted in aggravated cases of murder. The fine arts, commerce and agriculture, are encouraged ; the landsman is rich, and the peasant can live comfortably ; the taxes are moderate, property is protected by the strong arm of government, and crime, in its revolting forms, is nearly unknown. In short, the whole legislative system tends to the maintenance of public order, and the most paternal solicitude is constantly manifested for the comfort and happiness of the public. However, we must admit that the exterior forms are but little calculated to please the passing stranger ; the system of espionage, which places every traveller on his arrival under the surveillance of the police ; the list of tiresome queries he is obliged to answer, such as, 'What is his object in travelling ? How long he intends to remain ? If he has sufficient fortune to support himself ? If he has letters of recommendation ? and to whom ? His profession ? Religion,' &c. The search after books, papers, &c., through his baggage : the despotic manner in which they are seized and read ; and then, if found to contain anything that the chef de police may deem revolutionary, the unlucky owner is conducted most unceremoniously across the frontier : the repeated demands for his passport, and a hundred similar disagreeables, all tend to impress the traveller with the conviction that he has entered a country groaning beneath the iron rod of despotism ; let him, however, patiently surmount these obstacles, and establish a character as a good citizen, who has not the most remote intention of attempting to subvert the established order of things, and every annoyance will disappear, and he may afterwards live quite as free under the despotic rule of Austria, as in the home of liberty itself, old England ; he may become a member of club-houses, in which the liberal papers of France and England are allowed admission. During my residence, I have frequently had liberal publications transmitted to me without being once opened by the police. However, I would recommend every

traveller to beware of conversing on politics, people consider their own affairs of paramount importance to those of the state!

"Notwithstanding the mild paternal character of the Austrian government, still the idea of being subject to the unlimited control of one man, whose humanity is the sole guarantee against tyranny, is but ill-calculated to satisfy the independent spirit who has once enjoyed the proud privilege of being free. It cannot be denied that the influence of public opinion in Austria, controls despotism, and prevents the exercise of atrocious violence against the property or personal freedom of the people; to which may be added, the character of the sovereigns who have been, since the union of the house of Lorraine with that of Hapsburg, distinguished for virtue and patriotism; yet even these are very inefficient substitutes for a representative government, and for the confident assurance that no tyrant dares invade the rights of the humblest individual; for in Austria, as in other despotic countries, not excepting France, a man may be incarcerated for life upon the unsupported testimony of some designing villain, without the power of demanding a public trial."*

It might be easy to show that the Germans in former times enjoyed more of legislative, or, in modern parlance, of *constitutional* power, than has been permitted to them for many years, or rather centuries; † whilst, at the same time, the great body of the people in ancient, as well as modern times, have been slaves. "Liberti non multum supra servos sunt." † "Adhuc hodie in Cathedris juridicis quæritur: an homines proprii, die *Leibeigene*, in Deutschland sint servi? quod idem est ac si quærerem an ensis sit gladius, cum æque servus, et homo propius in significatū juris gentium sint synonymi." §

* Spencer's Germany and the Germans, vol. ii. p. 163-165. London, 1836.

† Tacitus, de Morib. Germ. §. 11, 12, 13, 22. Lex consensu populi fit, et constitutione Regis." Carolus Calvus in Edicto Pistenti. "Denn, wenn Sie" (die freyen Leute) auch keinen so starken Einfluss in die Berathschlagungen selbst hatten, so war doch ihre Beystimmung nothwendig." Schmidt's Geschichte der Deutschen, B. 3. c. x. vol. i. pp. 532, 533. note y. See Ermold. Nigell. Carm. de Gest. Ludov. Lib. i. 113, 119.

‡ Tacitus, de Morib. Germ. §. 25.

§ Thomasius, de Jure dandæ civitatis, §. 32. as quoted by Biot, Part. 5. c. 2. p. 363. The word "Lidus, Leud, or Latt means" says Schmidt, "any one who has a lord, or master," and in another pas-

We may not deem it to be necessary to enter into an analysis of the ancient liberties of Germans, although the point is one that cannot have escaped the consideration of their statesmen or their legislators. Those who seek to imitate ancestors by their customs—vile as some of these were—such, for instance, as that of intoxication ; and dangerous as others must be, as, for example, the effort to defy by the willing exposure of their bodies to all the rigours of a German winter,—are persons who can never be forgetful that they are the children of the Suevi.* Our main purpose is with the recent condition of Germany when that was disturbed, or, more properly speaking, destroyed by the revolution of March.

Vienna, the ancient Castra Flaviana, the capital of the heir to the Holy Roman Empire, was apparently in a state of perfect repose at the commencement of the present year. It was the abode of the best of emperors, the wisest of politicians—of the very Nestor of statesmen—of the greatest diplomatist of any age, or any country—Prince Metternich. Its new-year's-day (a Viennese festival) was a day of tumultuous joy ; its hours seemed to be marked by processions of mighty magnates, whose costly garments were decorated with jewels sufficiently rich and rare to be worth large lands and treasures of gold—its people were never more vivacious ; its waltzes never more untiring, and from the mechanic to the emperor but one wish could have been expressed, viz., that such happy days might continue for ever. If the thought of another revolution in Paris

sage he observes, “between such, the Liden, and the Coloni, or peasantry (bauern) there was little distinction, theirs was an intermediate condition between freedom and slavery.” *Geschichte der Deutschen*, vol. I. pp. 544, 545. But persons in this condition often were permitted to exercise greater power than those of free or noble birth. “*Super ingenuos et, super nobiles ascendunt.*” Tacitus. *Germ.* §. 25. At length services which it was the office of slaves to discharge, came to be regarded and treated as dignities even by independent princes : thus the Elector of Bohemia was arch cup-bearer of the holy Roman empire, the Elector of Bavaria arch-steward, &c. See *Ducange*, in verb. *domesticus*, and *Rer. Gall et Franc. Script.* vol. iv. p. 477. notes, g to l.

* See Cæsar de Bell. Gall. Lib. iv. c. 2. In this chapter is depicted the same species of gymnastic exercise, which is now practised by the modern *Turners* in all parts of Germany.

crossed the mind of any one, it would have been as vain to speak of it, and thereby to excite apprehension as to the stability of Metternich, as to warn a fair lady, who was about to take part in a quadrille at Almacks, of the instability of human life, because Lisbon might be visited with another earthquake! In both cases the danger would be regarded distant if it did occur, and improbable if it might ever occur. In either case, alike out of the sphere of a happy Viennese, whose well-supplied table displayed the wines of Hungary, the sea-fish of Trieste, and the fatted fowl of Styria. What had the merry-maker of Vienna on the "*Neujahrstag*" to do with a revolution in Paris, when he was aware that all the evil consequences of the last had been evaded by lowering the price of provisions? that with a plentiful meal for the poorest man in the empire, the propagandists of Paris who had ventured to show themselves in Vienna

"Were obliged to make a speedy retreat, after being kicked out of all the coffee-houses, the beer-houses, and wine-shops in the metropolis; and nothing was heard in the streets but loud vivats, and the people singing the national anthem,—

"—Gott erhalte Franz, den kaiser,
Unsern guten kaiser Franz."*

To express then an apprehension on new-year's-day, 1848, of a revolution in France, when Louis Philippe had incarcerated Paris within a continuous line of bastiles, or to suppose that a French revolution could penetrate the palace-gemmed suburbs of Vienna, and front Prince Metternich himself in the Josephs-Platz, would be as stupid, as improper, and as nonsensical, as to talk of growing pine-apples in Siberia! The iron railroad might have been permitted to span the Danube, because it was grateful to the Viennese to see, and advantageous to them to use; but for a Gallic revolution to explode within hearing of the Aulic chancery, was deemed to be not less impossible than improbable. And yet this perfect confidence in the future might, judging from the past, have well been felt. It did not seem misplaced, even though there were dark clouds louring over every part of Europe, from the bay of Naples to the bay of Dublin—even though there was to be found either in the heart of every empire some fierce and efferves-

* Spencer's *Germany and the Germans*, vol. ii. p. 161.

cent nationality determined to burst forth ; the Sicilian from the Neapolitan, the Sclavonic from the German, the Celt from the Saxon, the Pole from the Russian, the Italian from the Teutonic—or, that the furious passions of infidelity were aroused, and raging to glut themselves in the persecution of the pious, as in Switzerland—or, that the brave and the lovers of truth, freedom, religion, and legitimate monarchy, were writhing beneath the oppressions of ruthless tyrants, who called themselves “Constitutionalists,” or, of church robbers who dignified themselves with the title of “liberals,” as in France, and Spain, and Portugal.

In every country events afforded the assurance that continued quiescence was impossible, change certain, and revolution not impracticable. But one empire seemed to be assured against the common danger from without, and that was Austria ; but one city safe from internal commotion, and that was Vienna. Fenced round by the policy of Metternich, the loyal subjects of Ferdinand might feel with respect to the efforts of republican propagandists, as the citizens of Tyre once felt, when they looked with haughty contempt upon the soldiers of Alexander, busily engaged upon constructing in deep sea water a mole whereby it was hoped to overcome them in their otherwise impregnable position :—“interrogabant etiam num major Neptuno esset Alexander.”*

How then came it to pass, that if France gave the signal for revolution in February, Vienna should have been in March *the city* which should demonstrate not merely to Germany, but to every part of the world, that revolution was practicable wherever a sufficient number of persons could be collected together who were tired of the existing state of things, and who saw in a change the chance, if not the certainty, of improving their condition ? From the days of Catiline to the present, there have ever been found ready propagandists of revolution : “incerta pro certis, bellum quam ‘pacem malebant.’”† But in Vienna, the marvel is how such a class of persons should so far predominate, as eventually to win for themselves the mastery over a metropolis, in which previously they did not appear

* Q. Curtius. Lib. iii. c. 2.

† Sallust. Cat. c. 17.

to exist? The question is an interesting one, and because we believe it to be pregnant with instruction, we shall endeavour to give to it an explanation, which, to be fully comprehensible, must enter into a good many details.

There are two important facts to be borne in mind with regard to the Viennese Revolution. The first fact is, that the revolution never could have been successful if the emperor Ferdinand had firmly determined to prefer his own authority to the lives of his subjects,—that at the time he yielded, he had at his command an army which could have crushed (and that, too, in the course of a few hours) the efforts of the insurgents,—that he might have slaughtered them if he chose to do so,—that he voluntarily yielded when he had the power to resist, and that he did so solely because he would not stain his prerogatives by the effusion of blood,—that the lives of his people were more dear to him than his own crown.

This is the first fact which the reader should bear in mind, although the ungrateful Viennese have acted as if utterly forgetful of it.

The second fact, and it is one not less important than the first, is, that Vienna has been afflicted with the mania of a revolution, because in its enjoyment of all the pleasures of this life, it has been forgetful of the blessings of the next,—because, although nominally Catholic, it has been bound but by the slightest ties to the chair of St. Peter, the pope's Bull, in accordance with the *Placitum Regium*, being no better than a passport, and requiring the *vise* of a policeman to give it validity in Austria;* because, indulging in sensuality, it has regarded with an evil eye those great monastic orders, which are great by reason of their members being living examples of the mortification of the senses,—because the past history of the Germanic empire, of which Vienna is the capital, is degraded by many persecutions of many noble pious pontiffs,—because modern history shows that the worst persecutor of monks and Jesuits, was one who was himself a citizen of Vienna—Joseph II., Emperor of Germany.

The decrees of Joseph II.—the imperial citizen of Vienna—striking down and spoliating the religious orders in all parts of his dominions, were worse than the worst of

* See "Report from Select Committee on Regulation of Roman Catholic Subjects in Foreign States." p. 7. and appendix, p. 74-120.

the “diabolica capitula” of his predecessor Louis;* for Joseph suppressed not less than three hundred religious houses; abolished, with the exception of some five or six, the diocesan seminaries; permitted that which the church will never allow, divorce between those who are married in accordance with the canons; robbed the monasteries of their libraries;† and filled with dismay and horror, wherever his sacrilegious hand could reach, every pious community in the empire. Terrible, by his desecration of the sanctuary, he was contemptible even in the beggarly minuteness with which he sought to carry it into effect. Schismatic and heretical in his dealings with the Pope and the Church, he reckoned the candles on the altar, and prescribed the number that should be lighted at each particular service!‡ The pupil of a Jansenist, and a disciple of “the philosophers,” he was, in fact, a demonstrator to the nascent atheists of the French Revolution, of how much mischief may be done to the Church of God by any impious man who has at his command a large array of temporal power. The example he afforded was imitated; the tyranny which revolutionizes all things to gratify its own passions or prejudices, taught by the emperor, was practised by the convention, and to him beyond all others—to him far more than to Voltaire, or Rousseau, or the Encyclopedists, or to Mirabeau, or Danton, or Marat, are we to trace the worst deeds of the first French revolution. *His reforms were their precedents*, and in carrying them out, in unfixing men’s minds, and in unsettling the established order of

* See Annal. Berlin, ad an. 814, in Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script. vol. vii. pp. 85, 86, and that paragraph especially, in p. 86, commencing, “Imperator post paucos dies, patratis a comitatu suo multis deprædationibus.”

† See a most valuable article on the Bollandists, in Duffy’s Irish Catholic Magazine, No. xvii. p. 123.

‡ “Niet alleen vernietigde hy de broederschappen, verminderde hy het getal der feest-dagen en der processien; maer zelfs schreef hy wetten voor op het getal der Missen, op de manier van naer den middag het lof te doen, en op het getal der keersen, welke in den Godsdienst mogten branden.” Smet, *De Roomsche-Catholyke Religie in Brabant*, p. 302. For a full account of the religious persecution and spoliations of Joseph II, in the Netherlands, see same vol. pp. 301, 328.

things,* he not only helped to bring his sister to the scaffold, but he taught the world that there are times when insurrection becomes a virtue, and when the rebel's doom may also be a crown of martyrdom; as, for instance, when heretical kings persecute the faith, and compel their subjects, as he did the men of the Low Countries, to choose between their allegiance to their sovereign and their God, and to shake from them the former, in order that they may save themselves from the sin of schism. †

The decapitation of Marie Antoinette, the defeats of Austerlitz, and of Wagram, the degradation of the marriage of Maria Louisa with an arrant political imposter, were some of the immediate temporal punishments upon the family of "the philosopher and the despot," ‡ who had persecuted the Catholic faith, and who had left to kings and nations alike his evil example and his perverse teaching.

The lectures of Joseph's favoured professor, Stoëger—lectures that inculcated principles adverse to those of the Catholic church—have produced their fruits in the university of Vienna, where they were first delivered, § and we shall soon see some of their results.

We have, however, now stated, as we conceive, sufficient to show, before entering upon a narrative of the events at Vienna in March, the necessity and importance of bearing in mind these two facts; first, that no revolution could have taken place if the emperor had not preferred the lives of his subjects to his own privileges; secondly, that previous to that revolution, and disposing them to it, the minds of many persons in Vienna, as well as in other parts of the

* "Ce fut la principale faute de Joseph celle qui le fit passer pour tyrannique aux yeux du public, et il faut convenir que c'est violer en quelque sorte le droit des gens, que de vouloir changer les coutumes consacrees par la proscription et par l'usage, à moins qu'on ne le fasse d'accord avec la nation." Life of Joseph ii, by his panegyrist Caraccioli, as quoted by Feller, vol. xi. p. 313. Edit. 1836.

† Smet, De Roomsch-Catholyke Religie in Brabant, pp. 326, 327.

‡ "Joseph était philosophe dans ses opinions et despote dans sa conducte." Revue Chronologique de l'Histoire de France, p. 72. ad an. 1790.

§ Smet, de Roomsch-Catholyke Religie &c. pp. 311, 312.

Austrian dominions, had been infected with irreligious notions, so that, whilst indulging their own passions, they were strongly inclined to persecute those religious orders, who deny themselves every worldly solace in order that they may the better devote themselves to the salvation of their fellow creatures.

Guided by the knowledge of these two facts, we shall be the better able to understand both the progress of events at the Revolution, as well as those which subsequently occurred.

An assembly of the states of Lower Austria had been summoned to Vienna by the emperor. The day fixed for its meeting, was the 13th of March, and three days previously, the members of "the Trades' Union," or "Operatives' Association" at Vienna, had determined upon presenting an address to the states, begging of them to ask the emperor to make the following concession: first, an immediate publication of the income and expenditure of the state; secondly, a general and periodical assembly of all the nations of the empire, as well as of the various classes and interests through representatives, to whom should be entrusted the voting of taxes, with controul over the finances, and a participation in the making of laws, (*Theilnahme an der Gesetzgebung*); thirdly, a law by which might be determined the liberty as well as punished offences of the press; fourthly, publicity of trials, as well as in affairs of the government; fifthly, a law for the regulation of municipalities, by which the interests of agriculture, industry, trade, and commerce, might be represented.

Such were the *popular demands*, and if these were conceded, it was to be expected that the Viennese would be contented. Such, at least, was the promise made when the Address, with some thousands of signatures, was delivered for presentation on the 11th of March.

On the 12th, the students of the university held a meeting, in which a petition, containing the same requests, was agreed to. An effort was made to dissuade these young persons from taking any part in politics. It was made in vain, for not only did they persevere in their intention; but, becoming excited by the opposition offered to them, they declared their determination to go in public procession the next day with their petition.

At this time there were in Vienna, or bivouacked around

its walls, an army of 18,000 men, the very flower, it might be said, of one of the finest armies in the world, a body of men completely devoted to the emperor and his family. These soldiers had been so collected by order of Prince Metternich, who had seen from the first the agitation that prevailed, and who had thus prepared the means of overawing and suppressing it. How his policy was defeated is easily explained.

On the morning of the 13th, the soldiers were in marching order, and prepared, as well as willing, to act in any emergency in which their services might be required. The students, however, carried into effect the determination they had expressed. A body of them, numbering in all four thousand youths, marched from the university to the assembly house, and were accompanied by an immense multitude, so that, in a short time, the court of the assembly house, the street in front, as well as all the streets approaching to it, were filled with a dense mass of persons, especially of the working classes. Whilst a deputation of the students proceeded to present the petition, some of their members began addressing the mob outside; and as their speeches were not interrupted, all the streets adjoining were supplied with extemporary orators, so that there were appeals to the passions of the listeners going on at the same time in various streets and squares; and, at last, bolder propositions were made in words than had been expressed in writing. The spirit of the bravest man may be quelled in solitary confinement; but amid the excitement of a sympathising multitude, a craven may assume the demeanour of a hero, and make demands when he has the voices of thousands to echo his sentiments, which he would repudiate if required to give expression to them when alone. And so it happened on this occasion. Those who had approached the assembly of the states to support by their presence the petitions in the Address we have already mentioned, were now heard in accordance with the suggestions of the mob-orators, demanding with loud and tumultuous cries "the liberty of the press," "a constitution," "a responsible ministry," "a national guard," "liberty of religious worship, of conscience, of instruction," "publicity of government," "abolition of the secret police," and "the removal of Prince Metternich." It was while this tumultuous scene was passing around the assembly house, that the side doors were, as usual, closed, and

instantly a cry was raised, that the students' deputation had been made prisoners. The mob were appealed to to rescue them, and in a moment afterwards, the doors and windows were dashed in. The riot was, however, for an instant, quelled by the appearance of Count Colloredo-Mansfield, who mentioned that the Popular Address had been received by the states, and by them laid before his majesty, who had promised to take its requests into consideration. This declaration was speedily followed by the appearance of the military, in front of the assembly house. They advanced against the mob, and were driving them back, as a compact mass of disciplined men can always force back a large multitude unacquainted with military manœuvres; they were driving them back without using the least violence, when some of the rabble tore down pieces of wood, and flung them at the staff-officers of the Archduke Albrecht. One of the pieces struck the archduke, and either he himself, or some of the officers around him, (for the fact is not positively known which), indignant at the outrage, gave the word to "fire." The order was obeyed, and five men were shot dead on the instant, and amongst these was the student who had first commenced haranguing the multitude. The mob instantly fled. They attempted to collect together in other parts of the town—in the Judenplatz, Farbergasse, Jordangasse, and Pariser-gasse. In the last-named street they erected a barricade; but there, as well as every other place where they endeavoured to make a stand, they were assailed by the military, and with little trouble, and no loss of life, put to flight.

These events occurred between ten in the morning, and five in the afternoon, when a proclamation appeared, stating, that "lamentable riots had that day interfered with the deliberations of the states of Lower Austria, that these states had expounded to his majesty what were the prayers of the multitude, and that his majesty, upon the assurance that the public peace would be no further disturbed, had consented to have the Address presented to the states subjected to the examination of a committee, and upon the result of that examination his decision would be pronounced."

At this period the fate of the Austrian empire was decided: The city was then occupied by the soldiery. All the public institutions were under their protection; the gates were held by them, and they could have invested the city,

prevented any ingress or egress, and cleared the streets of all disturbers. As soon, however, as the emperor had heard that five or six of his *Viennese* had been shot in the street, and when his ears were filled with the noises caused by the conflict between the soldiery and the multitude, he came to the determination to yield every thing sooner than cause the death of another citizen of Vienna. The friends of the emperor remonstrated; but it was useless to argue with him; his only answer was, "he would have no more bloodshed." The precautions taken by Prince Metternich thus proved of no avail. The will of the emperor was omnipotent for peace—for a concession to the popular demands—for any thing and every thing which might tend to save his people from death by the sword and the cannon. The hands of the military were thus paralyzed; and as their inactivity was speedily noticed, riots burst out afresh, lanterns were broken, sign posts were torn down, and some of the windows of the public buildings smashed in presence of the soldiers. The courage of the students was again aroused, and they determined then, on what they had not previously thought, of dividing themselves into companies, and sending a request to the emperor, that he would permit them to have arms.

By this time, it might be said that the work of the revolution had been accomplished. The soldiers, who had preserved order, were forbidden to interfere further; they were openly insulted by the mob, and were not allowed to resent it. An overwhelming force stood paralyzed in the presence of a comparatively few, who indulged in riots, and excesses of all kinds. The influence of Metternich had ceased, and he then determined on resigning a post which he had long held with honour to himself, benefit to his sovereign, and advantage to the empire. He, whose policy had unthrone Napoleon, was driven from power, office, and imperial dignity, by the tumultuous gathering of beardless boys, and of a ruffian rabble! The administrator who, whatever faults might be found with him by others, was at least worthy of a golden statue in the *latrarium* of his emperor,* was expelled, and his downfall celebrated as a triumph—as if he had been nothing better

* "Imagines eorum aureas in latrario haberet." *Capitolinus*, M. Anton. *Philosop. Hist. August. Script.* vol. i. p. 297.

than a Sejanus. It is not our province to be the panegyrist of Prince Metternich. If we were so, we should only make a vain effort to remove that unpopularity which has long fastened upon his name in this country ; but this we cannot avoid observing, that if we regard him *solely as an Austrian minister*, he extorts our admiration ; because, we must look upon him as one, the main object of whose life was to retain in its integrity the empire of which he was the protector—to preserve in their allegiance the various and hostile nations of which the Austrian empire is composed—to guard his sovereign from hostilities abroad, and the subjects in peace at home—to raise up amongst *the poor* in each particular nation, as contradistinguished from the nobility, the fastest friends to the monarchy—to establish a fallen dynasty, and reorganise a society which had been ruined by wars and foreign invasions ; to save the throne, and to control the disaffected, and to do all this by his own energies, and finally to bring it to perfection by his sole unaided statesmanship. It is but justice to a fallen minister to refer to these facts ; and our excuse for doing so is, that we will not follow the example of the mob of authors, who have no words of praise but for the unfortunate, and who are ever ready to detract from the merits of those who have been defeated : “non enini, ego id faciam, quod plerique scriptores solent, ut de his detrahant qui victi sunt.”* There are passages in the political career of Prince Metternich to be disapproved of ; there are others, which, if they cannot be explained,—such, for instance, as the massacres at Gallicia—that are deserving not merely of condemnation, but of the reprobation of every man, and especially of every Catholic. Considering him, however, *solely* in that light in which we at present desire especially to regard him, we shall find that the peace that prevailed previous to his downfall, and the confusion, tumult, anarchy, and bloodshed, subsequent to that circumstance, are in themselves the best panegyric upon his policy, and the strongest proofs that he was alone fitted, if his advice had been followed, to stem the torrent of events, and to prevent them from overwhelming his sovereign and the empire in one common destruction.

Between the hours of five and nine o'clock on the evening of the 13th of March, the fate of the Austrian

* Lampridius, Anton. Heliogab. Hist. August. Script. vol i. p. 879.

empire was pending upon the discussion that then took place in the palace. It was decided, when the emperor rejected the advice of Prince Metternich, and accepted his resignation.

At nine o'clock it was announced that the emperor had assented to the arming of the citizens and the students, and that Prince Metternich had resigned. This announcement appeared to be the signal, not for peace, but for disorder. It seemed as if all the tutelary deities of the empire had abandoned Vienna when Metternich fled from it :

“ Excessere omnes adytis, arisque relicitis
Dī quibus imperium hoc steterat.”*

In all parts of the suburbs, bands of ruffians were to be found, plundering houses, setting them on fire, robbing the peaceful passengers ; the custom houses were delivered to the flames and destroyed ; the villa of Prince Metternich, and many private as well as public establishments were attacked ; upon the glacis, the gas candelabra were smashed, and the furious jets of flames cast up from the broken columns, caught the adjoining palisades and consumed them ; so that Vienna appeared for a time to be belted round with fire. The iron railings of the Vienna bridges were broken down. Mischief was let loose, and completed the destruction which spoliation and crime had commenced. The revolutionists, who sought but for changes which would be agreeable to themselves, found that they had let loose robbers and villains, who desired to convert to their own pecuniary profit the cessation of that vigilant control which had been hitherto exercised over them. Anarchy prevailed where order had hitherto predominated ; and as the arm of the military had been paralyzed, and as the burgher guard was barely sufficient to protect the inner town from conflagration and robbery, it was necessary to arm the students at once, and send them to the outer town, or suburbs of Vienna, for the purpose of checking outrage. It was about midnight that the students marched out of Vienna, and their numbers were found sufficient, wherever they appeared, to overawe the thieves of the suburbs in their depredations.

On the morning of the 14th of March, there was pub-

* Virgil, *Aeneid.* Lib. ii. 351, 352.

lished a proclamation from the emperor, in which was notified his majesty's permission to the students to arm themselves, and an appeal to the citizens to enrol themselves in the burgher-guard, whilst, at the same time, a request was made to all the owners of houses, fathers of families, masters of factories and workshops, to keep their domestics and operatives within doors, so as to prevent the streets being filled with idle persons.

This proclamation was followed by the distribution of arms, not only to the students, but to all others who notified that they were anxious for the preservation of the peace, by wearing a white band on the arm, or a white cockade in the hat. In the course of a few hours, forty thousand stand of arms were thus distributed; and at eleven o'clock it was declared that the armoury had been exhausted of every warlike weapon, some of these being manifestly arms which had been employed when Vienna had been last besieged by the Turks.

No sooner had the revolutionists obtained possession of arms, than the burgomaster, with a deputation, was sent to the emperor to request his approval to "the establishment of a national guard." The deputation was sent at twelve o'clock, and without waiting for a reply from his majesty, it was notified that the enrolment of the national guard would take place at three o'clock. Such was the occupation of the revolutionists in the city; whilst outside robbery and destruction of property were carried on in a most lamentable manner. The Mariahilfer church and convent were plundered; factories in Miedling, Atzgersdorf, Himberg, &c., were burned to the ground; and although the rioters were offered by the factory owners whatever sums of money they choose to demand to spare the machines, the money was refused, and the machines destroyed; and yet, so capricious were the mob, that whilst they spared the houses of butchers and bakers, who bestowed upon them bread and meat, they invariably tore down the houses, and destroyed every vestige of property of the butcher and baker who presumed to ask the price of his goods from those who had come determined to rob him.*

* "Lætantur prædones, et exultant lictores capta præda: convertuntur vomeres in gladios, et falces in lanceas, non est, qui in latere non deferat chalybem et lapidem in præparationem

At three o'clock, and whilst the citizens were engaged in enrolling themselves as a national guard, there appeared a proclamation from the emperor, some sentences of which are worthy of translation, as demonstrating the opinions of his majesty, and proving that he felt he had been deceived when he had made the concessions previously demanded from him.

"During the commotion of yesterday, certain requests were made to his majesty the emperor, which requests were granted by him, in the settled hope, and in full reliance upon the assurance given to him by the states, the burghers, and the academical senate, that peace and order would thereby be restored, and without having recourse to any further employment for an armed force. To-day other requests are laid before him, and the same assurances are repeated, although affairs are in a still more disturbed condition than they were yesterday.

"The security of the throne must be shaken should his majesty again yield to deceptive hopes. It is impossible in times of excitement, for his majesty to take into consideration, much less to establish institutions suitable to the empire. Hence it is plainly the interest of those who make these requests to maintain the peace, and thus bring themselves nearer to that period of time in which may be granted what is sought for by them."

This proclamation concluded by stating, that for the purpose of maintaining the dignity of the throne, and securing the peace of the city, Field-marshal the Prince de Windischgratz had been appointed to the supreme command over the civil and military authorities, and all were called upon to aid him in the attainment of these objects.

This proclamation was the last appeal made against a violent revolution by the emperor. It was not responded to. On the contrary, a deputation of twelve was sent from the Riding School, where the names of persons disposed to act as a national guard were inscribed, and that deputation was required to see the emperor, and to make these two demands: first, to assent to the institution of a national guard; second, to concede the liberty of the press. Whilst this deputation was absent, violent speeches were delivered, and the effort was made to induce the people to determine upon a revolt, should their requests be refused. The

Prince Windischgratz struggled to the last to induce the emperor to be firm. The mind of his majesty had, however, been shaken, and his nerves shattered by the clamour and the bloodshed of the day before, and by the fires which glared around Vienna during the preceding night. Both requests were granted, and in the evening two proclamations appeared, the first announcing the institution of a national guard for the protection of life and property in Vienna, and also stating that Field-marshal Hoyos had been named commander-in-chief; the second stating that the censorship of the press had been abolished, and that a law for regulating the press would be published as speedily as possible. These proclamations were followed by the announcement that Count Apponi, and the president of the police, Count Sedlnitzky, had resigned.

Within Vienna itself peace was preserved on the night of the 14th, and in the outer city and the suburbs it was secured by the students, who, now that they had obtained arms, made use of them, and wounded or shot down the robbers they encountered. *More persons were slain and maimed by the students than by the soldiers, even when the uproar in Vienna was at its height.**

On the morning of the 15th of March, a proclamation appeared, summoning a meeting of all the states of the empire, of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, as well as of the Germans and Sclavonians, and fixing the place and time of their assembling to be in Vienna of the 3rd of July.

At twelve o'clock on the same day, the emperor, accompanied by the Archduke Francis Charles, and his son, the Archduke Francis Joseph, and unattended even by a single dragoon, appeared in the streets of Vienna. He was received with demonstrations of the most enthusiastic joy. The emperor, unarmed and unprotected, thus appealed to the loyalty of an armed and an excited multitude. They appeared for the moment to be worthy of such a proof of confidence. They wished to remove the horses from his majesty's carriage, and thus draw him in triumph through the city ; and they only abandoned that intention at the special request of the emperor himself.

The emperor had yielded all that had been asked. He

* Oestreich's *Befreiungstage*, p. 54.

now added to these a boon which no one had formerly demanded from him ; for, in a proclamation that appeared at five o'clock the same evening, and which was read in the streets of Vienna by the heralds of the emperor, it was declared that the states were to be summoned from all parts of his empire, for the purpose of bestowing "a Constitution" upon Austria.

We must borrow from an eye-witness and an Austrian, a description of the manner in which the reading of this proclamation by the heralds of the emperor was received :

"It would," says the writer, "be impossible to depict the impression produced upon the public by the bestowal of this completely unexpected gift from the emperor. It is not for the pen to pourtray it, to describe it, to specify it—it was a thing to be *felt*—it was worth a whole life to experience it."

"Scarcely had the word *Constitution* fallen from the lips of the herald, than, like a spark which had fallen on inflammable matter, it kindled up a fire which blazed around on every side. Herald on horseback and on foot, in one hand bearing a white banner, and in the other the beneficent proclamation, and crying out with an untiring voice the words, "*Freedom of the press,*" "*a Constitution,*" rushed through all the streets, through the suburbs, and far and away beyond the outermost lines of Vienna. That single word "*Constitution,*" gave on the instant an impulse to the billows of time, which will be felt over the entire surface of the world, and that will come dashing with an oceanic force against many a rock of despotism, foaming against, shattering, and submerging it.

"As soon as the intelligence reach the University, its bearer was immediately surrounded by the students. They at once gathered together in the square of the University ; there the proclamation was read by them ; the signal for prayer was beaten by the drums, and in an instant all fell on their knees, raised high their hands in air, and with tear-bedewed eyes gave expression to their gratitude. Oh ! it was a glorious moment. Enjoy it ! fully enjoy your happy freedom ! Give full vent to your feelings, generous youths ; for if a victory has been gained, you have had no slight share in the combat.

"Never, never can be forgotten that hitherto unknown feeling—that which was excited upon beholding an entire people made happy, as if by some heaven-bestowed blessing. Then was what might be called an universal embrace ; then were hands shaken which never before had touched each other ; then were beheld the cordial kindly salutes of mutual enemies, as if they ever had been friends. *Italians and Hungarians clasped Germans to their hearts* ; then the first, the most lovely fruit of young freedom, was the commingling of all adverse national prejudices into one feeling,

and that was the love, and with the love the happiness of one common father-land."*

Under such auspices commenced the new order of things in Austria. There was henceforward to be nothing but peace, law, order; a Constitutional Emperor; a responsible government; an united empire; liberty of the press; freedom of speech; freedom of conscience. How long were those promises kept? Not even for a single hour; for at the very moment that the proclamation of the emperor was diffusing the joy which is depicted in the preceding paragraphs, there had arrived in Vienna a deputation of one hundred and fifty magnates and Jurats of Hungary, headed by the eloquent Kussuth, who came to demand, under the name of a distinct administrative government for the country, a separation from the crown of Austria. "The liberty of the press" was interpreted in a week to be an unlimited license to publish in pamphlets or by placards whatever malevolence, slander, infidelity, or disloyalty might dictate: the "freedom of speech" was supposed to confer a right upon the ventilation of slander, or of visiting with the indignation of the rabble, by means of a Charivari, (cats' music), those remarkable for their dignity or their piety; whilst "freedom of conscience" exhibited itself in the persecution, and even the spoliation of property, of those who had abandoned all things for conscience' sake. Instead of peace, there was discontent; instead of law, there was violence; instead of order, there was tumult.

Three weeks had not passed away from the accomplishment of the revolution in Vienna, until the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom was in open insurrection, and Austrian soldiers were expelled from Milan, and from Venice, whilst Vienna was crowded with the representatives of the different people which compose the Austrian empire, and each demanding a separate nationality for itself, or the power of dominating over some other nationality. Each was dissatisfied with its immediate neighbour; all discontented with Austria Proper; and Austria Proper itself, agitated, querulous, seeking for change, and demanding each day some novelty which it supposed might be an improvement. Vienna seemed to be afflicted with a

* Oestreich's *Befreiungstage*, pp. 39, 40.

complicated epidemic, the fever of an exciting commotion, and a famine for great, sudden, and incessant changes. It is in the following manner that the editor of the Vienna newspaper remonstrated with his fellow citizens on their unreasonable course of proceeding : .

" That of which we stand most in need is, *patience*. There are many persons who fancy that all their wishes can at once be gratified, and all their private interests attended to. Many calculate on seeing each day new laws decreed, which may affect, in a greater or a less degree, our system of taxation, the press, education, and trade ; and there are even many who are impatient for the appearance at once of a complete constitution. An ancient edifice has been cast down, and a new building is to be erected in its place. We cannot hew out stone in a particular form—we cannot begin to frame doors and windows until the plan of the entire building is completed. We require a strong, habitable, healthily-situated mansion, such as may suit our condition, open to the sun and the air, protected against all assaults, and able to resist every storm. That, then, of which we stand most in need is patience, and with it an unreserved, unconditional confidence in our honest constitutional emperor."*

The people of Vienna did not, however, long restrict themselves to the mere asking for changes ; they determined themselves upon enforcing them, and they commenced with attacking those who had, since the reign of Joseph II., been respected in Austria—the Catholic clergy, and the monastic orders. They compelled the Pope's nuncio to remove from the front of his palace the insignia of his office ; they insulted the archbishop of Vienna in his mansion, and forced him to do that for a mob, which, as a prelate, he had previously expressed his disinclination to do ; and lastly, they assailed, in a most brutal manner, the holy members of the pious order of the Redemptorists. The writer of this article was in Vienna at the time the outrage was perpetrated on the Redemptorists—when their place in the city was taken possession of by the mob, and they were obliged to appeal to the more respectable members of their persecutors—the National Guard—to save them from personal violence, and not improbably from assassination. We endeavoured to ascertain what charges could be alleged against the Redemptorists. " They were," said their enemies, " *Jesuits* ; that *Redemptorist*

was only a nickname or cloak for a *Jesuit*; and next, that they devoted themselves to the instruction of the poorer classes—to servants particularly; that they induced those servants, especially females, to be constant in their attendance at the confessional.” “But why,” we asked, “object to them on the latter ground?” The answer given to us, and we regret to say it was by a Viennese Catholic, was, “that through the confessional the Redemptorist gained influence over rich families; that the piety of the servant corrupted the mistress, and made her often have a greater respect for the priest than for her own relations.”

The gentleman who gave us this answer, admitted that though he called himself a Roman Catholic, he did not go to confession; and we add with much pain, that the same answer was given to us by other nominal Catholics in different parts of Germany. The hatred, we believe, felt to the Redemptorists, arose from their success in purifying the morals of the lower classes, and because their labours imposed a complete check upon the infamies previously practised in private houses. What we mean may be surmised without further explanation.* We asked for a single, well-authenticated instance in which it could be shown that the labours of the Redemptorists had not been devoted to the promotion of purity, charity, and domestic peace. We asked in vain. No such instance could be mentioned; but then it was said that they ought to be driven out of Vienna, “*because they were Jesuits.*”

With such sentiments as these infecting the minds, not merely of an irreligious mob, but of a sensual middle class, we cannot be surprised to find that the moment the press was let loose from all restraint, that libellous attacks should be not only made upon the Catholicity and the celibacy of the priesthood, but that even the most beloved and most venerated living being in the world—Pope Pius the Ninth—should not be spared. We have given the title of an infamous brochure addressed to his holiness, and we extract, as a specimen of the manner in which “the liberty of the press” is exercised in Austria, a single extract from it; but we will not contaminate our pen by its translation:

* See Spencer's *Germany and the Germans*, vol. ii. pp. 170, 171.
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“Keine Sünde war zu gross, kein Verbrechen so blutig und gräuelvoll, dass man sich nicht einem Ablass dafür zu Rom hatte erkaufen können. Man beschuldigt Papste aller Lasterthaten, des Meuchelmordes, der Blutschande, Unzucht, Giftmischerei. Aber wehe! demjenigen, der ihre Heiligkeit in Zweifel zog, sie bussten es mit dem martervollsten Tode. Die usurpierte schreckenherrschaft der römischen Kirchenfursten war eine Ausgeburt finsterer Jahrhunderte.”*

As a proof of the terrible state in which religion is, not merely in Vienna but in other parts of Germany, we shall contrast the preceding slander on Rome and its Pontiffs with the following paragraph, which describes the grief experienced upon the defeat of the deistical Strauss, when seeking to be returned as a representative to the German Parliament at Frankfort.

“*Ludwigsburg, April 30.—Black banners wave over all our fountains; black flags are exhibited by every house; many of the men wear black crape on their hats and arms, and the women are to be seen with black ribbons and rosettes. Never, since it was first founded, did our town present so melancholy an aspect. This deep—this heartfelt, and this not mere outward show of grief, is occasioned by the defeat of Strauss, the renowned author of ‘The Life of Jesus,’ and who has so recently won for himself new fame in the field of statesmanship, by his clear, clever, and at the same time moderate political contributions to the *Swabian Mercury*. All Ludwigsburg, without a single exception, voted for Strauss,—the agricultural district for his opponent, Hoffman, whose property has now to be protected by a guard of forty men.*

Such is the condition of the public mind in too many parts of Germany,—such is its impiety! There is slander and persecution for the Catholics; irreverence for what they deem most holy; and respect for those who have misapplied their talents by fostering, promoting, and diffusing infidelity.

An unreasoning faith may degenerate into superstition. An irrational disbelief is sure to develope itself in blasphemy. The superstition and the blasphemy of the Germans who are not catholics, and yet claim for themselves the title of Christians, is well described by Andersen in one of his interesting tales:

* “Wider Seine Schein.—Heiligkeit Papst Pius den ix. p. 1.

† “Frankfurter Oberpostamts Zeitung, May 3rd. 1848.

“ Amongst the festival days,” he observes, “ we have one in honour of the holy kings ; and yet what did these kings ? they knelt before the crib of Christ, and therefore we honour them. And yet we have no festival day dedicated to the Mother of God. On the contrary, the most of us smile when we hear but her name mentioned.”*

Wherever the disbeliever or the apostate is possessed of power, that power is invariably exercised in the persecution of the Catholic Church. It has been so with the “constitutionalists” in Spain, and the “liberals” in Portugal, as well as the modern “revolutionists” and “republicans” in Germany. In Vienna alone, where one of the first demands made was “freedom of religion, and of conscience, and of instruction,” (“*Religions, Gewissens, und Lehr-freiheit,*”) it was found, that no sooner had the request been complied with, than the use made of it by the armed students, citizens, and mob, was to force the emperor to suppress the Redemptorists, to sequester their property, as well as the property of other religious orders in the Austrian dominions ; and at length the intolerance and tyranny of those who had petitioned for “freedom of speech,” and “the liberty of the press,” compelled the emperor to fly from Vienna, and seek for refuge amongst the Tyrolese, whose love of liberty is alone exceeded by their attachment and devotion to the Catholic Church.

The Revolution in Vienna has had many deplorable consequences. From it sprung the carnage at Berlin, which would have been a most wasteful loss of human life, if it had not been interrupted by the concessions of the Prussian king, at the very moment when his soldiers were about to defeat on every point the revolted citizens ; to it also can be traced, as a primary impulse, the useless loss of life in Schleswig-Holstein, the bombardment of the lovely Prague, the city of St. John of Nepomuck, the capital of the enthusiastic Czechs—the cruel massacres in the Grand Duchy of Posen—the vain insurrection in Cracow—the bootless battle of Donaushingen—the devas-

* “ Unter unseren Festen haben wir eins für die heilige Könige ; was haben diese Könige gethan ? Sie knieten vor der Krippe Christi, deshalb ehren wir sie. Die Mutter Gottes hat dagegen keinen Festtag ; ja die Menge lacht gar bei ihrem Namen.” —O. Z. Theil. i. c. 3. Andersen’s Gesammelte Werke, vol. vi. p. 27.

tation by fire and sword of the banks of the Danube—the bankruptcy of thousands—the stoppage of trade—the paralyzation of commerce—the utter beggary, want of employment, and frightful destitution of millions of the working classes.

What is the good hoped for from all this? What is to be the compensation for all these evils? Not that of which Germans have written and harangued the most—the establishment of one, united, imperial, Germanic crown; but that of which they think the most,—the formation of one grand Germanic Republic; for it is towards such that all their wishes are directed. The tendency of every aggressive government is to a centralization of power, and with power centralized in France, and power centralized in Russia, it is certain that Germany, (supposing her to be desirous of repelling the infidel democracy of the one, and the schismatical despotism of the other,) would stand in need of so much centralized power as would enable her to resist both, with a prospect of success. Such a government with an honest Austrian, and not a double-tongued Prussian, at its head, might be good for Germany itself, and not injurious to its neighbours. It would be far otherwise with an universal German Republic, a republic, “one and indivisible,” as in France; for we must remember that, at the best, all great empires are great tyrannies, exhausting the extremities to overflow the centre; despoiling distant lands of the necessaries of life to make the capital superabound in luxuries; sacrificing a province to enrich the imperial citizen; a nation to make a principality for a noble; many kingdoms to exalt a despot, and decorate him with an imperial crown; treating as slaves the many and the inert, and placing a ban upon the few who aspire to freedom. There is hope for the subjects of a mighty empire which is ruled by a single man, because the tyranny may be as short-lived as the tyrant; there is a chance of a fair government when such an empire is ruled by an oligarchy, because their mutual hatreds and rival ambitions may render them desirous to compete for popular applause, and to defer to public opinion. But of all despotisms, that which is the most hopeless, the most sordid, and the most unprincipled, is that of an enormous republic ruled by men of strong passions and weak minds; for there is not either individual responsibility of danger, or of a sense of honour in the

misgovernment and the misconduct of the many. Fear precedes and desolation follows such an imperial centralized republic. It is, whilst it continues, as a flight of locusts.

When we pronounce an opinion against a centralized Germanic republic, it is not because we consider catholicity and republicanism incompatible with each other. The example of the United States proves far otherwise. We object to a German republic, because we have seen the Germanic nations incompetent to exercise the powers entrusted to them, using those powers to insult the weak, to afflict the pious, to oppress the good, and finally to force their rulers into an unjust and aggressive war. When they have proved their capacity for self-government, we shall not desire to see them prevented from adopting that particular form which they may deem the most consistent with their own liberty and prosperity ; for, in this respect, we adopt the opinion of a cardinal and a Jesuit, Bellarmine, even though we find it quoted by an opponent to that creed of which Bellarmine was so illustrious an expositor :

*“Pendet a consensu multitudinis super se constituere regem vel consules, vel alios magistratas ut patet : et si causa legitima adsit, potest multitudo mutare regnum in aristocratiam aut democratiam, ut Romæ factum legimus.”**

Religion is not to be confounded with tyranny, nor is it to be supposed that its sympathies are with despotism, because deism declares itself a republican, and atheism canvasses for followers, and claims votes under the pretence that it is “a friend to freedom” and “the rights of labour.” Most socialists are for universal suffrage. Admitting them to be sincere, it does not follow that the christian is an aristocrat, nor the monk an admirer of despotism.

To the rulers, even more than the ruled, the Austrian revolution, and the events in Germany, are, we state for the second time, pregnant with salutary warning. These two great facts should never be forgotten by them.

The first great fact is, that a government which is not wise enough to make necessary reforms, whilst there is still time to make them, and thereby forces a people to

* Bellarmine as quoted in Ranke's *Historisch-politische Zeitschrift*, vol. ii. p. 601.

take up arms to assert their rights, is a government which at last places itself in this predicament : that if it yield to an armed force, the first demands made from it only postpones its own annihilation ; and if it refuses them, and is defeated, it brings down upon itself, and on the instant, the punishment which its past misdeeds have merited, and in its fall nations rejoice, whilst the justice of God seems to be accomplished even by the hands of wicked men.

The second great fact is, that once a government arrays itself against the gospel, and lends itself to the persecution of those religious persons who have devoted themselves to the service of the Church and the poor, it makes an enemy of heaven, allies itself with demons, does the work of the great enemy of mankind, and whilst it corrupts the hearts, and stimulates the passions of the people, it also prepares the way for its own downfall. Sooner or later will descend upon the crown and the sceptre that have been thus misemployed the malediction of the Most High ; a strange race will fill the throne of the persecutor, as in England—hate and strife tend to the extermination of the royal race, as in Spain and Portugal ; or the immediate descendants of the persecutor shall, despite of their personal virtues, be bowed down with degradation, as in Austria, and suffer the consequences of wrongs which they had not themselves provoked. The extinct line of the Tudors, and the broken line of Habsburg, attest not less the crime than the punishment of the families of Henry VIII. and Joseph II.

The Austrian Revolution and its consequences have filled us with sad forebodings as to the future fate of Germany. Both, we must candidly admit, tend to vindicate the stringent police government of Prince Metternich; as if he were conscious that neither the Germanic nor Sclavonic races were fitted for self-government, and therefore could not, with safety to themselves nor to others, be permitted freedom of speech, or of action, as being alike incompetent to employ the one with prudence, and the other with justice.*

* "Much time was wasted during this day," (the first day of the opening of the German Parliament at Frankfort-on-the-Maine,) by propositions which found no seconds, and by speeches which could not procure patient listeners. The want of knowledge in conducting Parliamentary business, or, in fact, the business of any public meeting, was most lamentable, and was equally displayed by the

We fear much for Germany and its future, for all its political changes have been won by the sacrifice of human life ; and it is our firm conviction that the robe of freedom ought not—must not ever be stained with blood. That “damned spot” can never be washed out ; it corrodes, it cankers, converts that which might be a panoply for a people into a tunic of Nessus, poisoning the wearer by its pressure, and at length impelling him, by the agony of his torture, to his own destruction, prepared to plunge with suicidal despair into an abyss of anarchy, or rendering him a willing victim on the fiery altar of despotism.

ART. IV.—*Eleven Years in Ceylon.* By MAJOR FORBES, 78th Highlanders. 2 vols. 8vo. Bentley, 1840.

THE facilities for travelling about are now so great, that there are but few parts of the world that are not visited. And the result of all this going to and fro over the earth is shown in the numberless works of modern travel which are almost daily issuing from the press. And yet, though there is a great increase of general knowledge respecting foreign countries, and almost everybody is acquainted with the most commonplace differences between one country and another, yet there is surprisingly little advance made in a real and intimate acquaintance with the feelings, tastes, and temper of mind of other peoples—all, in short, which constitutes their essential difference of character.

President of the assembly and the majority of those who are its chosen members.”—*Frankfort Correspondence of the Morning Herald*, May 22nd, 1848.

“ Among ninety-two members now elected in Bohemia, there are not less than forty peasants. The same is the case with Styria, where there are thirty-one peasants among seventy-five deputies, by far the major part of whom do not understand one word of German. It is certain that the great majority of the assembly” (the Austrian Constituent Assembly) “ will consist of men without political education, without any idea of the questions of the epoch, and who are totally unable to understand or join in the discussions.”—*Times*, July 5th, 1848.

Nor is this at all to be wondered at, if we look at the temper with which a modern traveller goes abroad. Instead of endeavouring to make himself for the time being one of the people with whom he is, he guards all his little national ways and feelings more jealously than his virtue. Instead of striving to enter into the feelings and tastes of others, and to understand their way of looking at things by viewing them from the same point, he seems to be quite afraid of sympathizing with them, and to think that the only way of preventing his national character from being spoilt, is by having a sort of noble contempt for everything that he sees abroad, and a feeling of compassion for their want of *civilization*, because their ways are not like his own. It is only when his prejudices are fairly worn out, and the real character of a nation is forced upon his observation by a long residence in a country, that he comes to understand their ways, and appreciate their character. And this very superficial way of observing things is no doubt the cause of what others must have observed as well as ourselves—namely, that Protestants who make a tour in a Catholic country, so generally come back disgusted with what they have seen, while those who have resided any length of time in one are as generally pleased with it.

It is not surprising, then, that one cannot often come at the real spirit and character of a people by reading the books of modern travellers. And this remark applies to the numerous works that have appeared upon Ceylon. Of these there has been no want. Among those we call to mind at the present moment there are, besides the work we have placed at the head of the present article, De Butt's *Rambles in Ceylon*, Knighton's *History*, Bertolacci's *Book*, intended to show its commercial capacities, Heber's *Journal*, Campbell's and Perceval's *Works*, and Davy, who investigated the island as a naturalist, and who gives us some very interesting accounts of the plants and animals, and of the experiments he made with snakes. There is also another *History* by a Portuguese of the name of Ribeiro; but the writer, whose work still stands pre-eminent, notwithstanding all that have succeeded it, is Knox, who was there in the time of the Dutch, having been kept a prisoner in the interior province by the native king of Candy for many years, where he had great opportunities of making himself acquainted with the country and its in-

habitants, their manners and habits. And as he made a good use of those opportunities, and has given us an account of all that he saw or heard, in a simple unpretending style, his work is an interesting as well as a valuable one.

From these sources a curious and entertaining account of the island may be derived. Several of these works contain a great deal of information on those subjects which will most interest general readers in the present day. Still they do not, it must be confessed, supply all that is wanted. There is a class of readers, though perhaps not the largest class, who seek a deeper knowledge of a place than a mere acquaintance with its wild sports or commercial capacities, with its scenery and wild animals, its facilities for travelling and dining. Interesting and even important as these are in order to gain a full knowledge of a place, they are but accessories after all to what is much more important, viz., the study of the internal character of a people, their state of feeling on moral and religious matters, and the way in which they are accustomed to view things in their every day affairs, and in their relations to one another. And such an account of Ceylon as this—a history not merely of facts, but of the philosophy of them—is still a desideratum.

Major Forbes's book is one of the most interesting of the modern accounts of the island, and contains some spirited accounts of its wild sports, as well as some graphic sketches of its characteristic scenery, and of the habits of the natives. There is also some very interesting information respecting the early history of the island, and of the ruins and monuments still remaining. But neither this nor any other book contains any adequate information on the particular point of view which we have selected as the subject of the present article—viz., the History and Prospects of the Church there. The only work from which we have been able to derive much assistance, is from an article that appeared some years ago in the first number of the Catholic Colonial Intelligencer, and from which we shall make one or two extracts.

Before, however, entering immediately on our subject, it will be necessary to give a brief sketch of the character of the island and its inhabitants, such as may suffice to make our future remarks better understood.

It lies between the parallels of 6° and 10° N. latitude,

and between 80° and 82° E. longitude, and is situated very nearly at the extremity of the great promontory which forms the west side of the Bay of Bengal. It is on the Coromandel coast, from which it is separated by the straits of Manaar, about twenty-six miles across at the nearest point. A reef of sunken rocks, so near the surface as to prevent the passage of vessels of any considerable burthen, connects the island with the continent of India. This reef, which goes by the name of Adam's Bridge, runs from the small island of Manaar, off the mainland, to the island of Ramiseram adjoining the coast of Ceylon. It seems to have taken its name from an ancient tradition which makes the garden of Eden to have been situated in Ceylon, out of which Adam was driven after the fall, and it is probably from a part of the same tradition that one of the principal mountains in the island is called Adam's Peak. Ceylon is in shape like a pear, being about 270 miles long and 145 miles broad. In area it is two-thirds the size of Ireland. It has been known by various names. By the Greeks and Romans it was called Salice and Taprobane; in the Sanscrit writings it is called Lanka; among the Arabs it went by the name of Serendib; among the Portuguese by that of Selan; while in the Singhalese annals themselves, it is denominated Singhala-dwipa, Island of Lions. Though situated so near the equator, the climate, compared with that of the continent, is very temperate. Most of the chief towns are on the coast, and so are refreshed by the sea breeze. Other places, again, in the interior, are on high ground, where the temperature is of course much lower. And though the power of the sun is always very great, yet being near the equator, there is very little difference in the length of the days. The longest is not more than twelve hours and twenty minutes, so that the nights being a good length, but a small elevation is sufficient to allow the air to cool by night, and to keep it so during the day when the sky is overclouded. Another thing which renders the temperature cooler is, that, in consequence of the extreme fertility of the soil, the foliage is so dense and so universal that the sun's rays can seldom penetrate to the earth. And the forests of cocoa nut with which all the lower parts of the island are filled, are peculiarly adapted to keep the air cool; as while their leaves afford a pretty thick shade against the sun at the height of 70 or 80 feet, their bare

and slender trunks leave all the space below free and open for an unimpeded current of air to cool and freshen it. Notwithstanding this however, the heat is in some places very great wherever the land is low or sheltered from the wind. Towards the sea coast, as also all the northern part of the island, the country is inclined to be low and flat; but as we approach towards the centre there is a great crown of high and mountainous country, which rises so abruptly that it would be perhaps impossible to construct a carriage road to ascend it by, except at some points. This mountainous tract of land rises towards the centre to the height of 7000 feet, and at this elevation there is a small town called Nuwera Ellia, too cold indeed to be frequented by the natives, but the great resort of Europeans, not only from the lower parts of the island, but also from the continent of India; as the low temperature and bracing air render it a most excellent place for the restoration of invalids, and those who suffer from the weakening effects of the climate.

The climate of Nuwera Ellia is as delicious a one as we could suppose to be found any where. Twice in the year the enjoyment of it is for a time interrupted by the monsoons, when the rain is sometimes incessant, and the plain covered with a fog: but with this exception, the air is light and bracing, and the atmosphere so pure, that the deep blue sky seems almost as if it could be touched. The weather, too, is for the most part very fine, and the thermometer so low, that in the morning and evening a fire is very acceptable. There is in the high lands something like a change of seasons, one part of the year being colder than another. And it happens now and then that the nights in the month of January are cold enough to freeze water, which, however, is soon melted when the day breaks. In the lower parts of the island the year is broken by no perceptible change of seasons, but month succeeds to month in one unvarying summer, the leaves ever falling and budding out afresh, and the trees and fields bearing twice a-year. Indeed, some of the trees do not recognize seasons at all, but bear at whatever time they find most convenient, or rather go on bearing continually as they have strength. Though, for the most part, the monsoons have an influence over the crops, or perhaps over the husbandman, who finds it more pleasant or more profitable to cultivate the land at one time than at another.

The scenery of Ceylon, and especially of the mountainous part of it, is exceedingly fine. Nuwera Ellia itself is a small plain surrounded by hills, but the view from the top of them, or in the descent to the lower country, is magnificent. On one side of the plain is a mountain called Pedro-talla-galla, the summit of which is about three miles' journey from the town below, and which is the highest point in the island, being about 8700 feet above the level of the sea. It is ascended by a very steep and rough path, which can just be climbed by a horse. The jungle on all sides is uncleared and very thick, and it is not an uncommon thing in ascending the hill, to meet with an elephant or two browsing. The coldness of the climate here is very apparent in the trees, which are short, crooked, and stumpy like English trees, and covered with moss and lichen, instead of being straight, clean, and tall like those in warmer parts. When within about five minutes of the top, you come to a little open, plain piece of ground, through which runs a beautifully clear stream which rises from some springs out of the hill, and running down, swells into the largest river in the island, winding its circuitous course for perhaps a couple of hundred miles, till it runs into the sea at Trincomalie. Another source of the same river, the Mahavelliganga, is at the foot of Adain's Peak, a very high conical hill lower down the country, which may be seen from Pedro, and looks quite close, though some forty miles distant. The view from the top of Pedro is the most magnificent that can be imagined. On one side you look down into the quiet village of Nuwera Ellia, shut in by ranges of hills which are also beneath you, so that you can look over them into the country beyond, and see all the country round marked out like a map into distinct parts. The country in one direction is marked by high ranges of hills with little or no wood on them. In another direction it is cut up into large patches of coffee plantation. Places that it would take days to reach are now seen so near that one can realize being in them, and one feels in a greater degree, what we dare say many of our readers have experienced after having passed by a quick train from one place to another, as if one was mixed up with the feelings and business of several places at once.

The climate of Nuwera Ellia itself is too cold for the growth of coffee, which has lately been cultivated so much and with such great success in Ceylon. But a little lower

down the temperature is very favourable, and where the soil is good, as it is for the most part, the land has been bought up, and the forest, all but a few scanty trees, cut down and burnt ; and amidst this ruin of nature the young coffee plants are seen, at distances of about a yard or two from one another, making their way through the great stones and stumps of trees, and the huge trunks themselves lying across one another in every direction, blackened or charred by the fire. Such is the appearance when the young plants are first removed from the nursery. After two or three years, however, they cover over all this unsightly mass of destruction, and the face of the country begins once more to look green. The coffee plant is a handsome shrub, which grows very straight, with numerous long branches. Its leaves are of dark green, with the upper side smooth and shining, and when it is covered with the white flowers or the bright red berries, which twice a year it bears in the greatest possible profusion, it is very beautiful. If allowed to grow it would reach a considerable height, but it has been found that by pruning it carefully and keeping it low, the plant grows much stronger and more healthily, and spends its strength on the fruit instead of the branches. The chief thing that is cultivated by the natives, for the coffee estates are chiefly in the hands of Europeans, is rice, which is to be found in every part of the island. As it requires a very great quantity of moisture, the fields are divided into compartments, each enclosed with a little embankment so as to prevent the escape of the water, which is supplied from the hills or the clouds, and the ground is then ploughed and trodden by oxen or buffaloes until it is reduced to a thin slime, into which the seed is scattered. As the rice grows up, the superfluous water is drained off, and the rest is absorbed by the plants, or the sun, so that by the time that the crop is fit for harvest the ground is quite dry. This supplies the natives with the most important part of their food ; and they have abundance of cocoa nuts, bread fruit, jack fruit, yams, plantains, sweet potatoes, and other vegetables, with which they vary their curries. Fish too, which they have in great abundance, though not of a very fine quality, is a favourite food. Of flesh meat they eat but little.

Among the peculiar features of the island, we must not omit to notice some very curious salt lakes, or leeways as they are called. They are thirteen in number, and are

situated to the south-east part of the island, near a government station called Hambantote, on the sea coast. These leeways are large ponds or pools, some of them several miles in circumference, but seldom more than four or five feet deep in any part. This peculiarity is, that twice a-year the water turns blood red, and then gradually dries up, leaving a very thick coating of salt. Some of these leeways dry up a little before the others, and in some the salt is of a cleaner and finer quality than in others. In one or two indeed, it is collected in good-sized crystallized lumps, quite white and clear, so that the only thing that has to be done is to collect it, which must be hastened as much as possible lest it should be spoilt. The leeways are in the hands of government, who monopolize the sale of salt, and who keep a great many prisoners stationed at Hambantote, to work in collecting it.

As a great part of the island is but little inhabited, wild animals, as might be expected, abound. Lions or tigers are never met with now, we believe ; but elephants, chetas, wild boars, wild buffaloes and jackals, as well as elk and deer of all descriptions, are to be found in great abundance. In some parts of the country bears and hyenas are occasionally met with. There is likewise a great abundance of game, hares, partridges, pea-fowl, wild duck, and wild goose, as well as large pigeons, plover, and snipe. Snakes too are very common, and alligators, besides numbers of minor reptiles, such as scorpions, centipedes, large and disgusting spiders, &c. Yet but little practical inconvenience is suffered by the residents there from the presence of these animals. Those who live in the towns very seldom see anything of them ; they perchance will hear the cry of the jackals prowling about, and will at first be disturbed by what sounds like the voice of a human being in great pain or distress ; but when they have once realized that it is not a human being, but a jackal, and that a jackal is a most harmless animal, they will not mind it. Snakes are a nuisance, because they make one nervous, since they are not confined, like some of the other animals, to the wild parts of the country, but there are some particular species which make themselves quite at home in private gardens and houses, and in this way occasionally, but very occasionally, accidents do happen ; but it is chiefly among the natives, who believe in the transmigration of souls, and who think that if a snake is given to frequent their house, it is because

the soul of one of their relations has passed into the animal, and that this is the cause of his attachment to the place. And in this way it has sometimes happened that a poisonous snake has killed one or two of the family before they could be persuaded to turn their affectionate relative out of doors; whereas, in the case of Europeans, a snake is pursued immediately, if found in or near the house. Moreover, but very few of the snakes that one meets with are poisonous. Perhaps as many as nine out of ten belong to a common species called the rat snake, which is found every where, both in town and country, and which is constantly heard in any house that has a ceiling, chasing and destroying rats. But, except to these and such like vermin, the rat snake is perfectly harmless, though it is one of the largest kinds, growing sometimes to the length of six or seven feet, or even more. There is also a long thin snake of a bright green colour, very often seen, and generally hanging on a tree, but it is quite harmless. And there are numerous species of water snakes, but none of them we believe poisonous. The poisonous species, or, at least, the most common of them, are the cobra di capella, or hooded snake, a small snake called the carawalla, the tic polonga, and the green polonga, but the last of these is very seldom seen. It is a very small snake of light green colour, very beautiful, marked with large diamond-shaped black spots, and is very dangerous. None, however, of the poisonous kinds are so common as the cobra capella, which is a large snake, with a head that expands when the animal is excited, and the back of which is distinctly marked with the representation of a pair of spectacles, or rather nose glasses. Though, however, the bite of any of these is very dangerous, yet it is by no means the case that it is *always* fatal, even if no means are taken to prevent the poison from spreading. Experiments have been shown that even small animals, such as chickens or dogs, are not always killed by the bite, and it would naturally be expected that larger ones would be less affected. There is also a species of boa in Ceylon called the rock-snake, which grows to the length of thirty feet, and whose method of obtaining its livelihood is to hang on a tree until a deer, perhaps, or buffalo comes by, when the snake drops itself on him, and winding round him, crushes all his bones, and having thus softened him, swallows him at leisure. It is, however, seldom seen.

Among the wild animals, perhaps more mischief is done by the elephant than any other; and this not because he is at all more mischievously inclined than the rest; on the contrary, he is a peaceful animal, and entirely free from anything like a vicious or vindictive spirit. But the fact is, that being such enormous creatures, when a herd of them enters a sugar plantation, or a rice field, the damage they will do in a single night by satisfying their capacious appetites, and treading down what they leave, is something ruinous. However, they keep, for the most part, to their own native jungles, and only make very occasional incursions into parts that are much inhabited. The only time when an elephant is really a dangerous animal to meet with, is when he is alone; as this is never the case except when the animal has been driven away by the rest of the herd for some misconduct. He is then desperate and furious, and will attack any thing or any body; and almost all the accidents that one hears of with them, except those which are occasionally met with by adventurous sportsmen who begin the attack, are from this kind. When tamed, they are very useful for lifting and drawing great weights, and they may be seen continually about the public works, yoked one or more together in a gigantic cart. The kings of Kandy used to employ them as executioners. They were carefully trained to kneel or stamp on a culprit at a given word, to tear his limbs off and toss him into the air. And they were used also in processions and shows, as, indeed, they are still in the religious feasts and shows of the principal Buddhist temples. As, however, they never breed when domesticated, it is necessary to renew the stock every now and then by catching fresh ones. This is done by what is called an elephant kraal. Some large piece of country, much frequented by elephants, is beaten out by men, who drive them before them by shouting and making a noise with a sort of drum which they use, and with firebrands, which the elephant stands in great fear of. As they proceed, the beaters close in at the sides, so that the elephants are gradually driven into a large funnel-shaped barricade, made of gigantic stakes driven into the ground, and strengthened by being fastened together. This gradually narrows until it will only admit one of the animals at a time, when bars are run across behind them, and they find themselves fast shut in within a strong enclosure. When here, they are gradually reduced by starva-

tion, and are then bound and led out by tame elephants, who lash the refractory ones most unmercifully with their trunks. And in this way they are tamed and disciplined, and after a due course of training they are rendered fit for work.

Among the other wild animals, the wild boar is a very destructive animal, and also a very dangerous one to meet, as also is the wild buffalo, as they will attack without any provocation. Chetas, too, which are pretty commonly found in any place covered with jungle, will carry off children and dogs; but as they are cowardly animals, they will not often attack men. Perhaps accidents as frequently happen from alligators as any other wild animal, as they are very numerous in some places, and there are not many rivers quite free from them. Yet it would surprise a person newly arrived in the country, to see the natives bathing and swimming about, and wading up to their necks in the water in places known to be infested by alligators. The reason, however, of this is, that the habits of the animal do not lead it to carry off people in this way. Whether it is considered as a point of etiquette not to take any unfair advantage of a man, or whether to promote confidence between man and alligator, but so it is, that the animal prefers generally to go a longer way to work. The most common thing is for a canoe, with one or two men in it, to be upset by the beast swimming up behind and putting his fore-leg on it, and then seizing his prey in the water, and carrying it down to the bottom to be devoured at leisure. They are sometimes seen lying in wait, like a great log of wood on the bank, for whatever may chance to come by, but they seldom venture far from the water. They breed by eggs about the size of a goose egg, and from this they grow to the length of twenty-six and even thirty feet. The most common way of destroying them is by shooting them, but they can seldom be got at without catching them first, which is done by tying a large hook, with a rope attached to it, on to a dog, and leaving the latter to bewail his miserable lot on a little raft, or on the shore, and the alligator seldom fails to attend to his cries. And when he has thoroughly gorged the bait, he is drawn sufficiently out to be shot.

In passing from an account of the wild animals to that of the rational ones, we must not omit to notice a sort of intermediate link that there is in Ceylon in the shape of

wild men, or, as they are commonly called, Veddahs. This race of beings, which may be described as undomesticated men, is growing very scarce, so that they are now very rarely seen, and one has no opportunity of making the investigation concerning them that would be so interesting. From what has been learnt, however, concerning them, it seems that they wear but little or no clothes, that they are without any houses or shelter of any kind, but live with their families and all in the trees. Their food is roots, berries, and wild fruit, besides venison and wild fowl, which they are very expert in killing with bows and arrows. No traces of any thing like a religion has been found among them; and the language which they have among themselves, is one not understood by the people. Knox tell us in his book, that whenever they wanted their arrows sharpened, or anything of that sort done, they would leave it by night at the door of some blacksmith, and if he did what was wanted, and left it in the same place, they would repay him in a day or two by some venison, but if he neglected to attend to them, they would be sure to take their revenge. They seemed to be a very harmless sort of people, keeping quite to themselves in the thickest of the jungle. But, if attacked, they were a dangerous foe.

We come next to speak of the population of Ceylon. This amounted, in 1833, to 1,126,808 souls; but it is probable that, owing to the great progress of commerce in the island since that time, and the great number of labourers who have come over from the continent of India in consequence, it is now very much greater. This number is made up of different nations. Besides the Singhalese and the Kandians, who may be considered as the natives, there are Portuguese, Dutch, Malabars, and a class which goes by the name of Moormen. The numbers of English, exclusive of the military, amounted, in 1833, to but 125, men, women, and children, but there are now many thousands. Besides these there are also a few Malays, Hindoos, Chinese, Caffres, and others whom chance and commerce has brought to the island. We will begin with a few words on the Singhalese. This word, according to the accounts of the natives themselves, is derived from two native words, *Singha*, lion, and *la*, blood; yet it must be confessed that they have the least possible claim to be called lion-blooded men now, whatever they may have been in former times. In

point of size, they are diminutive ; in physical and muscular strength, they are remarkably weak, nor do they make up the deficiency by personal courage ; on the contrary, they are timid and cowardly. The Kandians, or Highland Singhalese, who are said to be a distinct race, are certainly very superior to the rest in these respects, yet even they fall far behind the European standard. Altogether, courage and the active virtues are plainly not their line, but rather what is so hard to those in higher latitudes, great powers of endurance. The climate itself, which is very enervating and relaxing, tends to make them what they are—indolent, inactive, and without energy. The only thing which seems to have power to rouse them at all, is their excessive spirit of curiosity. A Singhalese, whose greatest felicity is to lie on his back all day and chew betel, will yet go a long journey to see something which he is inquisitive about. As they can live on next to nothing, he will take a small bag of rice with him, and saunter along the whole day at an easy pace, and at night will find some place of shelter, where he and his fellow travellers will boil their rice, and find a piece of old mat to sleep on till break of day, when they will pursue their journey. And this is perhaps in order to stand staring, for a whole day or more, at something or another which one would think had nothing particularly interesting in it. The same thing is shown in their conversation. They are full of curiosity to hear everything, and the questions they ask are very intelligent. They are very quick of apprehension, ingenious and clever at contriving or devising anything, and so would easily make great progress in anything they undertook, did not their indolent disposition interfere. But they are so fickle and inconstant, that it is very difficult to keep them steady at one thing. Their moral character, too, is not very good. They have no regard to truth, and are great thieves ; yet if a thing is entrusted to their care it is pretty safe, as their way is rather to make free with things secretly, and when it would be supposed that they had nothing to do with them. Gratitude, chastity, and humility, are virtues for which they seem to have neither the words nor the ideas ; yet this does not leave their character so bad as at first sight it might be thought to do. Humility, indeed, being altogether a Christian virtue, were not to be expected from heathens ; and they are not, generally speaking, very proud or vain ; at least, we do not think that their pride can be

very deep rooted, or they would not be so docile and tractable as they certainly are. The only thing is, that a man having a low opinion of himself, or humbling himself to do what is beneath his rank, could not be conceived by the Singhalese to proceed from anything but a mean and low spirit. Gratitude they certainly are wanting in. A Singhalese will seldom think of thanking a person who bestows any favour on him, nor, indeed, is there any word in his language to do so, but they are obliged to make use of a Portuguese word. Yet this does not by any means imply the hardheartedness and want of feeling which it would with ourselves, but it is a good deal to be attributed to the state of feeling prevalent among them, which leads them to think it a part of greatness to confer favours, and that the kindness done is in accepting them ; nor is there, at the present day, anything which will so wound and offend a Singhalese, as to refuse his present. Moreover, they are an exceedingly kindhearted people. And one continually meets with instances of their taking care of friends and relatives who have no sort of claim on them, quite as a matter of course, without expecting or receiving any thanks. And they are in general very charitable and hospitable.

The absence of almost any notions about, or esteem for, the virtue of chastity, cannot be so easily got over. Indeed, this is, we suppose, their great national failing, and that which, in making them Catholics, is the greatest difficulty to be conquered. Yet even in this there is nothing of the disgusting depravity which accompanies these excesses where people acknowledge the virtue, and yet wilfully neglect it. In Ceylon (we speak merely of the heathen population) the case is simply this, that chastity is not a virtue ; so that, whenever it is inconvenient, it is not observed. And of course it is a very difficult thing to introduce a new state of feeling on the matter. It is a most common thing, if a couple disagree, for them to separate, and find fresh partners. Or, a man marries, perhaps, and finds, after a time, that it would be for his advantage to remove to another place ; it does not by any means follow, as a matter of course, that his wife goes with him. If she prefers the society of her friends and neighbours to that of her husband, she stays behind, and he sets up house anew in the place where he is gone to. And we have known, when it has been objected by a missionary to such

a man, that he ought not to have taken another wife since the first was still alive, of his answering with the greatest simplicity, “What *was* I to do, I had nobody to cook my rice?”

We, however, who might have been expected to improve the natives in these respects, have taught them to know better, and to do worse. The English, so far from being respected by the natives as more virtuous than themselves, are quite looked down upon. Nor can this be wondered at, as we have talked about virtue, and told them that this and that was wrong; while our own people have been worse than themselves, committing all sorts of excesses, not with the simplicity of one who knows no better, but with a viciousness and beastliness quite revolting. An English soldier is regarded by all respectable natives with a sort of abhorrence and disgust. Smoking, and swearing, and hard drinking, which before were not common, have been introduced by us; indeed, drunkenness is now becoming very common. One virtue the natives of Ceylon possess in their natural state, which is not commonly found prevailing to the same extent; namely, temperance and general moderation. With them, the man who has fewest wants, and can do with least, is most respected. They eat and drink but little, and can go long without food. And they are disposed to be frugal and prudent; so that, taking into consideration what a very small sum is sufficient for all a man’s necessary wants there, it will have been anticipated that there is very little, if any real poverty. One curious quality which prevails at present among the Singhalese, is their excessive litigiousness. It probably arises from their never having been accustomed to be treated with so much attention and respect as to have their grievances and injuries taken notice of; but however that may be, they look upon it now as a sort of exploit or adventure to have gone to law with a man. They will not unfrequently completely ruin themselves in carrying on some expensive law-suit about some little patch of ground that is not worth many shillings; and even if they lose their cause at last, yet still they look upon themselves as having done something noble and heroic. But the Police Courts recently established, which deal very summarily with petty cases, will no doubt have the effect of lessening in time this propensity of theirs to go to law.

The Singhalese are mostly employed in agriculture. They have small farms or country houses throughout the inhabited parts of the country, and live on the produce of their land. Many, too, are engaged in commerce, keeping little shops in the towns and villages, and the different trades are a good deal supplied by them ; but it is becoming more and more uncommon for them to work as hired labourers, as they are getting too well off for this, and the Malabar Coolies, from the continent of India, have for some time past supplied the great demand for labour. These come over in companies of some hundreds together, and work on the roads and coffee estates for six months or so together, and then return quite enriched, as the wages in Ceylon are eight or ten times as great as they are in their own country. They lose great numbers by dysentery, as when the disease attacks them, they will take no medicine for it, but quietly lie down to die. Their companions leave them by the side of the road with a little rice, and pass on without taking any farther notice of them ; and as they have very little physical strength, owing to their bad and insufficient food, and clothing too scanty for the colder climate of Ceylon, they soon break down under the disease, and may be seen on some of the roads in all stages of death and corruption. The northern parts of the island are almost entirely inhabited by the Malabars, whose language, appearance, manners, and feelings, are very different from those of the Singhalese.

Of the class which goes by the name of Moormen, there is not much to be said. They are for the most part a very fine athletic race of men, about the same colour as the Singhalese, that is to say, a dark copper-colour, but of much more strength of body and energy of character. They are chiefly employed in commerce, and by far the greatest part of the petty traffic of the island is in their hands ; and as they are in a very flourishing condition, their wealth and importance are increasing. In religion they are Mahometans, and in all the principal towns, as well as in some villages almost exclusively occupied by them, they have their Mosques, and keep up their chief festivals with great pomp and show. They are people of a good deal of general morality, honesty, and decorum, and do not often let themselves down by any openly irregular conduct. But they seem very inferior to the noble and generous characters which are found among the real

Turks, while they share with them in an extreme jealousy of any one of their faith becoming a Christian, so that he would be morally certain of being murdered, were he to do so. Where these Moormen came from, or when they first settled in the island, is still, we believe, undiscovered.

The Portuguese arrived in Ceylon in 1505. At that time the island was inhabited by the Veddahs and civilized inhabitants. With the former they would have little to do ; but they made an agreement with the natives to defend them from the Arabs, who used from time to time to make a descent on the island, and for this an annual tribute of so many hundred weight of cinnamon was agreed to be paid by the native king, until, partly by fraud and partly by force, they succeeded in making themselves masters of all the maritime parts of the island, while the king of Kandy continued to keep possession of the mountainous parts in the interior. From this time we have a regular and authentic history of the island, which may be seen in Knox's History ; whereas before, though it would appear that there is no lack of materials out of which a regular history might be constructed, yet but little has yet been effected in this way from want of persons having the time and inclination to study the subject.* One thing, however, is clearly proved ; viz., that Ceylon was formerly a very powerful kingdom ; or, to speak more correctly, a number of kingdoms like the Saxon Heptarchy in our own country. Not only does history give an account of the different states, and of the events connected with them, but the modern traveller in Ceylon is surprised at coming upon colossal ruins of temples and fortifications in the most wild and uninhabited parts of the country, which are now occupied by few besides wild beasts. There is some difficulty in exploring these ruins, as like all other depopulated places, they are very much infested with malaria, and but few escape without catching fever. One of the most extensive of these ruined towns is placed in the interior, called Anuradhapura, where there are still some few inhabitants and a European magistrate. The remains

* Mr. Knighton's History has been the last attempt at anything of the kind : but the person who has done most is the Hon. Mr. Turnour, who translated some years ago a very valuable work, called the Mahawanse, from the Pali. In his book there is contained an epitome of the History of Ceylon.

of the temples here are very fine, and show that this must have been as considerable a place in old times as it is represented to have been in history. In another place, there is a high rock, very strongly fortified, and in many parts of the country there are large dams built and lakes formed, and the hill sides terraced, so as to be fit for retaining the water necessary to make it suitable for growing rice. Major Forbes's book contains some very interesting accounts of some of these places which he visited and explored ; but our limits do not allow us to do more than refer the reader to the work itself. Besides these indications of a very large population in parts which are now quite deserted, it is made out pretty clearly, that the sea has encroached very much on the island, and that there were formerly very large and flourishing cities at places now a considerable depth under water. All this, however, had passed away when the Portuguese arrived at the island, and the first place that they made themselves masters of was the town of Colombo, now the capital of the island, situated on the south-east shore. They do not seem to have been at all good masters, but, like other nations, to have thought more of enriching themselves than of doing any benefit to the conquered people. We will give an account of their doings from the Catholic Intelligencer :

"The Portuguese were the first Europeans who discovered this island. They landed there in the year 1505, and established a permanent and flourishing colony in 1536. Unfortunately the thirst for wealth and the lust of power, did not allow them to think much of the conversion of the natives. The beauty of the island, its climate, its mines of gold, its luxuries of every kind, had so enervated their character and demoralized their nature, that instead of raising the natives to the dignity of civilized beings and of Christians, they themselves became degraded beneath the Indians of the forest. The name and the blessings of Christianity became obscurely known to the inhabitants of the island, by the occasional visits of one or two missionaries from Goa, and by the example and instruction of a few Portuguese merchants, who were not carried away in the general torrent of depravity. When the fame of the preaching and miracles of St. Francis Xavier on the coast of Coromandel had reached them, they sent ambassadors to that great apostle of the Indies, to solicit him to visit their island. To their honour it must be recorded, that they were the first of the Eastern nations whose thirst for the knowledge of Christianity was so great, that they sent a deputation to solicit instructors to come amongst

them. The saint was so employed in establishing Christianity at Travancore that he could not personally attend to their request. He sent one of his priests, whose labours at Manaar were so successful, that in a short time the Manaroys, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring coasts, not only became Christians, but died generously for the faith. The cruel king of Jaffnapatam, on hearing that his subjects were abandoning their religion and embracing that of the white men (Portuguese), ordered them to be put to death; and in the course of that year about six or seven hundred of his subjects perished, amongst whom was his own eldest son. St. Francis Xavier himself visited the island two years after, where his preaching, his prayers, his fasts and his miracles, were followed by the same glorious effects which marked his course through the East. The number of Christians increased rapidly. The temples of Paganism were demolished, its idols destroyed, and churches of the true God erected all over the island. The labours of the saint were seconded by the zeal and virtues of the pious John III. of Portugal. In consequence of the representation of Xavier, he appointed upright and religious governors of his Indian possessions; persons who would feel more anxiety for the acquisition of souls to the field of Christ, than for the accumulation of wealth in their coffers. By these means Christianity was so universally established in Ceylon, that when the Dutch took possession of the island in 1650, the rites and ceremonies of pagan worship were little known."—pp. 12, 13.

While, however, it was owing to the occupation of the island by the Portuguese that Christianity was introduced, or at least revived—for we have no means of ascertaining with any accuracy whether St. Thomas or his disciples ever visited the island when they preached on the opposite coast, though there were Christian churches discovered in the island in the sixth century—yet the Portuguese, as a body, did not govern so as to gain the affections of the natives, but, on the contrary, oppressed them so heavily, that when the Dutch made their appearance in 1632, the natives were induced to assist in admitting them. It was some time before the Dutch succeeded in making themselves masters of the Portuguese possessions; but they effected this at last, and in 1656 Colombo surrendered to them. Then the natives found out to their cost that they had gained nothing by the change of masters, and in respect of religion, the effect was most grievous. We will continue the narrative of the Colonial Intelligencer:

"It is a singular fact, connected with the introduction of the principles of the reformation in Ceylon, for be it remembered the Dutch were then protestants, that they enabled the then king of Candy;

Isimalardarmé, son and successor of Raja Singhe, to send ambassadors to procure Boodhoo priests from the continent to re-establish the absurd and idolatrous worship of that god.* In p. 308 of Dr. Davies' interesting travels in Ceylon, he says, 'the religion of Boodhoo was at an extremely low ebb; its doctrines were forgotten, its ceremonies were in disuse, and its temples were without ministers. With the assistance of the Dutch, the king sent an embassy to Siam, and procured twelve Oupasampade priests, who came to Kandy, and instructed and ordained forty natives of the Oupasampade order, and very many of the Sampadoe.' This is confirmed by Captain Robert Knox, in his History of the State of Religion in Ceylon, published one hundred and fifty years ago. We shall now see if the religion of St. Thomas and Xavier received similar protection and assistance from these Christian conquerors. The Portuguese were not only deprived of their power and possessions, but their religion was proscribed, their public worship was interrupted, their churches violated and destroyed, their priests banished, or, if seized, punished by imprisonment, tortures, and death. Catholics were rendered incapable of holding any place of trust or enjoying any privileges. Their marriages were pronounced illegal, the administration of Sacraments strictly forbidden. In a word, persecution and a sanguinary code of penal laws oppressed the Catholics of Ceylon for more than one hundred and forty-five years. With such vigour was the persecution carried on and these laws enforced, that only thirty-seven years after the arrival of the Dutch, when the holy

* It is instructive to remark, how almost instinctively the 'apostolic' Church of England has throughout made common cause, not with the 'Roman branch of the Catholic Church' which first Christianized the island, but with the Presbyterian Dutch, whose Churches they still use in common with them. Of course, according to the theory of National Churches, it was the duty of the Catholic population of the island, when the latter was taken by the English, to become at once zealous Anglicans, and express the greatest abhorrence for the damnable errors of popery. Yet, even according to that theory, it was not their duty to become Presbyterians like the Dutch, because they are not a 'branch Church;' and so we do not see the force of the present High-church Bishop of Colombo's remarks, when, in a letter to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, about two years ago, he speaks of feeling ashamed for his country, when he saw in different places the churches built by the Dutch, and compared what they had done for Christianity, and what had been done by the English. What the Dutch *did* do for Christianity may be seen by the extract we have quoted. As for the churches, they were either taken from the Catholics or built by force labour, so that they cost very little, and even so they are not above one-fiftieth of the number possessed by the Catholics.

missionary Padre Joseph Vaz, of the order of St. Philip Neri, arrived on the island, the Catholics dared not assemble in public for religious purposes. He was obliged to pass from one family to another disguised in the dress of a slave, and to offer up the holy sacrifice of the mass in private chambers. He was a messenger of peace and consolation to all the afflicted Catholics of the island. However cautiously and privately they assembled to receive his instructions, they were exposed to the danger of discovery and consequent punishment.

"Once on the Christmas Eve, when they were assembled in three houses where altars were prepared, upon each of which the holy missionary was expected to celebrate mass, whilst they were singing the Litanies and performing other acts of devotion, instead of Matins before Mass, the Dutch soldiers entered and unexpectedly assaulted them. They beat both men and women, demolished the altars, behaved in the most disrespectful manner to the sacred images, and took upwards of three hundred persons prisoners. On the following day the prisoners were brought before the Dutch judge, Van Rheege; he ordered the women to be released and imposed pecuniary fines on the men, with the exception of eight who were persons of great property and consideration. These he ordered to be cruelly whipped; one of them named Peter, who had been lately converted from Lutheranism by Father Joseph, to be put to death in the most inhuman manner. The remaining seven were condemned to serve during the rest of their lives in irons and hard labour.

"Notwithstanding the vigilance and activity with which the Catholics were pursued by their inexorable persecutors, their numbers began to increase; so that when the English took possession of the island in 1795, there were still many priests who attended their flocks in secret. Though they then changed masters the same laws continued, but enforced with a much milder spirit. The Catholics however still continued an unprotected and degraded class. But the dawn of their deliverance approached—the day that was to see them restored to freedom, and to their rights and privileges as British subjects, was at hand. Providence and the wisdom of the English Government, sent Sir Alexander Johnston as chief justice and first member of his majesty's council on that island. From the day of his arrival, his time and his thoughts were occupied to discover the customs, the dispositions, and the wants of its inhabitants. He declared himself ready to receive from all persons acquainted with the laws and habits of the people, suggestions that might tend to improve their condition, to promote peace, and contribute to advance the trade, comfort, and civilization of the island. The consequence was, that upon his strong and personal representations to his majesty's government during his visit to England, he carried back the glorious blessings of trial by jury to all the inhabitants of Ceylon, and a confirmation of the privileges which he obtained for the Catholics in 1806."—p. 13, 14.

In answer to a letter of thanks addressed to him by the archbishop of Goa, Sir Alexander states, that he was induced to consider the condition of Catholics in the island, from a peculiar case that came before him, and that he then found that a great many most oppressive regulations made against them by the Dutch, still continued in force, which he endeavoured, and that successfully, to get repealed. He also mentions, that in a circuit he had lately made through the island, he observed that there was not a single Catholic brought for trial, and yet their numbers at that time were very considerable.

The Dutch and Portuguese still form a part of the motley population of Ceylon, but their numbers are not very great, and they are scarcely found except in the towns. There they find occupation in the public offices as clerks and petty officers. Most of the respectable shops are kept by them: the lower sort exercise various trades, while some few have preserved themselves in better rank and circumstances, as merchants and civil servants. For they have intermingled so much together, as well as with the Singhalese on one side and the English on the other, that they are to be found in all ranks and grades of society, from the highest to the very lowest. Many illegitimate children of English fathers by native women, have found their level among them. The most respectable part of them go by the name of Burghers. In character, however, they are not a pleasing set of people. They are very fond of dress and show, and commonly live beyond what they can afford, in order to make an appearance. As the natural accompaniment of this, they are, as might be expected, very vain and conceited, and give themselves great airs, so that they are not very easy people to deal with. As being better educated, they have more just ideas of what is right and good, and pay some attention towards keeping up their respectability, but they do not seem especially remarkable for any good quality, and the lower classes of them, consisting chiefly of Portuguese, are very low and disreputable.

In point of religion they are, as might be expected, divided. Those who are directly descended from the Dutch, or who are connected, or wish to be thought connected with the English, are protestants. The Dutch have, indeed, the remains of a Presbyterian establishment, supported by the English government; but as it is more fashionable or more exciting to attend some of the numer-

ous protestant places of worship, the Dutch congregations are beginning to fall off, and perhaps will not exist much longer. At present they have a few large churches in the most important stations, which are generally used at a different hour for the Anglican service. And there are a few Dutch Proponents, as they are called, who read some prayers to the few who still adhere to their old form of religion. Formerly the Dutch were very zealous in the work of proselytizing. While they destroyed or took possession of the Catholic churches, and proscribed any exercise of their religion, they endeavoured to bring the people round to themselves, by making it an honourable and lucrative thing to be a protestant. No one could hold the meanest office under government, such as that of even being headman in his native village, unless he had been baptized; and as the poor natives had no conscientious scruples against what they looked upon as so harmless a ceremony, which put them in the way of so much preferment with so little trouble, they at length became willing, and even anxious, to be baptized. To such an extent was this system carried on, that the Anglican Clergy have had some difficulty in putting a stop to the Proponents, or Catechists, from baptizing numbers of people who had neither any knowledge of their new religion, nor of their duties as members of it, nor the most distant intention of performing them. Some fifteen years back one had to be suspended or dismissed from his office by the archdeacon of the island, for persisting in baptizing all the children of a native village at three pence a head, though he had been expressly prohibited from doing so. And this notion of its being honourable to be a Christian has taken such hold of the people, that, except in the central parts of the island, which were never held by the Dutch, but few would profess themselves Boodhists. Not an uncommon answer for a man to make when he is asked what religion he is of, is, 'I am a Christian, but I go to the temple,' viz., of Boodhoo.

As for the Portuguese, the great bulk of them have remained firm in adherence to the Catholic faith, though there are some who have been attracted by the hope of better situations, or by the wish to be like the English, to become Protestants; and then they generally attached themselves to some one of the numerous Dissenting Missionary bodies which have established themselves in Ceylon.

We have now given some account of the inhabitants of Ceylon, of the character of the place, and a sketch of its more recent history. We have seen what great conflicts the poor Catholics have had to go through in persecutions, from their own rulers as well as from the Dutch Government, and how courageously they have stood through it all; so that after 150 years of unceasing persecution, in which they were left almost without priests to administer the Sacraments to them, and to instruct them, there was yet a very considerable number, some 60,000 or 70,000, left. We come next to consider the present state of religion in the island, and its future prospects, and what are the chief obstacles to its entire conversion. And here it is obvious to take some account of the heathen religion of Boodhism, which still prevails there very extensively, since it must be by the overthrow of this, that the true religion is to gain ground. The Catholic Intelligencer gives the following account of it.

"The system of religion practised in the island before the introduction of Christianity, and still followed unfortunately by great numbers, is that of Boodhoo. They do not believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, self-existent and eternal, the Creator and preserver of the Universe. They believe that a man may become a god or a demon, or that a god may become a man or an animalcule; that ordinary death is merely a change of form, and that these changes are almost infinite. They have all over the island built temples and dedicated them to the worship of this god (Boodhoo) who they say came from the fourth of the innumerable heavens, and lived two hundred years before the Christian era. After his death he ascended to the brightest heaven, and they expect another Boodhoo to come for their salvation. The majority of the natives are of this religion at present."—p. 11.

Considering that nearly one-third of the earth's inhabitants are estimated to be professors of the Boodhist religion, it seems not a little curious that so little is known on the subject. Perhaps, now that Europeans have obtained entrance into the Chinese Empire, which is the great stronghold of this religion, something more may be discovered; but at present such a vast field of enquiry opens itself when entering on the subject, as almost to frighten one from making the attempt. In Ceylon there seems to be no want of MSS., containing very valuable information on this subject. And as the temples and colleges where they have been preserved seem more ready to part with them than

they were, it is hoped that some of them may fall into the hands of those who will make good use of them. The sacred books, however, are not written in Singhalese, as might have been expected, but in Sanscrit or Pali, which the Boodhist priests are more or less acquainted with. Indeed, it is from these languages that the Singhalese is in great measure derived. They seem, however, to be chiefly taken up with the endless mazes of fables and genealogies, relating to the different Boodhoos, with all their doings and adventures. And it must be the work of a long time, and of a most patient investigation, to make out the real meaning and intent of them. Whether there were nine Boodhoos or one, whether Boodhoo was a God or a man, and whether Boodhism recognizes any supreme being, are points about which one hears the most contradictory statements. So that we cannot pretend to do more than make a few remarks on what seems to be the real state of belief on the matter.

It seems then to be quite true that the Boodhist religion does not acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being in the same sense that we do. The common belief of the people, indeed, does not follow their religion. They *do* believe in the existence of an overruling Deity, but should any one of them become a Boodhist priest, he would be obliged to give up such an heretical doctrine. The Boodhist religion however acknowledges what may be called a negative diivne power, which they denominate Fate, and which is supposed absolutely to predestinate every thing, so that all things which come to pass are decreed irrevocably beforehand. Even the people at large who do believe in a Supreme Being, will yet speak of things as being fated, and therefore unavoidably coming to pass. One might have thought it inconsistent with this that they should attribute any thing like merit to what they do ; yet as a matter of fact, no idea seems more deeply rooted in their mind than that of meriting by good deeds. One will hardly pass through a village without seeing a rest-house for travellers, or a large vessel full of water for them to druk from, or some such work of charity, built or set up as a work of merit. And they believe that, according to the amount of merit which they possess, will be their condition after death. It has been thought by some, that they estimated their stock of merit by their good works, without thinking that it is diminished by vice and bad works ; but we are inclined to

believe that they would not attribute much merit to a man who was really guilty of immorality or injustice, only that they have different notions of right or wrong on some subjects from what we have. As to fate, they have in general the good sense not to let their doctrine of *faith* interfere with that of free will, so as either to take away the merit of good deeds or the guilt of bad ones. Perhaps, however, they are not so much accustomed to dwell on the influence of fate over the every day actions of their life, as over the more important revolutions of empires and worlds.

The idea entertained by some, that Boodhoo is the god of the Singhalese, requires then considerable modification; as, in our sense of the word, their religion does not recognize any. Rather Boodhoo is to be considered as an extraordinary man, who, by his heroic virtue and the great benefits he bestowed on mankind, raised himself to the character of a demigod or hero, and it is as such we conceive, and not as a deity, that he is worshipped. There seem indeed to have been several Boodhoos, and three or four are yet to be expected according to that religion, but it is universally agreed, that one of these named Gautama Boodhoo was so much the most eminent and distinguished, that it is common to speak of Boodhoo as if the appellation only applied to him. This Gautama seems to have lived in the eleventh century before Christ, and to have died in the tenth, but the Singhalese annals assign the year 543 B. C. as that of his death. It certainly seems to have been about this time that the religion was brought into the island from the continent of India, but whether Brahminism was derived from Boodhism, or vice versa, is still a disputed point, though it seems to be more commonly supposed that Boodhism is the most recent. And from what we have been able to learn, this seems to have the greatest truth in it. In Ceylon at least it is observed, that Boodhism acknowledges Brahminism, having very commonly images of Vishnu in its temples, to which the people make offerings as well as to Boodhoo, whereas it does not appear that the Brahmin temples or worshippers in any way recognize Boodhoo; which is just what one might expect, if, as is said to be the case, Boodhism is an offshoot of Brahminism, which at length was broken off from it. It is not however our intention to enter upon so wide and deep a subject, and about which so little has as yet been discovered. Our object being rather to speak of the religion as it is found practically to exist in Ceylon in the present day.

One of the most curious parts of a Boodhist's belief, is that which concerns the next life. Though it is common to hear the Singhalese speak of 'the good place,' and 'the bad place,' in the next world, yet they have not by any means the Christian ideas of these places. They seem to think of them rather as states of being than as places. Thus they believe, as we have hinted above, that the souls of men will all pass through different stages of existence, and that, according to their merit or demerit, they will transmigrate into higher or lower conditions. The animals around them are, they believe, inhabited by transmigrated spirits. And this may probably be the cause why the precepts of Boodhoo absolutely forbid them to take the life of any animal, so that even to this day they live almost entirely on vegetable food ; nor again, can anything persuade them to destroy many animals, such as dogs and cats, whom they do not scruple to neglect or misuse, till their life must be a painful and miserable one to themselves. And while some souls are supposed to enter animals, others again are thought to pass into higher and more noble states of existence. And thus they are thought to pass from one state of being to another, until by their increased merit they attain after a long succession of ages to their highest state of felicity, or Nirwana. This word is commonly taken, from its derivation, signifying to go, or be blown out, to mean extinction ; and it is accordingly stated, that Boodhism teaches men to look forward ultimately to annihilation as the greatest good. And, indeed, our minds are so accustomed to anticipate weariness with anything that has very long duration, and are so utterly unable to grasp anything that is infinite, even when it concerns our own existence, that we cannot dwell upon the thought of eternal existence without shrinking from something so overwhelming. So that it cannot be wondered at, that any who were not divinely instructed should consider a very long existence but one which *has* an end preferable to one that *has* none. However, it does not seem necessary to explain Nirwana by annihilation, though it is the most common opinion that such is the meaning of it. Others say that it will mean merely a state of calm and undisturbed quiescence. And others state the doctrine of the Boodhists to be that the soul will then lose all personal and individual existence, and be absorbed again into the Supreme Spirit from which it emanated. And this would really seem to be the most true ac-

count of the matter, were it not for the difficulty of there being no Supreme Being, according to their account, to be absorbed into. One cannot conceive souls being absorbed into Fate.

It may be, however, that what the Boodhists mean by fate, is not merely a negative power, but an all-pervading soul of the Universe, without however having an active personal existence, at least as far as men are concerned. And such an idea is much more consistent with the Pantheistic character of Boodhism than the other, while at the same time it admits of the common belief, that the greatest ultimate good is losing all personal existence, and being absorbed into the divine essence.

Some of the doctrines of Boodhism have, as might be expected, taken very deep hold of the native mind ; the religion as a living practical system seems to have little or none. The people are not instructed by the priests, but learn the little they know about their religion, from what they accidentally hear about it at home or elsewhere. This might, it is true, be sufficient, if there were any constant personal duties bringing them into immediate contact with their priests and temples. But there is very little of the kind. The priests go about occasionally, and read the Banna books, as they are called, containing moral precepts of Boodhoo and a little (though but a little) on his doctrines. But these meetings are neither frequent or well attended, neither priest nor people seeming to care much about them. The more pious Boodhists will occasionally carry offerings of sweet-scented flowers to the temples, which they are permitted to arrange on an altar or table immediately before the image, while they also bring something more substantial and satisfying to the priest, such as presents of rice, vegetables or money. And in return the offerer receives the priest's blessing, who stands opposite him with his face pretty close to the other's, and holding up a large fan at the side, as if to conceal what he was doing, he makes signs and whispers a blessing. On certain days, too, there are festivals celebrated with more or less splendour according to the wealth and circumstances of the place, and these are sometimes pretty well attended, but apparently more as a sight than from any great devotion.

What has a great deal more extensive practical influence over the people, is the practice of devil worship. This

is not part of Boodhism, but on the contrary, is opposed to and by it ; and as it has the effect of drawing away the people from their religion, the priests do all they can to discourage it, but without effect. The poor natives say that their country is full of devils, and while they least suspect their presence where they really are, they attribute all illness, bad seasons, and misfortunes of every kind to their influence. They even believe that they wander about at night, and will tell you they hear their cries. Accordingly wherever the mischief is not irretrievable, they endeavour by every means to propitiate the evil spirit, whose anger they think they have excited. Pacifying devils is not an honourable profession, but a lucrative art. A man becomes eminent as a devil curer, in the same way that he would as a physician, by skill, experience, and success. And so if a man falls dangerously ill, his relations, if they can afford it, send for a devil doctor, whose business is first to discover the exact species of imp which is doing the mischief, and then to apply such remedies as will sooth, not his patient, but his impatient, friend. Sometimes this must be done by fitting out a little raft, and decking it with flags and flowers, and then setting it afloat on the nearest river or pond. Sometimes the devil will be satisfied with nothing less than having his likeness taken, which is generally done on a frame smeared over with fine clay, and then painted with a most hideous representation of a fiend, with a great number of arms, and with goggle eyes and great tusks. And then the devil doctor procures dancers, to come and dance before the image for a whole night or so, to the sound of tom-toms (a kind of drum) and pipes. And when they have sown their fields, they will generally deck out some little tuft in the middle with flowers and young cocoa-nut leaves, as a sop to the devils who are inclined to molest them. And with the same purpose they use charms and wear amulets. This superstition of devil worship has grown so deeply into their minds, that even the Boodhist priests themselves, when they are in any great danger or illness, forget the opposition which it is their duty and interest to make to the devil worship, and send for a charmer themselves.

Besides this superstition, there is in the island another object of religious veneration, which likewise seems quite independent of Boodhism. In the little island of Ramisseram, adjoining the island of Ceylon in the point where it

approaches nearest to the continent of India, there is a large temple in which is kept a little idol not many inches high, called the Ramisseram god. This idol is curiously enough an object of universal veneration, not only with the native heathens of Ceylon, but with those of all India, who make pilgrimages of hundreds and thousands of miles to adore it. The temple is, in consequence, very rich with the offerings of the pilgrims, and is kept up at a greater expense, and with more magnificence, than any other that we know of in Ceylon. Several elephants, and those, too, very fine ones, are kept by the temple for religious processions, and for taking out this little idol an airing occasionally. But some of the ceremonies attending the religious devotion paid to it, are very disgusting. The priests of this temple are employed, among other things, in keeping up a sacred fire, which must give them some trouble, as it is so large as to occupy an area of several yards square. This fire has, it is said, been kept day and night for four hundred years, and, indeed, as far as can be ascertained, it has been going on for a very long time.

As for the Boodhist priests, they are, it must be allowed, in character a very harmless and inoffensive set of people. And there is a great deal about them that is very striking. They are, for the most part, brought up to be priests from their very childhood, when they are taught to read, and instructed out of their books, which are not written in the common language that is spoken, but either in high Singhalese or Pali. In former times many of the priests were very learned men, who had thought and read a great deal, but at present but few such remain. The priests live in colleges in a good deal of seclusion. They are forbidden, by their rule of life, ever to go to courts of law or places of public resort, and though this is not strictly attended to now, yet they preserve a great deal of decorum and self-respect when they go out. They are always attended by one or two persons, who carry their umbrella or any thing else they may have with them. Their manner is reserved and dignified, without anything of levity or unseemliness. They never salute any one, not even the king when there was one ; and they have all the privileges of natives of the highest rank. They are obliged to remain celibates, and to observe strict chastity while they are priests, nor does one hear any tales to their discredit with regard to these conditions. They are permitted, however,

if they please, to throw off their robes and to return to the world whenever they like ; but this does not appear to be often done, nor can they resume them again afterwards. Their dress and appearance is something quite different from that of the other natives. Their hair and beards are smooth shaven, nor do they wear any thing on their heads. Their dress is of yellow cotton, generally of a very bright colour, which is never used by the rest of the natives, but dyed on purpose for them ; and they roll a long piece of this several times round their waist, letting it reach to their ankles, whilst another piece of the same cloth is thrown over one shoulder and under the other, something after the fashion of a Scotch plaid. They sometimes, but not often, wear sandals, but they have no ornament of any sort about them. They have three orders of priests, and the ceremonies used when they are ordained are very curious. Each candidate has his 'Si quis' read before he can be admitted. This is done by taking him through the chief streets of the town on the back of an elephant, with a crier before him, giving out that he is going to be made a priest, and asking if any one knows anything against him. The precepts of Boodhoo require them to live by begging alms, and they still do so in the lower provinces of Ceylon, while in the higher they are not entirely dependent on others, but have considerable lands attached to the temples and colleges, which have been given them by different kings of Candy.

When the English conquered the dominions of the king of Candy, in 1815, they guaranteed the possession of these lands to the Boodhist priests ; and in consequence of this, they cannot, to this day, alienate any of the lands belonging to the temples, though they are otherwise ready to do so. What is still worse, the Dadala relic, or tooth of Boodhoo, is guarded by the English government, some of Her Majesty's soldiers mounting guard over it every day. A general of the British army, when governor of the island, honoured the ceremony of exposing the relic to the people, by being officially present at it, and walking in the procession. And the sum of about £150 is granted annually by the government of Ceylon, to support the expense of anointing Boodhoo's eyes, and for the performance of a devil dance ; and certificates have to be sent in by the Government servants, declaring that the devil dance has actually come off. This celebrated Dadala relic is kept

at the temple at Kandy, which, as having been the native capital till some thirty years ago, naturally contains the chief temple in the island. The outward appearance of the temple is nothing very particular. It is a pretty large quadrangle, with a verandah-like cloister inside, and, in the middle of the quadrangle is a small chapel, the ground floor of which serves as a sort of entrance room. The relic itself is upstairs, and is in a very small room shut off from the rest of the apartment by curtains. It is not unlike the arrangement of the chancel of a small church. There are some images in the shrine, and in front of them is a large sort of metal dome about three feet high, decked out and hung about with numberless jewels. Within this is the relic, which is very rarely taken out. There is always an abundance of sweet but strong scented flowers, spread out on the altar before it, and at night there are always two or three priests keeping watch. The natives believe that whoever has possession of this relic will be masters of the island.

As for the temples in general, there is not a great deal of variety or of interest in them. They are, for the most part, situated ontops of hills, or, at least, elevated spots, and are surrounded by a grove of trees. The building consists of an inner room or shrine, and a sort of antechamber leading to it. This outer one is very often curiously painted throughout with pictures and processions, and what is still more common, with devils tormenting men in all sorts of ways with iron spikes and swords, and by burning them in all the varieties of roasting, boiling, frying, and grilling. The outer chamber is lighted by small windows, but the inner one has generally no windows, but is lighted by a little lamp, which is always kept burning. The image of Boodhoo is of colossal size, and is sometimes represented lying down on its side as in sleep, and sometimes sitting cross-legged, and in this latter posture he has generally Vishnu, and some other Brahminical deity (Siva, if we remember right) on either side of him. The priests live at or near the temple, and they receive the offerings of those who come there, and take care to keep the temple in order, and that there may be always fresh flowers before the image, and a lamp burning. Besides this, they go about occasionally and read the banna books, as has been already said. According to all accounts, however, the Buddhist religion is sinking very

fast. The priests do not keep up their former reputation as men of character and learning. The temples are beginning to be neglected, and the religion seems to have no deep hold on the minds of the people, so that it only wants a little impetus given to overthrow it. We know of an intelligent native having lately told a European, that he believed, in the course of ten years more, it would no longer exist ; and though this is perhaps an exaggeration, yet still it shews so much, at least, as this, that it is no very formidable adversary.

The question is, then, what is to take its place ? for no people have yet been found satisfied to be without a religion. Protestantism has been long making every effort to bring the natives over to itself ; but up to the present time it has not succeeded. The Dutch never effected, and perhaps did not attempt, anything more than to draw away the people from Catholicism, and make them profess themselves Christians. But since the island has been in possession of the English, there have been very numerous Protestant missions established here, and some of these have certainly made great efforts to convert the natives from Boodhism. To give some idea of the extent to which Protestant bodies have laboured in this work, we will give some brief statistics concerning them.

The Church Missionary Society has four stations ; at two of which they have not only numbers of schools in the country round about like the others, but two seminaries in which they educate sixty-five youths or adults, to prepare them to be native missionaries, schoolmasters, and catechists. In their schools they have 1325 boys, and 229 girls. The latter are, for the most part, received on to a foundation, and kept from their childhood, till they are given away by their parents in marriage, at the expense of the mission ; so that they have full time to be thoroughly instructed in Protestantism, and if anything would seem to ensure a rising generation of pious Protestants, this admirable plan would. Indeed, we cannot but express the greatest admiration for the whole system and arrangements of the Church mission in Ceylon ; many of its missionaries are hard-working and earnest-minded men. Nothing less, we conceive, than the fact of their working in and for a false system, could be sufficient to account for the little success they have met with. The American mission has seven stations in the Jaffna or north-

ern district. At a place called Batticotta, they have a large seminary containing 129 students, and a foundation school at Oodooville, where, besides others, 51 girls are supported. It has, moreover, eighteen parish schools, in which 4241 boys and 821 girls are educated. The Wesleyans are in South Ceylon; but like the Presbyterian mission just established, they are chiefly in the towns, so that they come more in contact with the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, than with the natives. They collect pretty large congregations; but they only educate 304 boys, and 451 girls. The Baptist mission educates about 500, of whom about one-third are girls. These numbers, however, were taken some years ago, since which time some of the missions have been very much increased by reinforcements from home, so that the numbers are probably much higher now. The government schools, too, of which there are great numbers, though they are not professedly religious schools, are yet really very strongly in favour of Protestantism; they are for all denominations, even Boodhists and Mahomedans; but whatever is taught about religion is in favour of Protestantism. They are taught to read the 'authorized version,' and to interpret it by their own skill and private judgment. The government helps, moreover, to support many of the missionary schools. The number of Protestant missionaries in the island exceeds, we are told, one hundred; yet, it must be confessed, that notwithstanding these numerous missions, well supported by every human means and appliance which the ample means of the parent society at home enables them to bring into play, it must be allowed that Protestantism has met with little success. We venture to say that every actual convert they make must have cost the society some hundreds of pounds; and though this were, it is true, cheaply done, if the soul of the poor creature were saved thereby, yet it is *very dear*, if it is not.

Nor do we take any ex parte or questionable statements of the matter. It was our lot some years ago to be acquainted with a missionary belonging to the Church Missionary Society in Ceylon, whose character we knew as a man of great uprightness, as well as untiring zeal in his missionary work. And we heard the question put to him, whether he thought the number of real sincere converts who cared for their religion, and would stand by it, was very great. His reply was with a sigh, "Oh, I do not believe there are six *real* converts in the island."

The prospects of a Protestant harvest may, it is true, for all we know, have become more hopeful within the last few years. But however this may be, we confidently venture to affirm, that Protestantism will never make any deep and lasting impression on the Singhalese. Not only has it been unsuccessful hitherto, though circumstances have been most favourable for it, since all the influence of the Europeans has been in their favour, while the Catholics have not had the means of withstanding them, and the Boodhists have not cared to do so; but from what we know of the native character, Protestantism is not suitable to them, and will not take. They cannot in the least comprehend how their good works can "have the nature of sin," and be no better than filthy rags. Protestant services they find meaningless and dull in the extreme; they do not move them in the least; and private judgment in matters of religion is a thing that they cannot understand. Then, too, they do not see what they are to *do* in their new religion. There are no processions and ceremonies to see; good works are discouraged, as tending to foster their old notion of merit. They have not even the distasteful but necessary duties of making offerings to the priests and the temples, or of making their confessions, as they see their Catholic neighbours doing. All they have to do is, to go once a week to a long weary service in which there is nothing to interest them. If they gained merit by doing this, they would persevere; but they are carefully warned to beware of entertaining any such idea, and as they feel quite certain that they don't go there for the fun of the thing, the question *cui bono* naturally occurs to them, and they leave it off. Then, too, they see the white men who are trying to convert them to their own religion leading abominably bad lives themselves; and with the example of their own priests leading continent, retired, and abstemious lives, they compare the easy comfortable life which most of the missionaries lead out there, with their wives and children around them, and going about like the rest of the world, and the truth comes out bit by bit, that they think the Protestant religion a humbug. An intelligent native, a Protestant, without dreaming that he was touching on a tender point, ventured to hint to a Protestant there that the thought had struck him that if the Protestant clergymen would remain unmarried, they would be able to effect much more in going about among the

natives. And the missionary mentioned above said in our hearing one day, "These poor people cannot believe that we have come here for their sake, and not to benefit ourselves." The name Seprimarda car'riyo, "those of the reformed and repaired religion," seems to them to carry its own condemnation with it.

We have now to consider what are the present state and future prospects of the Church there. Catholics have, as we have seen, been emancipated for some time there, and enjoy similar privileges with the rest of the inhabitants ; and the only disadvantage that they are now under is, that they are opposed and discredited in every way by the English, whose opinion, as being their conquerors, could not but carry at least some weight with it at first. At the present day there are not, we suppose, half a dozen Catholics of the upper classes of society throughout the island. However, they are beginning to think less of this, and their numbers are increasing very fast ; they are now estimated at above 150,000. Those who become converts adhere very steadily to their faith, and bring their friends and relations to be instructed ; so that a priest who is at all active and zealous for the welfare of the people, and who treats those who come to him kindly, has little else to do than to sit still and instruct those who come to him, and he will soon have his hands full. We know of a single priest who, under no extraordinary circumstances, baptised more than 112 adults in the course of a year. What is so satisfactory in those who are converted to the Catholic religion is, that they show a great interest in it ; and their zeal in building churches and decking them out is something extraordinary. In our own country we build churches and found missions in order to make converts to the faith ; but among the poor natives of Ceylon the order is reversed. If a few persons are made Catholics, they themselves build a church and found a mission, as far as they are able to do so ; that is, they build a house for the priest, or rooms adjoining the chapel, and profess their willingness to support him, or to do their utmost towards it, if only one may be sent them. As it was only the maritime parts of Ceylon which were in the hands of the Portuguese and Dutch, the high and mountainous country continuing in the possession of the native king of Candy till the year 1815, it naturally happens that the greatest number of Catholics are found in the former ; thus, in

Colombo, the capital of the island, and chief missionary station, there are 30,000 Catholics. And only twenty-six miles off, at a place on the western coast of the island named Negombo, very nearly the whole population, consisting of more than 20,000 souls, is Catholic. So, too, in the Jaffna district there are a great many Catholics; yet, to show how much progress has been made, even in the central province, where the Catholic religion was new to the people till lately, there are now between fifteen and twenty stations with churches, either built or about to be built, and in some of these a considerable number of Catholics. Yet almost all these have been built by a few Catholics settling in the place, and setting to work themselves, to prepare some place where the priest might say mass when he came, or rather to induce him to come to them. *For up to this time there has been, and is, but one priest in all the central province*, who, besides having the sole care of the principal station, Kandy, where there is an increasing congregation of about a thousand, has likewise the care of all these different stations situated at distances of twenty, forty, and even seventy miles off, in various directions, in most of which the travelling is very difficult, being through a hilly country with bad roads in some parts, and in a few none, and where conveyances are very dear and bad. The only thing that a single priest can do under such circumstances, and what is at present done, is this:—He resides chiefly at the principal station, where his congregation provide for him, as well as for keeping up the church, and at intervals makes journeys of two or three weeks long, taking at one time all the stations in one direction, and at another those in another, and so on. But of course it may easily be supposed that a sickly season, or his own weak health, or want of time, must constantly prevent him from visiting some of his numerous flocks, which are thus deprived of their only chance of making their confessions, or going to communion within the year. The missionary visits each place at some stated time, if possible on the patron saint of the Church's day, or rather a day or two before; and the poor Catholics make it a time of great holiday. In the morning there is generally some instruction given after mass, and during the day the people come to see the priest, to make their confessions and be instructed, and ask directions about different matters. And then in the evening there is the rosary

recited, or some easy prayer in their own language, and a sermon. And in some places the chief people take it by turns to deck out and illuminate the chapel, each taking the expense of one day. On the last day, the feast of the saint, all the people attend, mass is celebrated with as much solemnity as possible, and a sermon preached, and many go to communion. On his leaving the place the priest chooses out one of his congregation, the most regular and devout of the chief people of the place, and appoints him to ring the bell for the Angelus, and for prayers on Sundays and holidays, when they meet and say the rosary and other prayers, and the person appointed reads the devotions for mass and some instructions. It may however be readily imagined, that with so little attention paid to them, many of the poor Catholics are in a very ignorant state. There is one little village consisting entirely of a disbanded regiment of Caffres, who are now employed in making roads. They are all Catholics, and indeed very good ones as far as the will is concerned, since they are well disposed, and ready to do whatever their priest tells them. Yet their ignorance and obtuseness are so great, that some of them do not know whether or not they have souls; and when the missionary, as in duty bound, endeavours during his two or three days' sojourn among them, to instruct them in at least all that they are bound to know, and begins with questioning them on this point, they are disposed to decline entering into any such abstruse questions of psychology, as something far above them. They say that they do not know whether they have souls, that they are poor ignorant men, working hard all day, but that they will do anything that the priest tells them. And so firmly do they adhere to their religion, that though so very little attention is able to be paid them by their own priest, yet all attempts to convert them to Protestantism have entirely failed.

In one place some thirty or forty miles distant from Kandy, the chief station of the central province, in a wild and uninhabited part of the country, there was discovered some few years back a native village consisting entirely of Catholics. They had not had a priest among them within memory, but there was a ruinous chapel discovered, with an image of the Blessed Virgin remaining in-it. Where they came from and when they settled there is not known, but as their skin is rather fairer than that of the generality of

Singhalese, it is supposed that they may have been originally of Portuguese extraction, and may have settled there when the Dutch took the Portuguese possessions, and proscribed their religion, and that they may have remained there without any spiritual ministrations throughout the Dutch persecutions. They are, as might be expected, in great ignorance, but still so zealous for their religion, that they will permit none but Catholics to reside in their village. They are now rebuilding their little church there, in order to have a fitting place for the missionary to say mass in, when he comes to pay them his annual visit for a few days. But there is no case in which it is more deplorable that the poor people cannot have a priest among them, not only because, if anything could make them deserving of it, it would be having stood firm to their faith so long, but also because those who are best acquainted with them, say that their devotion is such that they might be made a village of saints.

In this way there are up and down the country as many as four hundred Catholic churches, to minister in which there are not more than thirty priests. So that the destitution of the central province is not a singular case, and though in the maritime provinces the Catholic population is not so much scattered, and so can be more easily got at, yet, on the other hand, it is much more numerous; so that it must needs be, that a very large portion of the Catholic population is very little attended to. The island has, till within the last few years, been supplied with priests from the Portuguese college at Goa, set on foot by S. Francis Xavier; but what has recently taken place there, has made it undesirable that this arrangement should continue.

And the Propaganda have lately sent out several Italian priests, as well as one or two Frenchmen and Spaniards, who have laboured very hard, and have met with abundant success. There are at present two Catholic bishops in the island. The Vicar Apostolic, who is a Portuguese, resides with four or five more Portuguese priests in a sort of conventional building at Colombo, the capital of the island, where there are ten churches. His coadjutor is an Italian of the congregation of St. Philip Neri, from which society there have been several missionaries, whose memory is still gratefully cherished among the natives, on account of their zeal and devotion in labouring among them, as well as of the wonderful miracles which they worked.

Nor is it only in regarding the destitution of the Catholic portion of the population, a great part of which must needs be left, at the present, without either the instruction or the sacraments necessary for salvation, that one's heart bleeds for the poor natives of Ceylon, but still more if one regards the very hopeful points in their character, inducing one to believe that, by common attention, they might be raised to being a religious people. It has already been observed that they seem to be very clear-sighted about religion, and do not seem disposed to put up with any humbug, such as we believe they consider Protestantism to be. Whereas, in the Universal Religion of the One True Church, there is something that evidently has a hold on their minds and affections. They plainly look up to it with reverence and veneration, and regard it as great and mysterious. Another point, too, which is very promising, is their great reverence and respect for the priests, and their tractableness and submission in being guided by them. The Portuguese priests have a good deal contributed to this by their retired and reserved manner of living, which is, to a certain degree, necessary, in those countries, to ensure respect. The natives cannot conceive a priest going out or mixing with society for pleasure, or, in fact, doing anything but giving himself up to thought and study, and the high duties of his office. Their confidence in him is so great, that they will bring their little disputes before him to settle, and if they are going to enter any compact or agreement, they think it a sufficient security that it should be made in the presence of a priest. And as they receive all that he says with great submission and respect, and with, at least, a good intention to act upon it, this is of course of great service to the missionary, as rendering it an easier matter to guide them.

Moreover, Catholicity seems to have had the effect of softening down the rivalries and distinctions of wealth and caste, and of uniting together those who have become subject to it. In spite of the Catholic population being made up of such heterogeneous elements, there is a great deal of *esprit du corps* among them, if it ought not to be described as something higher and better, so that they will readily join together for any religious purpose. What perhaps conduces to this is, that there has been something of the ancient system of the primitive Church kept up, which, as being made for an age when the Church was under

persecution, had, we suppose, very much the tendency of separating Christians off from the rest of the world, and uniting them very closely together. It is, at this day, a common thing in Ceylon for a person to do public penance in the church, the penitents being obliged to stand in some conspicuous place, and bearing a cross on their backs, while the catechist or sacristan points to them, and declares openly for what offence they are punished. They have, too, still kept up the agapæ or love feasts of the early Christians, which really seem to have a great tendency to promote good will and affection among them. It happened, for instance, about two years ago, that the inhabitants of one of the chief towns were attacked with cholera, which, in the course of ten days, carried off great numbers, especially of the European soldiers. Upon this, the Catholics assembled and agreed to offer up a public Novena for deliverance from the sickness, and sent to their priest, who was absent on a visit to some of his missions, asking his permission to begin it. The priest of course gave them leave, and hastened to return himself. On the last day but one of the Novena, the Catholics were seen bringing together large contributions of provisions. Mats were spread on the ground near the church, and each one, according to his ability, brought in offerings of bushels of rice, fish, vegetables, curry-powder, and cocoa-nuts. The poor, indeed, could bring little or nothing, but the rich made up for them, and all was thrown down into one great heap. All through the night there were numbers of cooks lighting their fires on the ground, washing rice and preparing curry, which towards the morning was cooked. At eight in the morning, all the people who were able to come, assembled at the church in their best clothes, to finish the Novena, and to offer the sacrifice of the mass, with all the solemnity that was possible under the circumstances of a poor and ill-provided mission. After this, the priest went in procession outside the church, and blessed the food which was then prepared. All the ground was spread over with mats, and the leaves of the plantain tree, cut into squares, were set out in order for plates, and plentifully supplied with rice and curry, and high and low, rich and poor, one with another, to the number of several hundreds, sat down together in one common feast. And thus they were rejoicing and making merry in brotherly love and unity while the frightful disease was at its height. But it

deserves to be remembered that no fresh case of cholera occurred among the Catholics after this. They have these love feasts on most great occasions, as especially on the last day that the priest is with them when he pays them his annual visit. And the liberal and generous way in which those who are able to give come forward to supply abundance for those who are not, as well as the kindly and friendly feeling that seems to exist among all, is very pleasing.

Moreover there are still, in some parts of Ceylon, some curious remnants of the times when the greater part of the island was Catholic, which, distorted as they are, are yet very interesting, and might be made of great service by zealous missionaries in restoring the true religion. There is, for instance, a place not far from Negombo, where there is a church especially dedicated to St. Anne, a saint who is especially venerated in Ceylon, and to this church a great many of the Catholics make pilgrimages from all parts of the island. A man or woman will set off and travel fifty or a hundred miles or more on foot, to visit St. Anne's chapel, where they will make some little offering according to their means, and go through some devotions for two or three days, and then return. But what is the most singular thing is, that this devotion to St. Anne is not confined to the Catholics, but that, at one particular time of the year, when her feast is celebrated with some splendour and a great concourse of people, many Mahomedans, too, come and pay their devotions, and, if we remember right, members of other false religions as well. This devotion has, it is true, a great deal in it that is false and distorted, but great use might be made of it, if advantage were taken of this meeting together of the people, and of their religious dispositions, to instruct them better, to preach to those who were still without the pale of the church. In short, if a good mission were given at this place and time, great good might be expected to result from it. But, hitherto, this excellent opportunity has been missed.

But while there are many points of great interest and hopeful encouragement to the missionary among the natives of Ceylon, there are on the other hand some peculiar difficulties. One of these is, that while, in most places, a missionary has to learn the one language of the country he is sent to, in Ceylon there are four languages

commonly spoken in all the principal towns, of each of which the priest must know something in order to work efficiently. The Tamul, spoken by the Malabars, is a very difficult language, which, however, prevails universally in the northern district, and of late there has been also a great number of Malabar Coolies over from the continent to supply the want of labourers, and these are now found throughout the island, and many of them are Catholics. There are, too, generally some hundreds among the soldiers of the English regiments who are Catholics, yet, up to this time, there is not a single English or Irish priest in the island,* nor any one who knows the language well enough to preach fluently in it. The Portuguese are by far the best off, as, at least, two-thirds of the priests are their countrymen, but as it is becoming fashionable among the Portuguese part of the population to learn English, this language will soon be the least necessary of all. As for the poor Cinghalese, they have never yet had the benefit of hearing a good sermon in their own language, though preaching would probably have a great effect on them, if one may judge by the attention they pay to the written instructions or interpreted discourses which the European priests are, at present, able to give them. But it is not at any time an easy thing, for one already midway in life, to learn a new language perfectly, and a priest in Ceylon, as soon as ever he knows enough to be able to hear confessions, has but little time left to himself. The Cinghalese language too, though it is very ingenious as well as very copious, is yet not a very easy one. The construction, especially in long sentences and quotations, is involved and perplexed beyond everything, and the forms of words and of constructions used in writing or in set discourses, are very different from those used in the common colloquial language. They have absolutely no relative pronoun, sometimes simply leaving it out, as we often do in English, and sometimes supplying its place by particular forms of verbs, called relative forms, which is used when a relative is to be understood. They have not either any short vowels, but each consonant is supposed to contain a short vowel in itself, as, indeed, we find that the vowels sound all pretty

* Since this was written, there have, we have heard, been three priests sent to Ceylon from the Bishop of Marseilles' congregation, the Conceptionists, and of these one is an Irishman.

much alike in short syllables, unless there is an accent on them. The long vowels are made by different additional strokes to the consonant, according to the quality of the sound to be pronounced. The language is derived, in great part, from the Sanscrit and Pali, and one is surprised to find some of the simplest words, such, for instance, as the word water, and the days of the week, identical in sound or derivation with the English words.

But the most distressing trial to a missionary priest in Ceylon, is—not his poverty, which is generally extreme; nor is it being shut out from the comfort and advantage of intercourse with others, as most of them live in such seclusion that they perhaps do not see another priest more than once a-year; it is not their own wants or destitution under any shape that they feel most, but that of their flock. They see people around them in darkness and ignorance, groping about to find the true religion, yet docile and willing to be instructed, but they have no means of giving it them. They see children growing up without care or education, or if they receive any, brought up in schools of false systems of religion, where the most fatal notions are instilled into their minds, or what is worse still, in schools which ignore the existence of religion except as a science, and receive all sects and denominations alike, to give them the education of rationalistic infidels. They see all these other religions abundantly supplied with means and appliances, and having at work all the powerful machinery of colleges, printing-presses, societies and institutions of all sorts to convert the poor natives, and they themselves alone, without any of these means. Lastly, they see the heathen religion giving way and sinking beneath its own weight, and all sorts of false systems offering themselves to take its place, while they have not the power to set the true one before the eyes of those who, if they could only see and know it, would embrace it. But how can they believe unless they hear, and how can they hear without a preacher? and now at this critical moment, when Boodhism is falling, and they need missionaries to convert the heathens, they have not enough to attend to those who are already converted, to instruct them and give them the sacraments. Thirty priests can do but little in four hundred churches, scattered too, as they are up and down the country, at some distance from one another. Nor is the want of priests the only thing. In Ceylon, as in most

Eastern countries, the manner and feeling of the people do not permit of the priests going about and mixing familiarly with them. When once indeed the country is Catholic, and the real greatness of tender charity and of lowly humility is seen and felt, it may be hoped that such an unchristian thing as it seems to be, for the priest to keep aloof from the people and to put on the great man, will no longer be requisite. But at present, while the country is a heathen one, such an *οἰκονομία* is really necessary, and a contrary course of action would not bring honour on humility, but dishonour on the Christian priest and religion.

Hence, it is really necessary in the present state of things, that each priest in order to being efficient, should be provided with several catechists. These catechists being taken out from among the classes of people whom they have to do with, are well acquainted with their language, manners, and ways of thinking, and having been at the same time thoroughly instructed by the priest, they serve not only to interpret the language of each to the other, but likewise their thoughts and feelings. The catechist sees and instructs those who come to confession, before they go to the priest, and in short, prepares the priest's way, by which considerable labour is saved, and a great deal effected that from diffidence or misunderstanding could not otherwise be done. The catechist can mix freely with the people, whereas the priest must needs be on the reserve a good deal to the people, as the latter from their very reverence and respect are to him.

But where are the catechist any more than the priests to be got from? While the Protestant societies are supplied with thousands and tens of thousands yearly, for the support of the schools and seminaries, the Catholics have not throughout the island a single seminary for educating priests, catechists, and schoolmasters, and they have hardly a school entirely under their own direction. Ceylon, which in the time of the Portuguese had seven different religious orders established in it, has now not one, so that there is not at present any prospect of a relief from the present spiritual destitution under which they lie.

Were there but one good college in the island, which might be founded for a moderate sum compared with what it would cost in England, many boys could be found who might be educated to be catechists, and who, if they were found steady and careful in that capacity, might be after

some years raised to the priesthood. And the natives being very liberal and well disposed, would no doubt come forward to support such an establishment ; though poor as they are, and already supporting their priests, for the most part it is more than they could do to set it on foot. But until something of this kind is done, there is no prospect of providing the country with a sufficient number of priests. Even if they could be sent out in sufficient numbers from France or Italy, they could never altogether supply the place of priests and catechists who were familiar with the language and manners of the country.

It is indeed a humbling thought to those who are Catholics, as well as Englishmen, to see the mischief their country has done to the true religion. Our possessions in different parts of the world are far larger than those of any other kingdom, but wherever we have carried our arms, we have introduced not virtue and truth, but infidelity and fresh vices, with which our colonists have degraded themselves below the uncivilized savages whom they have conquered. The spectacle which the natives of India, for instance, has seen, is of a powerful nation breaking in upon them, draining them of their wealth, and while they reproved or even punished them for their vice and immorality, far outstripping them in the same excesses. They see their conquerors professing a religion which has not the power to keep them even outwardly moral and decorous in their conduct. And it is to this religion which Englishmen in these countries, if one may judge by their lives, seem themselves to scorn at, that the poor natives are invited. Tens or indeed hundreds of thousands of pounds are annually poured out of this country, by numerous Protestant societies, to spread their pernicious errors throughout the English colonies, and to distract the poor heathens by the sight of so many bodies of "christians," all wrangling and disagreeing among themselves. Surely, if anything could make them feel sure that the christian religion was not right, it would be seeing that its professors all differed from one another in their creed, and were only alike in their disregard of its precepts. In the mean time it is melancholy to think, that the true religion does not come to them at all from us. In bringing these poor British subjects to the Catholic faith, the English nation itself takes no part. It is foreign nations that spend their money and their lives, in spreading the true religion in our

colonies. We earnestly trust that this will not continue, but that our national spirit will be roused, so as not to allow all the good to be done by other nations, while the evil is from us. We would not for the very love of our country, that the true religion should have been spread in our possession by other nations, and but vice and false religion by her.

If having invited and eagerly embraced the true religion when first they heard of it, and immediately after laying down their lives for it—if suffering a long persecution, and adhering throughout steadfastly to their faith, though left for the most part without priests to exhort and sustain them, to instruct them, and minister the Sacraments to them—if being still ready to receive the truth when it is fairly put before them, and being docile and tractable in following the instructions of their priests—if the circumstance of their own native heathenism being ready to fall, with nothing to take its place but worldliness and infidelity,—if showing a real sense of what is right and true, by rejecting all the attempts of Protestantism as they have done hitherto, while the number of converts to the true church daily increases, and are making petitions to God and man that priests may be sent them, for whom they have long since built churches and houses, and promise to do their best in supporting them—if all these circumstances can render a country interesting, and give it a claim to the sympathies and assistance of its wealthier and more fortunate fellow men, the poor natives of Ceylon have a right to be attended to.

ART. V.—1.—Report on the Sanatory Condition of the Labouring Population.

2.—An Act for Encouraging the Establishment of Public Baths and Washhouses.

3.—The 11 & 12 Vict., entitled, “An Act for promoting the Public Health.”

SO long as a nation continues to be only moderately peopled, and the inhabitants to a great extent diffused over rural districts, they are obviously less exposed to those causes of disease, which, under different circumstan-

ces, affect their vigour and impair their health. Pure air they at least have in abundance; the limpid stream, or sparkling well, supplies them with a superfluity of water, and as their occupations are generally under the open sky, God supplies them with the light which human legislation too frequently denies.

But a nation never did, nor, indeed, ever can, long limit itself to detached habitations. The Indians have their *craals*, and the Arabs their congregated tents. Man is essentially a gregarious animal, and, from the very first, the attracting powers which bind him to his kind, have ever exerted a dominant influence. This attraction, which we may presume was less powerful in very early ages, augments in force as time goes on; the necessity of mutual defence is strongly felt, and ten thousand relations of partly civilized life demand a close vicinity. So probably arose the walled towns of Britain, so the innumerable villages which stud its surface, till now we have scarce anywhere to deal with a rural people of Arcadian times, but with one in which the vast masses of a swarming population have, from the flaunting metropolis to the meanest village, established themselves in close and intimate proximity.

We pass over all the intermediate stages, we leave Defoe and others to report how much the sweating sickness of 1485, or the plague of 1665, was really dependant on the then miserably polluted state of London, and how far an appreciation of the then evil should not have called on the authorities of a more enlightened age to lend themselves heart and soul to its removal; and we proceed to discuss, in a brief space, the existing position of such a question, most unhappily till lately an object of arduous contest.

It was a very long time indeed ere men began to have the least suspicion that their own health, or that of their wives, or children, or servants, was in the least dependant on the filthy cesspools, or the want of ventilation, and the bad drainage of their habitations. True, indeed, it is, that they saw their poor offspring pining before their eyes, and themselves weak, "upset," "unfit for business," and indisposed in a thousand different ways. A trip to Brighton was the result, from which they speedily returned in unconscious innocence to meet again evils of whose existence they had no idea. Ignorance induced those evils; that ignorance still prevails.

There were, however, some people in the world who saw the enormous mischief, more especially among the poor, which resulted from the culpable neglect of sanatory measures. In the year 1838, three physicians, from their habits intimately acquainted with the condition of the metropolis, addressed letters to the Poor-Law Commissioners, strongly urging on their attention the existence of many scandalous nuisances, inimical alike to health, to morals, and to life, many of which might, in their opinion, be remedied by proper legislation.

The hint thus happily given, at once gained attention; the House of Lords, in 1839, voted an address to her Majesty, praying for an inquiry, which she was graciously pleased to order, and the report heading this article was the result, while out of it sprung, after various delays contingent on different changes in the ministry, the important act passed in the last session of parliament.

We shall hereafter notice the nature of its provisions; at present, we shall only consider the broad principle on which it is based, and the effect which it produced on the minds of those who, as the members of local municipal boards, or corporations, thought their mission affected by the measure.

No sooner had the Health of Towns Bill of the session of 1847 been laid on the table of Parliament, than it raised up a perfect hurricane of hostility. Vested interests were said to be invaded; municipal government, the grand palladium of England's liberties, would no longer have existence when controlled by a central and despotic commission; and the supposed interests of petty vestries, or worn-out corporations, were held to preponderate in the scales against the health, the comfort, and the cleanliness of an entire nation.

The metropolis took the lead in this vehement opposition. The effete corporation of the city required that government should withdraw *it* from the operation of the bill. On every side some pursy alderman selected a special nuisance as his favourite and pet. Through the stinking air of Puddle Dock, voices might be heard, defensive of all which was filthy and poisonous. Smithfield sent forth a corporation howl in anticipation of its downfall, and the bloody kennels of Whitechapel, diffusing pestilence and misery, found ready advocates in favour of the nuisance.

While a large body of the city corporations were thus urging their opposition to the measures of government, it was a curious thing to find that, between three or four centuries ago, the filthy state of what then constituted London, attracted the attention of both the inhabitants and legislature.

In the fourth year of Henry VII. a petition was presented by the inhabitants "of St. Faith's and St. Gregory's in London, near adjoining the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's," setting forth that "the parishes aforesaid" were greatly "annoyed and distempered by corrupt airs engendered in the said parishes, *by occasion of blood and other fouler things*, by reason of the slaughter of beasts.....had and done in the butchery of St. Nicholas,.....and whereas sundry complaints have been made to the mayor and aldermen during sixteen years, and *no remedy found*,"they pray the king, "out of his abundant grace,"to succour "his poor subjects in this behalf, considering that in few noble towns or cities, or *none* within Christendom,.....the common slaughter of beasts should'.....be within "the walls of the same."

Such is the substance of the petition in the preamble of the act. The legislative result accords:

"No butcher or his servant is to slay any beast within the walls of London, or *any walled town* in England,.....under a penalty of twelve-pence for an ox or cow, and eight-pence for every other beast."

The penalty is recoverable by action of debt, half going to the informer, and half to the crown. We have not been able to find that this stringent act has been repealed, and if not, as we fully believe, it might even now, should necessity occur, partly meet the corporate selfishness which exists.

This rather curious corporate desire to perpetuate a monopoly of filth, soon spread to the western parts of London; the large and noisy parish of St. Marylebone took up the question with great vehemence, and, associated by deputation with seven other parishes, passed resolutions of a highly condemnatory nature. Petitions from London were then presented, praying that the metropolis should be exempted from the bill; and government, with a readiness not very common, yielded to the demand. For this sundry reasons were assigned; it was insinuated in the

house, that perhaps the *near approach of a city election* had something to do with the concession; but we are bound to absolve the premier and his colleagues from being actuated by such a consideration; we have no doubt that the difficulty of enacting such a general law at the very close of a stormy session alone influenced them in their adoption of this step; we think that the exclusion of the metropolis was simply conceded, because the foolish but powerful opposition of the city corporation would, *for a time*, have obstructed any change; and therefore we are quite satisfied that the government was not deterred by political considerations, but by a sincere desire to obtain, (if possible), a certain amount of good legislation, leaving the metropolis to be dealt with afterwards.

We cannot, however, so easily defend the ministry for their subsequent abandonment of the bill, unless we may suppose that they were apprehensive of its being so greatly mutilated before it became law, as to require another act in the present session, to "explain, amend, and enlarge" its provisions. Under these circumstances, it was perhaps as well that a perfect measure of sanatory reform had not to overcome the opposition of those who might be disposed to argue, that as a Health of Towns Bill already exists, a more extended or stringent one is unnecessary. We cannot help thinking, however, that if Lord John Russell had shown as much energy and determination in favour of this measure, as he displayed on *another occasion*, we should scarcely have been obliged to wait a whole year for this most important act. Manchester might have yet been without a bishop, had the act for erecting that bishopric been sacrificed instead of the Health of Towns Bill; but as a *trifling* compensation for this loss, we should probably have had the gratification, ere this, of knowing that measures were in progress in all our large towns and cities, *except London*, to save thousands from unnecessary sickness and premature death. Still, the fate of the Manchester Bishopric bill tends to confirm us in the opinion above stated; viz., that an imperfect sanatory bill might have proved an obstacle to a more perfect one; for of the four bishoprics proposed to be erected by the Manchester bill, the only one that was actually agreed to, was that which had been virtually established by a previous act of parliament; and we imagine that Sir R. Inglis himself is hardly sanguine enough to expect to hear any more of the others.

Of the necessity of a comprehensive sanatory act, the most obstinate opponent of "unconstitutional centralization" cannot pretend to be doubtful. Were he really so, the voluminous "Report of the Poor Law Commissioners on the Sanatory Condition of the Labouring Classes of Great Britain," would quickly undeceive him. From beginning to end, it is a record of the incredible filth and misery in which the working classes of our large towns exist. This is, indeed, so generally admitted to be the case, that we shall forbear to give more than one or two examples of it, our principal object being to demonstrate the practicability of preventing a large portion of the sickness to which our labouring population is subject.

We will not take upon ourselves to say that the following description of the wynds of Glasgow, by Mr. Chadwick, Dr. Alison, and Dr. Cowan, is far from the worst case given in the report; but we can safely assert that there are many as bad.

"We entered a dirty low passage like a house door, which led from the street through the first house to a square court, immediately behind which court, with the exception of a narrow path around it leading to another long passage through a second house, was occupied entirely as a dung receptacle of the most disgusting kind. Beyond this court the second passage led to a second square court, occupied in the same way by its dunghill; and from this court there was yet a passage leading to a third court, and third dung-heaps. There were no privies nor drains there, and the dungheaps received all filth which the swarm of wretched inhabitants could give; and we learned that a considerable part of the rent of the houses was paid by the produce of the dungheap."—Report, page 24.

'Would any one believe, without such indisputable evidence as this, that such things exist in the second city of a country which has built 300 churches in five years? How can men, whose physical condition is so frightful, be expected to benefit by the erection of any number of churches? and how can their moral state be superior to their physical? Bad as London is, we doubt whether in a public court it could produce such a scene as the above. In private houses, however, the following evidence will prove that it can:

"Mr. Howell, one of the council of Civil Engineers, who has acted extensively as a surveyor in the metropolis, says, 'My duties, as one of the surveyors to a fire-office, call me to all parts of the town, and

I am constantly shocked, almost beyond endurance, at the filth and misery in which a large part of the population are permitted to drag on a diseased and miserable existence.' "

He instances two houses situated in a considerable public thoroughfare, and letting at from £30 to £40 a-year each.

" I found the whole area of the cellars of both houses were full of night-soil, to the depth of three feet, which had been permitted for years to accumulate from the overflow of the cesspools ; upon being moved the stench was intolerable, and no doubt the neighbourhood must have been more or less infected by it."—p. 45.

These extracts will serve to show that there is no exaggeration in the following general description of the sanatory state of the labouring classes, given by Dr. Southwood Smith, in his report on the prevalence of fever in the metropolis, in the year ended March 20th, 1838 :

" While systematic efforts, on a large scale, have been made to widen the streets, to remove obstructions to the circulation of free currents of air, to extend and perfect the drainage and sewerage, and to prevent the accumulation of putrifying vegetable and animal substances, in the places in which the wealthier classes reside, nothing whatever has been done to improve the condition of the districts inhabited by the poor.....Such is the filthy, close, and crowded state of the houses, and the poisonous condition of the localities in which the greater part of the houses are situated, from the total want of drainage, and the masses of putrifying matters of all sorts, which are allowed to remain and accumulate indefinitely, that during the last year, in several of the parishes, both relieving officers and medical men lost their lives, in consequence of the brief stay in those places which they were obliged to make in the performance of their duties. Yet in these pestilential places, the industrious poor are obliged to take up their abode ; they have no choice ; they must live in what houses they get nearest the places where they find employment."

It is to prevent any, the slightest infringement of a system of " self-government," which has permitted the existence of such a frightful state of things as this, and to prevent the indispensable interference of government to abolish it, that the name of the constitution was invoked ! But we do not believe that hatred of government interference was the true cause of the opposition raised by corporate bodies to the Health of Towns Bill ; it was a disinclination to carry out thoroughly effective measures for draining and cleansing towns. Even the original bill gave no power to

government of interfering, so long as corporate bodies do their duty, except to give advice as to the best system of drainage, &c., and to prevent councils, and town commissioners from levying too heavy rates; in other words, to prevent jobbing. Since, then, town councils and commissioners were to retain full control over all that concerns the draining, lighting, supplying with water, &c., of their respective towns, and, in the case of unincorporated towns, even to preserve their present state of filth, if they please, we are justified in asserting, that the hostile corporations were animated by a much greater love of ease and filth, than a dread of a government attack on British freedom. The only other motive they could possibly have is, that they would prefer a separate act for each town, (*when they chose to apply for it*), to one comprehensive measure, which would establish a uniform system throughout England. But this objection would be too puerile to deserve notice, did it not afford means for adjourning the settlement of the question *sine die*.

We presume that sufficient evidence has been given of the filthy state of our towns to render any comments superfluous. But supposing this to be granted, we shall have done little to prove the necessity of a sweeping measure of sanatory reform, if we cannot also prove that it will be followed by a great amelioration of the sanatory condition of our labouring population. It may be said that the deficiency or bad quality of their food, the nature of their employments, and the *love of filth*, inherent in the poor according to many, may have a greater share in producing disease than the want of drainage, water, and air. But thanks to the report above quoted, and to the returns of the public baths established in London, we are enabled to give a conclusive denial to this.

"The evidence adduced from Glasgow and Spitalfields," says the Report, (p. 177.) "proves that the greater proportion of those attacked by disease are in full work at the time; and the evidence from the fever hospitals proves that the greatest proportion of the patients are received in high bodily condition."

That the labouring classes have not such an affection for filth as is pretended, is proved by the tens of thousands who have availed themselves of the very limited accommodation provided by the two or three baths and wash houses established in London: and to accuse them of indifference to

cleanliness because they reside in filthy houses, is as sensible as to accuse them of indifference to hot-house fruits and vegetables, or any other delicacies of the table, because they eat bad apples, or worse potatoes. The poor *must* take the nearest house to their work that they can find. If it is dirty, they can no more afford time to cleanse it, than they can money to purchase luxuries.

We shall now proceed to show, first, that fever may attack the healthiest without any predisposing cause in the patient; and secondly, that wherever sanatory precautions have been taken, they have been successful. Dr. S. Smith, in his Treatise on Fever, gives the following remarkable example of a number of healthy men being attacked by fever:

"Dr. Potter states, that he witnessed the rise of a most malignant yellow fever, in a valley in Pennsylvania, which contained numerous ponds of fresh water, and which, from the heat and dryness of the season, emitted a most offensive smell: that the fever prevailed most, and with the greatest degree of malignity, among the people who lived nearest these ponds: and adds an exceedingly instructive case, illustrative of the generation and operation of this cause of fever recorded by Major Prior, in his account of a fever which attacked the army of the United States at Galliopolis..... 'The fever,' says this intelligent officer, 'was, I think, justly charged to a large pond near the cantonment. An attempt had been made two or three years before to fill it up, by felling a large number of trees, that grew on and near its margin, and by covering the wood thus fallen with earth. This intention had not been fulfilled. In August the weather was extremely hot, and uncommonly dry; the water had evaporated considerably, leaving a great quantity of muddy water, with a thick slimy mixture of putrifying vegetables, which emitted a stench almost intolerable. The inhabitants of the village, principally French, and very poor, as well as filthy in their mode of living, began to suffer first, and died so rapidly that a general consternation seized the whole settlement. The garrison continued healthy for some days, and we began to console ourselves with the hope that we should escape altogether: we were, however, soon undeceived, and the reason of our exemption heretofore was soon discovered. The wind had blown the air arising from the pond from the camp: but as soon as it shifted to the reverse point, the soldiers began to sicken: in five days half the garrison was on the sick list, and in ten half of them were dead..... As some decisive measures became necessary to save the remainder of the troops, I first thought of changing my quarters, but as the station was in every respect more eligible than any other, and had been made so by much labour and expense, I deter-

mined to try the experiment of changing the condition of the pond, from which the disease was believed to have arisen. A ditch was accordingly cut ; what little water remained was conveyed off, and the whole surface covered with fresh earth. The effects of this scheme were soon obvious. Not a man was seized with the worst form of the fever after the work was finished, and the sick were not a little benefited, for they generally recovered, though slowly, because the fever became a common remittent, or gradually assumed the intermitting form. A few cases of remitting and intermitting fever occurred occasionally till frost put an end to it in every form. As soon as the contents of the pond were changed by cutting the ditch, the cause, whatever it was, seems to have been rendered incapable of communicating the disease in its worst form."—pp. 355-7.

Dr. Smith gives many similarly striking instances of sudden illness attacking men previously healthy, and of their rapid recovery when the causes of disease were removed : these instances being, however, chiefly derived from the experience of military officers abroad, they may not have the same weight as equally conclusive evidence at home would have. But unfortunately so few attempts have been made in England on a large scale to promote the public health, that the report, from which we have quoted, is very deficient in this respect ; and we must place more dependance on the fact, that in many ill-drained streets, *fever is never absent*, than we can on any existing proofs of the beneficial results of good drainage, if we would show the imperative necessity of improved sanatory regulations. Putting the case in the weakest point of view, we can argue from the absence of other causes, that imperfect drainage must be *a cause*, if not *the cause*, of the frightful prevalence of fever amongst our working classes. Some streets badly, or not at all drained, are *never* free from fever, according to Dr. Smith : every one's experience will tell him, that in well-drained streets such a thing is unknown. The undrained streets are always inhabited by the poor certainly ; but we have already seen that extreme poverty has nothing to do with the liability to disease, since the majority of patients at the fever hospitals are in full employment at the time. Besides, is it probable that the successive residents in one street should all possess means, habits, and occupations, so exactly identical, that they should be equally exposed to sickness ? To what cause, then, can we ascribe this fact, if not to the want of drainage ? The following extracts,

so far as they go, exhibit the benefits derived from sanatory improvements :

" About thirty years since Beccles began a system of drainage, which it has continued to improve, till at the present time every part of the town is well drained.....Bungay on the contrary, with equally convenient opportunities for drainage, has neglected its advantages, has one or two large reservoirs for filth in the town itself, and some of its principal drains are open ones. The result is, that Bungay, with a smaller proportion of town inhabitants, has become of late years less healthy than Beccles.....The proportions of deaths to the population for the last thirty years has been for—

	BECCLES.	BUNGAY.
" Between the years 1811 and 1821.....	1 in 67.....	1 in 69.
.....	1821 and 1831.....	1 in 72.....1 in 67.
.....	1831 and 1841.....	1 in 71.....1 in 59."

p. 28.

" At Lyons, from 1800 to 1806 the annual mortality in the prisons was 1 in 19 ; from 1806 to 1812, it was 1 in 31 ; from 1812 to 1819, it was 1 in 34 ; and from 1820 to 1826, 1 in 43 : a similar amelioration has also been remarked in the prisons of Rouen, and some other large towns in France," in consequence of improved cleanliness, ventilation, and diet.—p. 217.

Thus, from the first of these statements we find, that whilst the average duration of life has been increased between four and five years in Beccles, it has diminished no less than ten years in Bungay ; thus reversing the relative position of the two towns, Bungay having been the healthiest during the first period between 1811 and 1821. In the second statement, the effect of greater cleanliness is much more striking. We can easily imagine that the state of the French prisons at the commencement of this century, left no small room for improvement ; and the result of this improvement is, that whilst a man committed to prison before 1806, had only 19 years to live ; one committed to the same prison since 1820, may reasonably expect to live 43. If such an improvement as this could be effected in Great Britain, we should no doubt have all the disciples of Malthus up in arms at the frightfully increased 'pressure of population upon food,' which must be the result ; and their strenuous opposition to any sanatory measure would probably prove more formidable to combat than even the selfishness and apathy at present existing on the subject. Immensely increased destitution, and consequently increased poor rates, would be confidently predicted

as the reward of the sacrifices to be made in the cause of health. But the invaluable report again comes to our aid, and, together with the equally valuable facts brought to light by Dr. S. Smith's perseverance and industry, enables us to meet the Malthusians on their own grounds. The following table* exhibits the astounding paradox, that the greater the mortality is, the more numerous are the births:

	The annual average Proportion of Births rate of increase of and Deaths to population has been ulation in the year per 10,000 persons ended June 30, between 1831 and 1840. 1841,	Proportion of Births Excess in every 10,000 persons in of Births above Deaths.	Deaths.
The fourteen counties where the mortality has been the least.	{ 1.12 { deaths 1 in 54 { births 1 in 34	deaths 184 { births 297 }	113
The fourteen counties where it has been intermediate.	{ 1.21 { deaths 1 in 48 { births 1 in 33	deaths 208 { births 302 }	94
The fourteen counties where it has been greatest.	{ 1.83 { deaths 1 in 39 { births 1 in 29	deaths 259 { births 348 }	89

The most ultra-Malthusian can find no pleasure in such a picture as this. It will be seen from the above table, that in the fourteen counties where the mortality is lowest, the population has increased at the rate of 1.12 per cent. per annum, whilst in the fourteen counties where it is highest, it has actually increased at the rate of 1.84 per cent.; that is, that 1,120 persons have been added in ten years to every 10,000 healthy persons, and 1,830 to every 10,000 unhealthy persons! Let us now see what Dr. S. Smith says on the effect of sickness on poor rates:

"No returns can show the amount of suffering which the poor have had to endure.....during the last year; but the present returns indicate some of the final results of that suffering; they show that out of 77,000 persons (relieved), 14,000 have been attacked with fever, one fifth part of the whole; and that out of the 14,000 attacked nearly 1,300 have died. The public, meantime, have suffered to a far greater extent than they are aware of, from this appalling amount of wretchedness, sickness, and mortality. Independently of the large amount of money which they have had to pay in the support of the sick, and of the families of the sick, pauperized in consequence of the heads of these families having

* Report, p. 182.

become unable to pursue their occupations, they have suffered still more severely from the spread of fever to their own habitations and families.....The expenditure necessary to the adoption and maintenance of these measures of prevention," (sewerage, drainage, &c.) "would ultimately amount to less than the cost of the disease now constantly engendered. The most pestilential of those places, when once put into a wholesome condition, would be maintained in that state at a comparatively small expense ; whereas, as long as they are allowed to remain in their present condition, the results must continue the same ; it follows that the prevention of the evil, rather than the mitigation of the consequences of it, is not only the most beneficent, but the most economical course."*

We consider that the above affords one of the strongest arguments that can be advanced in favour of the question, when regarded only in a pecuniary point of view. Here we find no less than one-fifth of all the paupers relieved were compelled to seek relief in consequence of want, probably produced by the inability to labour which results from sickness. If we suppose that for each pauper attacked with fever, two others, (a very small proportion), were brought to destitution through this illness, we shall have three-fifths of the whole number relieved, unnecessarily thrown on the poor rates for support. The Malthusian will also observe, that the population has not undergone any great diminution, the victims of fever having only been decimated—it is seldom more—and that the remaining nine-tenths have been forced to spend a most disagreeable *vacation* in a bed of sickness.

We trust we have satisfactorily shown that every thing, even on the lowest principles, is in favour of a sanatory measure, and opposed to the late system—or rather absence of all system. We have even shown, that where disease and misery operate most powerfully against the duration of life, their effect in preventing redundancy of population is more than counterbalanced by the increased number of births : for, supposing that the increase of births only kept pace with the increase of deaths, the balance would decidedly be with long life and few births, against short life and many births, for this reason : that as it requires a certain number of years to convert the raw material, children, (in the language of political economists), into the manufactured article labourers, and as this period

* Report on the prevalence of Fever in the Metropolis in 1837.8.
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is the same for a short-lived, as it is for a long-lived man; it follows, that to produce a given quantity of the manufactured article, a greater quantity of the raw material will be required in the former case than in the latter, and also a larger proportion of the whole duration of life will be passed in unproductive infancy. The check upon population, therefore, which disease and premature death may be supposed to provide, turns out, in this view of the matter, to be nothing more than a useless waste of the raw material, infant life. In a pecuniary light—not to mention higher considerations—this must be allowed to be at least as great an evil, as the heavy charge on the poor rates produced by the ravages of fever among the working classes, when the time, trouble, and expense of rearing children to a useful and productive age are duly considered.

Every one residing in a large town must have occasionally experienced the sensations resulting from the present abominable system of clearing the sewers, by tearing up the pavement, bringing up to the surface, and allowing to remain in the streets for hours, the accumulated filth of *ten years*. Against this system, and in favour of that of *flushing* the sewers, Mr. Roe, civil engineer, gives the following evidence:

Question.—“The structural expense being lower, is the ultimate expense of cleansing lower also?—Yes: the expense of cleansing the sewers is about 50 per cent. less than the prevalent mode. Our expense (in the Holborn and Finsbury district) of cleansing the sewers was about £1200 per annum; we save £600 of that, and expect to save more; but to this must be added the saving to the public of the cleansing of the private drains, formerly choked by the accumulation in the sewers. This saving, on a moderate calculation, is found to be upwards of £300 per annum.

“During what intervals are deposits allowed to remain on the old mode? The average is in one set of sewers about five years, and in another about ten years.”—p. 375.

The space we have devoted to the report, and the extensive consideration we are desirous of bestowing on the Public Health Act, will preclude us from saying much on the subject of baths and wash-houses; indeed, no objections are made to their establishment, except on the score of expense, and the provisions of the Act have been already, or are in the course of being, extensively carried out. We shall merely state that the benefits

which may be expected from them can scarcely be overrated, as our readers will admit, when they hear that 150,000 persons bathed, and about 1,000,000 articles of clothing were washed at the public baths and wash-houses in George Street, Euston Square, London, during the year 1847, and that 30,000 persons bathed at those in Goulston Square, during the five months ending at Christmas.

We must now turn our attention to the Act itself—the final and authorized edition of the much reviled and often altered and amended (?) Health of Towns Bill, the different editions of which, in its progress through Parliament, have resembled those endless editions which it has become the fashion for the “ordinary channels of information” to go through in this eventful year, both in the multiplicity of them, and in the alternations of hope and fear with which they inspired the friends of improvement and reform. There is also a resemblance, we fear, between the results of the revolutions which have caused the necessity for those numberless newspaper editions, and the result of all the changes made in the Act under consideration—a feeling of disappointment at the little that has been effected, in comparison with the many things promised. And we cannot but think that, if the Ministry had shown as much determination in demanding a Coercion Act against filth, the source of disease, and consequently of discontent, as they did in passing coercion bills against those, a large portion of whom (we may fairly assume) have been brought to destitution—and through it induced to join in the plots of designing or misguided men—by sickness, to which they would never have been liable, but for the neglect of past governments in not passing such a law,—we cannot but think that we should have seen some more satisfactory reference to the subject in the Speech from the Throne, than the simple expression of “an earnest hope that a foundation has been laid for continual advances in this beneficial work.” If a fitting superstructure be raised, then indeed the foundation will not have been laid in vain; but of the probability and practicability of this, we regret to say we entertain great doubts, in consequence of the mode in which the act is to be brought into operation in places already possessing local acts—that is, in other words, in all, or nearly all, our large towns. In these cases, the only power bestowed on the “General Board of Health” (besides that of instituting certain

enquiries of which we shall hereafter speak) is that of making a provisional order, bringing the town in which the inquiry has taken place, under the operation of the Act, or any part of it; but which provisional order is of no effect without the sanction of Parliament, and to be subsequently obtained in each separate instance! The effect of this will no doubt be, to drag some unwilling culprits, in the shape of neglectful corporations, before the bar of Parliament, there to show cause why sentence should not be passed upon them; and were the sentence to follow conviction in this court as surely as it does in others, we should be perfectly content to leave the arraignment of each traitor to the cause of the public health, to such a warm and steady advocate of it as is the First Commissioner of Woods and Forests. But unfortunately we cannot forget the fate which attended the decisions and "provisional orders" of a government board established not many years since, and constituted in a manner, and for a purpose, not very dissimilar (in their reports and recommendations to Parliament) to those of the General Board of Health. We can but express our earnest hope, that the reports and "provisional orders" of this Board will meet with better success, and cause far more satisfaction than the celebrated *decisions* of the Railway Department of the Board of Trade.

The "General Board of Health," constituted by this Act, will consist of two officers, one of whom only is to receive any salary, with the First Commissioner of Woods, Forests, &c., for the time being, as president. The powers of the Board are to continue only for five years from the date of the passing of the Act. The Board may appoint as many Superintending Inspectors as they may think fit, subject to the approval of the Treasury. It will be the duty of these inspectors to make local enquiries, wherever one-tenth of the rate-payers in any place may petition for such enquiry, or where the number of deaths for a series of years has exceeded the general average, in order to ascertain the condition of the sewerage, drainage, supply of water, &c. Fourteen days' public notice of their intention to hold this investigation must be given. Should their report be unfavourable, the Board of Health, in their turn, are to report to Her Majesty, who is empowered by order in council to declare the Act to be in force in the place in question, provided it has no local act.

The costs, or such part of them as the Treasury may think fit, of the preliminary enquiry, are to be ultimately chargeable on the rates of each town or district, and to be deemed a debt due to the treasury, which must be repaid in not more than five instalments, with interest at the rate of five per cent. on the amount due.

When the act is thus declared by order in council to be in force in any town, if incorporated, the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses are to form the local Board of Health, and to exercise all the powers vested in such boards,—such as the management of the sewerage, the appointment of officers of health, &c.; if unincorporated, the provisions of the act are to be executed by so many persons as the queen may appoint. The members of these boards must reside within seven miles of the town or district for which they are appointed, must possess real or personal property to the amount of £1000, or be rated to the relief of the poor on the annual value of not less than £30, and must be elected by the rate-payers.

The powers vested in these local bodies will prove that, *when* the Act shall have struggled into operation in any place, it will be very far from inefficient; for, in addition to the following summary of the duties which Lord Morpeth, on the introduction of the measure, said he intended should be imperatively required of the local boards, viz.—

“ To hold meetings for transaction of business ; to appoint a surveyor ; an inspector of nuisances ; to procure a map of their district ; to make public sewers ; to substitute sufficient sewers in case old ones be discontinued ; to require owners or occupiers to provide house-drains ; to cleanse and water streets ; to appoint or contract with scavengers ; to cleanse, cover, or fill up offensive ditches ; to keep a register of slaughter-houses ; to keep a register of certain lodging-houses ; to provide a sufficient supply of water for drainage, public and private, and for domestic use”—

They will have to take care that “ no new house shall be built without a drain and a proper water-closet or privy, (for the absence of which they can inflict penalties of £50. and £20. respectively) ; to require the owner or occupier of any house, the state of which may have been certified by an officer of health, or by two medical practitioners, to be dangerous to health, to cleanse it, and if he neglect to do so, to fine him 10s. a-day till he obeys the order ; and to

keep a register of, and fix the number of lodgers that may be accommodated in all common public lodging-houses." The permissive powers to be exercised by them, are those of providing slaughter-houses, and of prohibiting the establishment of offensive trades—such as blood, bone, and soap-boilers, &c.—of compelling the paving, sewerage, &c., of private streets; of removing gas and water pipes; of causing any new street, laid out contrary to their orders with respect to the level and width, to be altered in such manner as the case may require; of purchasing premises for the purpose of improving the public streets; of providing places of recreation for the public; of providing a supply of water (every one will concur with us in regretting that this was not made compulsory); of furnishing water to, and levying rates on, any house that may not have a sufficient supply, in case the owner should neglect to obtain such supply on being required to do so by the local board; and of preparing rooms or other premises for the reception of dead bodies, in order to prevent the evils arising from their retention in the dwellings of the poor.

To require corporate bodies to exercise such simple and necessary powers as the majority of them use, and to see that official selfishness or neglect did not neutralise these good provisions of the bill, cannot surely be deemed a very arbitrary enactment. The duty of investigating the conduct of local bodies was to devolve on the inspectors, of whom we have already spoken; they were also to have the power of preparing, at the expense of the town, plans for the draining, cleansing, &c., of any town visited by them, and for this purpose might, after twenty-four hours' notice, enter any land they please. No doubt the somewhat extensive powers proposed to be intrusted to these inspectors, caused much of the opposition which the original bill encountered. Their visits could not fail to be *inopportune* wherever corporate bodies or individuals have neglected their duties; but so are the visits of the police to the haunts of thieves, and of excisemen to illicit distilleries. And as the honest man and legitimate trader overlook the inconveniences of such visits for the sake of the general good arising from the operation of the police and excise laws, we do think the model corporation and the perfect individual, who require no supervision to urge them to the fulfilment of their duty, might have with equal magnanimity forgiven any unnecessary interference to which the

operation of this clause might have subjected them. But as this argument would only have strength with those who do their duty, and as present appearances do not warrant the conclusion that these are a *large* number, another and more effectual mode of overcoming the objection made to these arbitrary visits might have been resorted to; and that was, by appealing (paradoxical though it may appear) to the very selfishness which dictates the objection against it. We suspect the firmest opponent of interference with the privacy of home—"the Englishman's castle"—is not prepared to put up with the consequences which would follow from his neighbour's being permitted still to render his *castle* such a focus of fever and pestilence as that described by Mr. Howell. However obstinately he might contend for the right of endangering his own health in his own house, he would be the first to impugn his neighbour's right to do so. These considerations, we submit, would have reconciled those who are really anxious for sanatory reform, to the intrusion and inconvenience that might, in some instances, attend the operation of the clause which authorized the visits, particularly if they called to mind the impossibility of doing away with the present most vicious system without some stringent measures.

The wholesale extinction of local acts and commissions, contemplated in the first bill, whenever they clashed with its provisions, was perhaps not the most trifling amongst the causes of its unpopularity; but the absolute necessity for uniformity of management in towns where different bodies now possess jurisdiction over different but adjoining districts, rendered the clauses abolishing these distinct, and frequently hostile bodies, almost indispensable; and we much regret that the omission of them is one of the *amendments* on the original Health of Towns Bill that has been carried.

There is another *amendment*, however, which we regret even more, and that is, that the supply of a sufficient quantity of water, which was compulsory on the local boards by the first bill, is now only optional. The abandonment of this, and another clause requiring the purchase of all existing waterworks by the local boards, previous to the erection of new works by them, appears to us the most unfortunate of all the concessions made by the ministry. Without a plentiful supply of water, no amount of sanatory

regulations or precautions can be thoroughly effective; and we imagine that few of our readers will contend that the present supply is sufficient. Indeed, they would most probably say, that the sooner the present system is abolished the better. Besides, the proposed terms of purchase (the average market price during two years, if not less than twenty-five years' purchase of the income) were so very fair, that they must have met with general approbation. They neither exhibited that over sensitive, or rather, partial regard for the extreme rights of the few, which entirely overlooks the simplest rights of the many; nor that unscrupulous and wanton disregard of the just rights of the enterprising few, which would inevitably produce such distrust in all speculative improvements, that all enterprise would be destroyed, and the object in view—the good of the many—thus defeated. And with respect to the heavy expense in which this purchase would involve towns, whose water companies are realising large profits, and which might be supposed by some to be absolutely ruinous, we have to remark, that the purchase money given for the water-works, however high it might be, would only be the sum required to redeem in perpetuity that portion of the water rates which is charged by the water company over and above the sum that would repay their expenses, and also the value of their works, mains, &c. To make this more evident, we will suppose such a case as the following. A town is supplied with water by a company whose capital is £100,000, whose profits are 20 per cent, and whose £100 shares are worth £500, the town must of course give the enormous sum of £500,000 for the works; but it would thus redeem for ever the annual charge of £20,000, and possess all the works of the company. If we take the market value of money at four per cent, we shall find that the town would be in exactly the same position financially, whether it purchase the works or not; with this very important advantage on the side of the purchase, however, that for a very slight increase of expenditure, a constant and unlimited supply of water might be substituted for the present intermittent and wretchedly inadequate supply. Even under the new Act this may be done, and we trust in this age of enormous wealth and boasted liberality, the wealthier classes will eagerly embrace such an opportunity of conferring an immense boon on their poorer brethren, especially when they consider that the purity as well as the quantity

of the water depends on the adoption of the new system, the water being often totally unfit for use in consequence of the necessity of keeping it in rotten barrels or filthy tanks.

It will be observed that this is the only case in which we have appealed to the charitable feelings of our readers. We have not done so on other occasions, because we thought the facts that we have detailed would be sufficiently convincing to enlist the sympathies of every philanthropist in favour of the measure, without any appeal from us; and with those who could remain unmoved by them, we feared that anything we could say would have but little weight. We therefore preferred to use the weapons which they would probably employ themselves. We have also but slightly alluded to the higher advantages which may be hoped from attention to the cause we advocate; but surely there is no one who has even but little studied the moral condition of our poor, who is not convinced how constantly external purity is the index to purity of conduct, and how certainly, in the opposite case, habits of disorder and uncleanliness lead ultimately to habits of vice.

Before we conclude, we must briefly notice two or three omissions, common alike to the *Health of Towns Bill* and the *Public Health Act*, concerning matters with which, though of great importance, it could scarcely be expected with justice that a single measure should deal, and to one of which in particular—*the window-tax*, which has been so aptly termed a tax on *virtue*—no one who knows the Chancellor of the Exchequer's peculiar sensitiveness to anything that affects the revenue, could have anticipated any reference. Our readers will not perhaps have suspected, that the exclusion of the metropolis from the act is one of the omissions which we have stated to be, in our opinion, not unreasonable. Our reasons for this we shall give below. With respect to burial-grounds and slaughter-houses (the omissions to which we have referred) it will be readily confessed the Act is very deficient, when we state that the only power conferred by it, is that of closing the former when certified to be dangerous to health, and of keeping a register of the latter.

In the case of burial grounds and slaughter-houses in towns, there are no considerations of revenue to hinder their abolition; but then, there is that almost insuperable obstacle, *vested interests*, to contend with. So completely

does the injustice of interfering with *pecuniary vested interests* always absorb men's ideas of justice, that it never seems to enter their minds that the poor, at whose expense these interests are generally supported, can by any possibility possess *moral-vested interests*, or rather *rights*. Even on occasions where the highest interests of human beings are concerned—those of eternity—we see them constantly sacrificed to vested temporal interests. The spiritual destitution of the large towns of England is acknowledged by all; yet, when the ecclesiastical commission recommended that the income of the majority of the bishops should be *reduced* to £4,000 or £5,000 a-year, and all pluralities abolished, not a hint was given that it was desirable the alterations should take place immediately. No; *vested interests* must be respected; and though thousands meantime might be swept off, ignorant of all religion, the *thousands* of the bishops must be held sacred from interference. We consider the present a parallel case, (of far less importance, of course), with this exception, that we do not demand the sacrifice of any vested interests, without adequate compensation. We are averse to their confiscation, fully as much on grounds of policy as of justice. Many of the vested interests at present standing in the way of sanatory improvements, were originally created by the privileges granted to bodies whose works were of great public utility, such as gas-works and water-works. The arbitrary confiscation of works like these would eventually lead to such universal distrust, and act as such an incubus upon enterprise, as would far more than counterbalance any temporary benefits that might be experienced from it. Whilst, therefore, we disclaim all sympathy with those who would unhesitatingly sacrifice the rights of the few to those of the many, we must earnestly request our readers to reflect, whether the poor have not as strong vested rights to life and health, as the proprietors of burial grounds and slaughter-houses have to their property, and whether some sacrifice might not be made by the wealthy to rid our large towns of these nuisances. By the abolition of interment in towns, and by taking such measures as would prevent noxious exhalations from the old burial grounds, we might convert a source of disease into a means of health, burial grounds being necessarily open spots. With regard to slaughter-houses, so much more fruitful in disease, and so much more numerous than burial grounds,

we beg to offer a suggestion which has occurred to us, and which, if carried into effect, would, we think, neutralise the evils arising from them, at the same time that it would facilitate the establishment of baths and wash-houses. Our plan is, that the basements of these establishments should be employed as slaughter-houses, and the first floors be devoted to the baths ; by this means, the cost of the sites, (so heavy in large towns), would be divided between them ; the amount of the profit would be doubled ; the immense quantity of water consumed in the baths above could be employed to deluge the slaughter-houses below ; and the quantity of hides, offal, &c., would be so great, from the number of animals killed, as to render it profitable to remove them daily, thus preventing putrefaction from taking place before removal.

In conclusion, we must observe that our reason for not considering the exemption of the metropolis from the new Act as unreasonable, that a city containing an eighth of the population of England and Wales may fairly claim to have a special act, instead of being included in a general one. Besides, much has been done in London during the last year* in constructing spacious sewers ; and the consolidation, of sewerage commissions which the government has already effected, and the activity and energy which it has displayed in carrying out the ordnance survey of London, now in progress, give us confidence in its promises, that the metropolis shall not escape.

ART. VI.—*Travels in Siberia: including Excursions Northwards, down the Obi, to the Polar Circle; and Southwards, to the Chinese Frontier.* By ADOLF ERMAN. Translated from the German by WILLIAM DESBOROUGH COOLEY. In two volumes. London : Longman and Co., 1848.

FEW pleasant associations are connected with Siberia. The world in general regards it as a region of ice and snow, barren plains, bleak hills, and interminable forests.

* Messrs. Brunel and Walker, in their late report on the state of the city sewerage, say, that during the last ten years, a greater extent of sewerage has been constructed than in the previous one hundred and thirty, and that there are now but three miles of street, out of fifty, without sewers.

When the English reader directs his attention towards the vast tracts of country which stretch between Russia and the further east, he is apt immediately to conjure up pictures of long winters, and scorching, but brief summers, whose duration barely serves but to render more bitterly felt the gloom of the succeeding seasons. But in dwelling on the melancholy features of Siberia, on its desert forests, its naked plains, its snowy valleys, its pine-clothed mountains, its dreary towns, cities, and fortresses, its communities of exiles, and the thankless servitude everywhere apparent, we should remember that a land so little favoured has not been abandoned to unproductiveness, nor been left utterly destitute of beauty. The woods and plains, whose dreary and unpeopled extent serves at first only to impress the imagination with the idea of gloom, furnish to the luxury of the surrounding nations those magnificent furs which pour wealth into the coffers of the hunter and the trader; the recesses of the mountains are rich in precious minerals and costly stones; while timber of noble quality may be obtained. During the summer months, too, a Siberian landscape offers not a few pleasant combinations of beauty, containing within itself most of those elements which go to the making up of a fine picture—green woods, plains covered with verdure, elaborately cultivated lands, busy towns, and quiet villages, while thickets of white and red roses, with flowers of many other species, and blossoming hedge rows, add a gentle loveliness to the scene, and form altogether a striking contrast to the desolate aspect of winter. But even during that icy season it would be difficult to find a more striking spectacle than that presented by the Siberian landscape, with its broad plains sheeted over with glittering snow, its clusters of houses capped with dazzling white, and its mountains rearing their wooded heads to the sky, while their slopes are covered with deep pure snow.

Still, while regarding these features of attraction, it is not unnatural that unpleasant associations should connect themselves with the name of Siberia. These, however, are not to be traced so much to natural as to artificial sources, which may be found in the dreary depths of Russian policy. This it is chiefly that has gained for Siberia so unwholesome a notoriety, which has rendered it a byword for all that is comfortless and miserable. So widely diffused is the feeling, that it is a fact known to all

who have directed their attention to the subject, that many regions far less accessible, and presenting far less inviting features, have been oftener visited, oftener described, and are oftener dwelt upon than Siberia. Seldom, indeed, were the travellers who have crossed its dreary districts prompted to their task by motives of curiosity and the thirst for adventure, so much as the desire of their governments to promote the ends of science. Expeditions have been set on foot, and their expenses defrayed by authority. Some of the members of those expeditions have clothed their experience, scientific as well as general, in language and given it to the world. Information has thus been diffused, which, had the public depended on the spirit of private enterprise, would have been slow in making its appearance. For instance, the able and interesting speculations of MM. Gmelin and Muller would never, in all probability, have enriched the stores of science, had not Anne of Austria, who has to be thanked for many such good works, dispatched them on an exploring expedition into Siberia. Many other travellers whom we could mention, would doubtless, had the choice been left them, have preferred undertaking to penetrate to the remotest sources of the White River, to hazarding the rigours of a Siberian winter. But the spirit of the nineteenth century has spread its influence even as far as those inclement regions, and we witness the slow progress of civilization, where formerly the races dwelling in close proximity to a powerful nation, skilled in all the arts of luxury, were raised but a few steps above the merest barbarians. Now, however, the case is somewhat altered, and we observe, even among the remotest hills of Siberia, indications of the fact, that no country presents a barrier impenetrable to the slow but sure advance of civilization.

The Norwegian government is distinguished by the honour of having enabled Professor Hansteen and Mr. Erman to prosecute their interesting researches into the heart of a country so little known. The object proposed was that of making a series of magnetical observations, which will, without doubt, hereafter prove of the utmost importance to science. Having by deep study prepared his mind for the reception of those varied and multiplied impressions likely to be made upon it in the course of such a journey, our traveller left Berlin on the 25th of April, 1828. In setting forth upon such an undertaking, it was fortunate that the expedition was accompanied by a

man whose mind had been moulded like that of Mr. Erman. He is not a mere observer and noter down of dry scientific details. His work shows evidence of the skill of an able writer, of the quickness of observation which is the invariable characteristic of genius, of the deep warm impulses of an enthusiastic traveller, who sojourns among strange people as one of themselves, and is prepared to meet difficulty and face danger in the pursuit of knowledge.

The poplars on the road side were in full leaf, the elder bushes were green, and the willows had burst into flower where our travellers set out from Berlin, a striking exemplification of the change of climate to be experienced during the course of so short a journey, for at Königsberg when the spring season had advanced eight days further, they found the willows with unbroken buds. Pursuing their route, with little interruption they reached St. Petersburg about the middle of May, and here they had to wait for Professor Hansteen and his party, who experiencing many difficulties by the way, did not arrive at the capital till about the twentieth of June, and the various preparations for a residence in Siberia occupied them until the eleventh of July. Mr. Erman, therefore, enjoyed an opportunity of observing much that was curious and characteristic in the Russian mode of life. He describes St. Petersburg as a superb city built in a style of almost barbaric magnificence, and among whose vast and varied population are to be discerned those inevitable results of a minute division of classes—jealousy, a species of caste feeling, and the consequent clash of opposing interests. An inordinate passion for luxury influences almost every aspect of Russian society—those stages of society at least which are in any degree elevated above the common order. While oppressing and treading down his humbler neighbour, the grandee of St. Petersburg thinks only of promoting his own well-being. He loves to live surrounded by all that is luxurious, all that wealth can procure, all that the ingenuity of an epicure can devise, and while he is seldom unwilling to lavish enormous sums upon those ministering to his individual pleasure, he will grind his immediate dependants almost to starvation, by compelling them to labour for his benefit at a rate of remuneration scarcely adequate to the support of a dog. In this view of the subject we are not supported by the authority of

Mr. Erman alone. Many other travellers have held the same position with us, though seldom have we felt an inclination to bestow greater credence either on the veracity or the judgment of any writer, than on the earnest and vigorous strictures of the present author. His assertions bear on their face the stamp of truth. He does not paint his pictures in exaggerated colours. While his delineations of Russian character are warm and vivid, there is yet to be observed about them a sober tone which at once stands witness for the truthfulness of the remarks. It requires little quickness of perception, however, to be enabled to see through the mask of politeness, frigid and formal as it is, that conceals from the cursory glance that turbid under-current of jealousy and dislike which rolls through the deep channels of Russian society. The wealthy and powerful veil their feelings beneath a cloak of hypocrisy, apparently so deceptive to some travellers, that we have heard the gentry of St. Petersburg characterized as people of splendid manners, who, while they feel the most ardent friendship for each other, yet restrain their warm impulses lest these should betray them into a breach of good breeding. But the grandes of Russia, as is known to all keen-sighted observers, make use of their delicate etiquette for far different purposes. The individuals who might be seen smiling and exchanging looks apparently big with the cordiality of friendship, would perhaps be gratified by nothing so much as by the downfall of any one amongst them, whose misfortunes might bring with them any degree of advantage to the rest. The humbler grades, on the other hand, not daring to expose their hatred of the ruling classes, conceal it under the disguise of servility, and in this manner does the society of St. Petersburg preserve a balance which would otherwise be lost, and the whole mass thus precipitated in confusion.

But our present purpose is with Siberia. We must therefore hasten on and accompany the expedition without a pause as far as Valdai, which it reached on the 14th of July. A number of women bearing an offering of wheaten cakes came forth to meet the travellers, who, bestowing a kiss upon each of the ancient dames, proceeded to take up their quarters in the town. Thence they travelled to Yedrovo, where a marked change appeared in the aspect of the country, which suddenly losing its elevated and woody character, sinks abruptly, and presents the

appearance of a vast sloping plain strewed at intervals with fragments of lime-stone rock. The forests disappear, and are superseded by vegetation of a scantier and humbler kind, while the ground becomes marshy and altogether less fitted for transit of any species. Wooden highways now take the place of the stone-paved roads. They are more adapted to the nature of the country, and exhibit much ingenuity in their construction. The trunks of huge trees are smoothed by the axe and placed longitudinally upon the earth; and the interstices are filled with a composition of clay and leaves. The snows of winter render these wooden roads level and smooth, so that carriages may travel over them with much rapidity. The 19th of July saw Mr. Erman and his companions at Moscow, where they made some stay, and it was not until the first week in August that the church-towers of Nijnei Novrogod appeared against the horizon.

At the time our travellers entered this famous town, all its inhabitants had thronged to the great annual fair which gives to Nijnei Novrogod so much of importance as a commercial emporium. A strange variety of costumes and dialects marked the mixture of races. Wares of all kinds were exposed for sale—the elegant bijouterie of the French modiste, the obrasa or Greek holy images, not to be sold for money, but to be bartered for other goods, the cotton and shawls of Bokhara, the teas of China, the peltry and leather of the Tatars, with other materials of commerce of which it would be difficult to offer an enumeration. Immense ranges of buildings serve as warehouses and shops, and the stone paved-ways between these are covered with a various throng of busy buyers and sellers, all intent on the one great object, that of exchanging their wares for money, or of laying out with advantage their hard-earned roubles.

The great fair of Nijnei Novrogod adds, of itself, not a little to the prosperity of the Russian empire. The enormous revenue derived from the lease or sale of warehouses, the amounts charged on the entry of goods, tend to enrich the public treasury, while the immense sums thrown into circulation by the countless traders who frequent this famous national market, spread a wide circle of prosperity round the city. One circumstance which contributes to give to Nijnei Novrogod a high degree of importance, is its advantageous position on the banks of the Volga, whose

noble stream annually bears the burden of many thousands of boats laden with corn and the merchandize of Siberia, and other still more abundant regions. The lands surrounding the town, too, are abundantly irrigated and susceptible of elaborate cultivation.

Fifty-three versts beyond Novrogod Mr. Erman observed the first fort built for the temporary reception of those unhappy exiles whom the severity of Russian law has doomed to a life of misery in the remotest regions of Siberia. The Czar is far too politic to allow these miserable men to congregate at his capital, and there to march in melancholy procession for their cheerless destination. This would expose to the world in too glaring a light the policy which consigns every dangerous or suspected individual to an exile as hopeless as it is wretched. It is, therefore, the plan to seize the proscribed person in secret, to convey him to prison; and, at the dead of night to hurry him from the city under a strong guard to some distant out post. Thence he is marched by a circuitous route to Novrogod, and thence to Polänia, where, for the first time he meets those who are to be his companions during the remainder of that melancholy journey.

"We saw the convicts condemned to exile provided here, generally speaking, who were about to start on their march, with uniform linen at the public charge. With every train of them are several waggons drawn by post horses, to carry the women and the old and infirm men; the rest follow in pairs in a long train, escorted by a militia established in the villages. It is but rarely that one sees especial offenders with fetters on their legs during their march."

Passing through a variety of scenery, and bivouacking among a diversity of wild and strange tribes, the expedition arrived at Kasan, a city whose historic recollections are far from being devoid of interest. Having long stood proud and confident in the strength of its fortifications, it fell in 1522 before the might of the Russian arms. The manner in which the town was taken is related at length in the chronicles. The Czar Joan Vasilievich crossed the Volga with a numerous army, and at once marched upon Kasan. As he approached the town his forces had to sustain a brisk cannonade from the walls, while thirty thousand Tatars, who were lying in ambush along the road fell upon them. Notwithstanding all resistance, however,

the Czar pushed the siege vigorously. His army fought for forty days, doubtful of the result. They seized numerous prisoners, and binding them to palisades, advanced them in front of the assaulting army, in the hope of thus inducing the besieged to surrender. But the beleagured townsmen were not thus to be turned from their duty. As their captive brethren approached they relentlessly fired upon them, crying out at the same time, "No citizen of Kasan will outlive his freedom." At length, through the skill and ingenuity of an experienced engineer, three mines were carried into the heart of the city : the hostile army entered, and though compelled to fight their way inch by inch, swept the streets of their defenders, and thus for ever crushed the independence of Kasan.

Without the town stands a Tatar mosque. Mr. Erman paints in vivid colours the scene presented to his view on entering the house of worship.

"We were introduced first into a wide quadrangular hall ; along the walls are placed rows of tall grave-stones, dug up in the vicinity, and set up here to perpetuate the memory of some saints. The Tatars, as they came in, stood for a little time in silent prayer before these stones. Each left his shoes at the door of the circular hall adjoining, and proceeded barefooted to its eastern wall, where he squatted down with his legs under him on the mats which cover the floor of this extremely simple and unadorned edifice. The people thus forming a semicircle facing the west, sat as motionless as statues, which they resembled the more on account of their white clothing, the narrow windows giving entrance to only a few faint rays of the evening light. The priest, in the mean time, had seated himself on the ground at the western side of the hall ; and, with his face to the congregation he now began to read verses from the Koran in a chanting sonorous voice, and with rhythmical cadence. When the verses were read the hearers bowed their heads to the ground, and a dead silence ensued during the silent prayer. Readings and pauses were in this way repeated several times, until at the conclusion of a prayer the priest rose, and addressing our guides, begged us to leave the Mesjid, as the presence of unbelievers could not be allowed during the rest of the service."

From Kasan Mr. Erman proceeded on his journey towards the Ural range. Now the road lay through shady forests, now along gentle slopes rich with the promise of corn crops. The temperature underwent a rapid change, a difference appeared in the manners, habits, and costume of the population, while several phenomena in the geologi-

cal formation of the land gave evidence of the approach to a new climate. At Votka our traveller made himself acquainted with several curious facts connected with the early history and progress of that flourishing settlement, while he also furnishes us with an interesting though brief biographical sketch of the famous Sobakin, whose career forms one of the most striking instances of how much perseverance may effect, even against the powerful obstacles, poverty and an obscure fortune. Thence the party journeyed on until about the latter end of August they commenced the ascent of the Ural mountain, which may be considered as forming the proper boundary of Siberia. Many valuable scientific observations were made, much new information obtained. We regret that space will not allow us to enter into all the novel details connected with this portion of the journey, which, lying as it did through a region so extraordinary, cannot fail to fill the reader's mind with interest. It is not for the bare facts related that these chapters are alone rendered important. To those who peruse them carefully they are full of suggestiveness; they create ideas in the imagination; while dwelling on the characteristics of the country, we are involuntarily led to consider its past history, obscure and imperfectly recorded as it is. The quaint, but extremely glowing and forcible language of Milton is recalled to us; we compare the language of the two writers; we sympathize with the traveller in his yearning to penetrate the regions bordering the Obi, and by degrees the conviction grows upon the mind that those districts of the world which former speculators have rendered so distasteful to the popular imagination, present each and all of them, not even excepting those lying beyond the limits of tillage, countless features worthy of attention and admirably calculated to awaken thoughts by no means unpleasant.

Having bade adieu to the slopes of the Ural, and descended upon the level plains of Siberia, Mr. Erman entered upon a region covered with monotonous gloomy woods, composed for the most part of valuable trees, among which the indigenous cedar holds no mean position. Several extraordinary phenomena were observed. Among the circumstances it was noticed that the cedar mentioned, and which here flourishes at an elevation of but 800 feet above the level of the sea, belongs to the same family which is found on the Swiss Alp summits, which pierce

the air to the height of 7000 feet. The similitude of soil and climate which is observable in two countries so widely separated is very remarkable. One difference, however, exists. In the last named regions the prevalence of drying winds causes much uneasiness, tending as it does to prevent the decomposition of vegetable matter, so essentially requisite to the preservation of a valuable soil. On the Siberian plains no such winds prevail, a fact which argues for the future fertility of these provinces, since the resources of the land have never hitherto been exhausted, or even developed to any stage near their full maturity. The result is, that the rich qualities of the ground increase in proportion as time progresses. The huge forests which cover the land show at once the fertility, and the desolate state of the country, which is equal to the support of many thousands of inhabitants, is only taxed to nourish those mighty woods, which flourish and live their day, then wither, totter, fall, and crumble into dust, thus serving alone to add to the fertility of the earth from which they took their origin. Population was but thinly scattered over these districts. During a day's journey, Mr. Erman mentions meeting with but one man, a Russian shepherd on horseback, tending his flock of horned sheep.

A rapid change was now observable in the face of the country which rose suddenly, while the earth was found to be strongly impregnated with mineral matter. At Tagilsk they saw those immense iron and copper mines, whose produce forms so large a portion of the wealth of that district. Beyond this place, a range of elevated land running parallel with the Ural was traversed, the village of Laya passed through, and Kushva entered. This is a cluster of dwellings pleasantly situate among rocky heights. Detached masses of stone rise to a great elevation, and deep valleys run between the several formations, dividing them from each other, as for example, the crystalline green stone from the iron.

After having pushed their researches some distance in a northernly direction, the travellers retraced their track to Yekaterinburgh, a town of some importance, which they had passed on their way from the Ural range. The nature of the climate near this place, and the brief duration of the summer season, may be imagined from the fact, that the willows on the road-side leading to it had only just put forth their blossoms, so that time would scarcely be allowed

them to bloom in full maturity ere the snows of winter would nip every flower in the land.

The description which Mr. Erman gives of the manner in which the inhabitants of Beresov spend their winter evenings is characteristic.

"We saw several flocks of white geese on the Shartash, preparing for their winter flight, and some had already passed us, all going south-west. Winter life had now begun, too, with the human denizens of the place, for the Posidientic,* or evening meetings of the young women of the poorer ranks, had already been established at Beresov and the surrounding villages. As soon as the darkness interrupts out-door labours, the men come and enjoy themselves in the warm houses. They mount up to their sleeping places on the broad top of the stove, and scarcely leave it during the evening, till they are obliged to attend to their cattle a little before midnight. For the sake of economising light, the young girls meet at the house of some of the wealthier boors, partly to work, and partly to amuse themselves with their friends. Their occupations, and the songs and tales with which it is accompanied, reminds one of the primitive German spinning-rooms. In one of their popular songs the maidens are made to complain of the bad light given by their pine torch, and accuse their host of having wetted it to get rid of his visitors; when one of their companions confesses it was a stratagem of hers to get an excuse for stealing off to her lover."

Shortly afterwards Mr. Erman was witness to the grand festival of the lifting up of the cross. Bread, baked in the form of the cross, and consecrated with every holy rite, was distributed among the people, while religious processions formed of the nuns inhabiting the convent of the Mother of God, passed solemnly along the public way. The number of nuns in Russia is far beneath that of the monks, of whom there are six thousand in the whole empire, while the nuns do not exceed one thousand. This result is readily to be traced to its source. A secular priest, when his wife dies, is either compelled to retire altogether from office, or to enter some monastic order.

In the course of his descriptions of the manners and modes of life prevailing among the Bashkirs, Mr. Erman presents us with several curious delineations of Siberian society, if we may so term it. This is the only aboriginal tribe which exhibits the interesting phenomenon of an existence regularly alternating from the fixed to the wander-

* From *Posidete*, to sit, Russ.

ing. During the winter they take up their residence in a permanent village on the borders of some forest, where the dense foliage shields them in some measure from the cutting blasts which blow so severely from the mountains. To be provident forms no portion of the Bashkir list of virtues. While the plains are rich with grass and other crops, he revels in all the bountiful gifts that nature spreads out for his use, and his cattle fatten in those superb pastures which abound in the neighbourhood of Yekaterinburg. But when the cold season returns, the herds and flocks must be content to feed on the poor stunted herbage that appears at intervals through the trodden snow, where the wind lays bare a patch of grass. Thus is the winter passed, the beast and his master feeding alike. The spring season, however, brings with it a return of the simple pleasures of pastoral life. The Bashkirs mount their horses, strap their hard cloth tent-covering to the saddles, and wander forth in the green plains, where a whole tribe, though the division into families is constantly observed, pitches its tents in military order on some chosen spots selected at random, while the herds wander at will over plains where the grass often rises above the saddlegirth. This life lasts till the gloomy days of winter set in again, when the same routine is observed, and the Bashkirs settle down in their forest villages. Herodotus describes these people as continually dwelling under trees, which they cover during the winter months with a tent-cloth; but from Mr. Erman's account we should be led to infer that the ancient historians omitted to mention that a tent-pole stood under the tree, for we find no mention of their throwing tent-cloths over the branches, which, however, would certainly form a capacious tent, calculated to screen a numerous family from the severities of nights. So deeply rooted is the preference of the Bashkir tribes for the nomadic life, that when winter comes round and compels them to retreat within their cramped and confined village residences, they prolong their homeward journey to the greatest possible degree. When arrived near the huts, the women are sent forward with noisy exorcisms to drive the Shaitan, or devil, from within. They strike the doors with staves, utter the loudest vociferations, and abjure the spirits to abandon their unjust empire. Then the men ride forward with a furious speed, and shout and shake their arms to give the

final stroke of victory, after which the doors are opened and winter life commences.

But we linger too long over this portion of Mr. Erman's narrative. On the first of October he recommenced his journey, and towards evening passed several villages, where lighted splints of the pine-tree were visible to a considerable distance. Every trace of harvest had disappeared, and the naked branches of the birch bore too striking evidence of the approach of winter. Still, the meadows appeared brilliantly green, and it was not until after our travellers crossed the Irtuush on the 7th, that the first fall of snow commenced the "white season." This river is regarded by the Russian exiles almost in the same light as the grave; for having once passed its broad yellow flood, hopes die within them, and they are considered as consigned to political and civil death. Yet that which is big with the misery of some, enjoys a high degree of importance in the minds of others. The officer who is bold enough to volunteer his services beyond the Irtuush, the Stygian lake of Russia, is sure of a step in rank, and as three years form the period allotted for them to serve in those cheerless regions, numerous are the competitions for the promised advantage. At the market-place of Tobolsk travellers often provide themselves with the heavy fur garments necessary, in order to enable them to endure the severity of the winter. From the warm, though cheap hare-skin, to the light skin of the young bear, every species of fur is piled up to tempt the eye. But, in the present instance the Gostinoidor of Kasan had been the chosen market place, and Mr. Erman passed by the rare display offered to his gaze at Tobolsk, a town of some importance, inhabited by a moderate population, who carry on a large and lucrative traffic with many surrounding nations. It is not only through the legitimate processes of trade, however, that the merchants of Tobolsk acquire wealth; they often buy children from their parents, to sell beyond the frontiers, and where they cannot buy they kidnap.

"The conversation of a Kirgis belonging to our host, and who was a constant companion of our nocturnal trips in the sledge, contributed not a little to amuse us. He told us how, when a lad of sixteen—and boding no good—he was enticed by his father from the steppe to the Siberian frontiers, and was there handed over to some Russian merchants in discharge of a debt of 180 roubles. He tra-

velled with his new master to Tomsk, and being dismissed from thence, he entered immediately into the service of his present owner. The only tidings he had since received from home were, that his unnatural father had met with the punishment due to perfidy, being killed by some Russians with whom he had quarrelled. Perhaps for the sake of the appearance of revenging himself on fate, the otherwise good-natured man related with rare glee, how he too had renounced the children whom he had reared at Tobolsk from his marriage, and had given them in servitude to other Russians."

Two practices prevail among the Kirgis, than which scarcely anything can be conceived more characteristic of a barbarian state of society. Having kidnapped a Russian, it is a difficult thing to secure themselves from the chance of his running away; the plan adopted is to knock the captive on the side of the head in such a manner as to deaden his intellect, and thus render him less capable of effecting his escape. Long and continual practice in this art, has rendered the Kirgis adepts at it. But the Russian, though the power to escape is thus, in a great measure, taken from him, still retains his national aptitude. He is by habit a pedestrian, and will not mount a horse unless compelled to do so. The Kirgis, on the contrary, are so constantly on horseback, that they may almost be described as living in the saddle. To overcome the prejudices of their bondsmen would be considered as too difficult a task by these barbarians. They therefore pursue the plan of cutting a deep flesh wound in the heel of the unfortunate captive, into which they rest a twist of horsehair. This operation causes indescribable agony to the sufferer, who is at first absolutely compelled to ride, and is ever after incapacitated from moving freely, save on horseback.

We cannot pause to accompany Mr. Erman through his interesting description of the various ceremonies and rites which vary the monotony of Siberian existence. In the course of his great experience, he enjoyed ample opportunity for observing all those varied and extraordinary features of society, everywhere apparent among the races who came under our traveller's eye. Beyond Tobolsk, it was necessary to make use of sledges instead of the European vehicle in which they had hitherto performed the journey. We now find Mr. Erman gliding with immense rapidity across a frozen arm of the Irtuish, along snowy roads,

over ploughed fields, and again across extensive plains, until he arrived at the village of Kosheleva, a village situated on the banks of an inlet from the main stream :—

" A row of wooden houses, erected between the eastern margin of this piece of water and the steep hills enclosing it, which are adorned with tall fir-trees, looking beautifully green in the midst of the snow. * * * Since morning, the temperature had risen, with a clouded sky ; large flakes of snow were now falling, and the wind breaking among the hills, occasioned a violent whirling. Nevertheless, the people of the village, active and hearty, were busily employed in the open air. A number of men were cutting holes in the ice to let down their hooks. Others, men and women, were looking after the horses for our conveyance. They had vigorous figures and blooming faces, and we heard nothing from them but jokes and laughing exclamations."

The travellers now proceeded over alternate sheets of ice and snow, towards Demyansk. Beyond this place, the road lay through lofty hills, crowned with fir forests, and composed of a loose rich mould. It was night when the party traversed this portion of the country. The moon had risen, and flung her bright beams over the hill tops, across the beaten highway. Far to the left, appeared the high mountains, bright with snow, and glittering in the rays of the moon ; while far in the distance could be observed tall dark forests nodding beneath a gentle wind. The sharp ringing of the horses' hoofs upon the hard snow, was the only sound that disturbed the all-pervading silence of the night. An extraordinary phenomenon appeared in the sky, in the shape of a white arch of immense extent, above which towered several other fragmentary arches, each surrounded by a bright halo.

On the 27th November, Mr. Erman and his companions arrived at an Ostyak settlement. Here they witnessed the primeval simplicity of an aboriginal tribe. Ten huts stood on the eastern side of a large river island. The roofs were heaped up with earth, and between each habitation grew a number of thick bushes, which must have caused the place to look extremely picturesque in summer. Each dwelling was divided by a number of partitions, each of which opened towards the centre, where a large bright fire continually kept the atmosphere warm.

" The thick woods of the neighbourhood abound in the better kinds of fur animals, so that every one gets without much trouble

the two sable skins required from each family as *yasak*, or tribute to the Russians ; and it is seldom found necessary to pay an equivalent in other skins. Our host showed us a fine sable skin got already this winter, which he kept in a strong box like a treasure, which he kept in a corner of the yurt. The value of this skin was diminished by a bright, almost yellow colour of the fur, which the people ascribed to the circumstance of the animal living in a wood where there was too much light. There was much anxiety evinced respecting the hunting and trapping of this year ; as a fire in the woods had driven the sables away from the Kevaskian yurts. Accidents of this kind are unfortunately not rare on the banks of the Obi ; for of the superb pine forests, which constitute at once the ornaments and riches of the place, tracts of from thirty to forty miles have been often seen on fire in summer. It is not improbable that the mischief is often caused by the fires of wandering hunters, and that the hand of man first propagates the destructive element, which it is unable afterwards to check in its progress. Nothing stops the fire in such cases, but a good fall of rain ; but in the meantime the desolation which it has produced is total and irremediable. In the burnt woods there spring up, in place of the majestic store pines, only birches and aspens."

From Kevashinsk our travellers proceeded to the picturesque Sosnovian yurts ; thence along the ice-covered Obi, past several other Siberian communities, to the convent of Konsdinsk, built at the bottom of a steep bank on the verge of a broad naked plain. Still further on, they visited many Siberian villages, and some miles more brought them under the influence of a milder temperature, where they met with unfrozen springs and deliciously pure water. The route now lay through those mighty woods, among whose recesses the ermine is hunted and entrapped. The dog is the chief means employed to drive this animal, so valuable for its fur, into the trap laid for it in some chosen spot in the forest. The winter yurts of Taginsk were next reached. Here our travellers first yoked the reindeers to their sledges. Some delay was unavoidably occasioned by the circumstance, that these willing animals are not confined in any given place when not required for draught, but are allowed to stray at liberty to the most distant portions of the woods. Mr. Erman, therefore, while his companions sought the salutary rest afforded by couches of reindeer skin, which had been spread for them by the hospitable yurt-dwellers, occupied himself with observing the picturesque scene presented. Numerous black huts were sprinkled over a wide glade in the middle

of the forest. A huge bright fire sparkled in the centre, and round it were clustered a group of men, who, naked to the waist, were endeavouring to thoroughly warm themselves before retiring to sleep. Presently a loud clattering noise was heard, and the reindeers were seen galloping towards the yurts from all points of the wood, now hidden by the trees, and now revealed as their graceful forms bounded over the snow. Their drivers followed, uttering a peculiar cry, and in a few moments the timid but docile creatures, were standing in a circle close to the huts, ready for the yoke.

At three o'clock in the morning they started, traversed eighty versts of snowy country, then shot along over the ice, close under the woody bank of the Obi, and, after a short stay at the yurts of Kachegatsk, proceeded rapidly in a northerly direction towards the Polar circle, now only eighty-four miles distant. The fertile qualities of the soil of this portion of the country, triumphed even over the severity of the season. Trees of magnificent foliage grew abundantly on the banks of the stream, while garden vegetables, green hedgerows, and roses, gave evidence of the luxuriant richness of the earth. Travelling further along the Obi, under a gentle fall of snow, the traveller arrived towards evening at the winter tents of Keegat, where they were forcibly reminded of their bivouac at Taginsk.

"In the middle of the tent was a blazing fire. All the men were sitting on skins, with the upper part of their bodies bare, and their backs against the hair of the tent covering. A little boy of four years old, had nothing on but drawers; and a little child lay in a canoe-shaped cradle of reindeer skin. Two women, of middle age, were also sitting on the ground, with all their usual clothing, and they were wrapped up even below the shoulders with the veiling head dress, which was here made of Russian woollen stuff. With great coyness they refused to show us their faces, and when I pulled up, playfully, the veil of one, she replaced it at once, and cried out lustily; yet the men, who were present, and witnessed what was going on, took so little notice of it, and seemed so indifferent, that it can hardly be said that jealousy of strangers has here given rise to the practice of veiling."

After the usual preparatory arrangements, melting snow to boil the fish, and spreading skins to rest on, Mr. Erman and his party sought their rest, and passed in the rude winter tents of Keegat, a night as comfortable as though

they slept in the warm dwellings which the luxury of the western world has provided for the indolence of man. Short time for sleep, however, was allowed. The winter days in this rude region, seldom lasting for above three or four hours, it was necessary to travel through darkness as in daylight. The sun was never visible through the dull grey clouds that constantly hang beneath the sky, occasionally letting fall their snowy burden to wrap the whole land in its cold embrace. Under these auspices was the journey continued, until on the 8th of December they reached the hills of Obsdorsk, where the town of that name stands. It was a cheering thing, after long travels through so desolate a country, to meet here, in the remotest north, with many of the distinguishing characteristics of civilization. Huge ovens were filled with bread, while whole stacks of loaves rose from the floor to the ceiling in many of the houses, which were scattered picturesquely over the hills. A wooden church imparted a tone of quiet serenity to the scene; while the dense columns of smoke, rising in straight lines through the still atmosphere, lent it the air of comfort and peace. Just above the horizon the long-hidden sun shed its rays over the snowy landscape, and a bright blue sky reared its arch over the whole. In the distance, a long chain of mountains, presenting the singular appearance of blue eminences, traced over with glittering threads of snow, could be observed; while along the ice-covered Obi, moved the long trains of sledges driven by the rudely attired Ostyaks. A great fair is annually held at Obdorsk, and thither flock the Russians to purchase ivory, peltry, and reindeer skins; the dwellers on the mossy plains to the eastward, the Samoyedes from beyond the mountains, and the fishing tribes who find a home on the sea-coasts. To them the Ostyaks and the Samoyedes races of the neighbourhood, dispose of their merchandise at advantageous rates, and thus the place is invested with importance. The latter named people contribute the larger portions of the skins of the Polar bear, sold in the market. Much singular information is given concerning the habits of these beasts, which, did space allow, we should willingly extract. But, did we endeavour to condense all the interesting matter furnished by the present volumes, we should exceed all ordinary limits. Passing, therefore, with this brief mention, the hunting dogs of the Ostyaks, the able discussion on languages which follows,

the speculation on the mixture and distribution of races, the description of religious rites, we come to the observations on the dogmas of Ostyak theology :—

“ It might almost be assumed, that the religion of the Ostyaks, previous to their acquaintance with the Christians, was undergoing, independently, a process of complete purification ; or else, (which is, indeed, far more likely), that this people had gradually fallen away from the health of a sound faith—to use the language of St. Augustine—to the sickness of Paganism ; for it is an incontestable fact, singular as it may appear, that the Ostyaks, notwithstanding the imperfect development of their religious services, have yet some ideas of a Supreme Being ; for, under the name of Toruim, they venerate a god.”

But the Ostyaks also worship their dead friends, making to them offerings of food, and embracing a rude wooden image, which at the end of three years they inter, and bury apparently with it, all regrets for the death of him whom it represents. The Ostyaks venerate the black, and the Samoyedes the white bear, for they call it the strongest of God’s creatures.

On the 12th of December, Mr. Erman, having determined on an excursion to the mountains, set off soon after sunrise with his companions, in sledges, along the ice of the Polui. The river lay between hills deeply cracked with frost. Crossing the ice of the Obi, they entered on a low plain, dotted with leafless larch trees, and clumps of willow bushes. One hour and a half’s time brought with it sunset, when they reached the portable dwelling of a Samoyede family, on the point of being removed ; the tent covering was taken off and slung with the poles on the long reindeer sledges. The men and women, closely packed, followed in others, and after them came a long train of unharnessed animals, bringing up the rear. After proceeding for some hours over an irregular country, they reached a spot which the drivers pronounced suitable for the bivouac. The reindeers were turned loose, a stem of larch was torn down and split up for fuel, the tent was pitched and well covered with skins, a fire kindled, and couches of soft fur spread. The women fetched in large masses of pure untrodden snow, which they melted, partly to drink and partly to boil their porridge with. After partaking of a humble meal, some of the men went out to tend the reindeer in the wood, while the rest of the party enjoyed the

cheering warmth of the fire. When all had thus comforted themselves, it was determined at once to sleep. Every one simultaneously wrapped his fur garments closely round his person, and stretching out beside the blazing heap in the centre, fell into slumber. The watchers in the forest came in and out at intervals, and were relieved. Early in the morning, preparations were made for starting. The young men of the Samoyede family were alone to accompany the European party to the mountains, while the others promised to await their return in the tent. The ascent of the hills was shortly commenced. All the wild and rugged elements of an Arctic landscape were presented in strange confusion. Lofty rocky ridges crossed and recrossed the slopes, stunted groves sprung up from uneven expanses of snowy ground, a frozen stream wound among the heights, and the occasional Samoyede tents gave life to the scene. Troops of wolves had, during the preceding night, come down from the mountains and destroyed several reindeer, one of whom was found with the back of its head gnawed off and the brains taken out. The animals that were not killed, had been dispersed and frightened to a distance, so that a fresh relay could not be obtained for the sledges. The summit of the mountains were, however, in spite of this disappointment, shortly reached; whence, after having made some observations, they immediately commenced descending towards the plain:—

" Towards the east, we could now descry, over a broad wall of outlying hills, the undulating plain through which the Khanami takes its winding course. The sun was already set, but the strong twilight still tinged with red the western sky and the snowy plain, and only the hollows lay in shade. The air was perfectly transparent, and there was not the least sign of mist in the valleys. Bright green shadows on the ground, from objects near us, could now be seen from the twilight, though less vividly than on our ascent, when the sun was directing its rays horizontally, and they added not a little to the charms of this singular landscape."

Exhilarated by the pleasant termination of their excursion, they descended the mountain slope at a swift gallop, gliding with immense rapidity over the smooth snow until they reached the lovely vale of the Khanami. Traversing this they entered on the broad alluvial plain, where they met with two huge caravans of the wandering Samoyedes.

The spot where our travellers had left the tent, was found utterly deserted. The herds having exhausted the scanty herbage which grows beneath the snow, had removed off some distance in a north-easterly direction, and thither the family had followed them. The separated party soon joined again, and a feast of reindeer flesh and porridge, and a hearty night's rest, recompensed all for the fatigue they had borne.

It was not our traveller's intention to pursue the journey further in this direction. He therefore, after observing all that was curious and interesting in the neighbourhood, left Obsdorsk, and pushing his return with as much haste as was practicable, again arrived at Tobolsk on the 29th of Dec. So rapid had been the journey, that the transition from the nomade life of the north, to the totally different modes and manners of the tribes of their neighbourhood, appeared like a dream, and inspired our author, not with the desire to seek again the homes of civilization, but with earnest longings to penetrate still deeper into the strange regions he had visited, where man is seen almost in his primeval simplicity. But this was impossible until the return of a milder season. Our travellers, therefore, wintered at Tobolsk, and then proceeded on their adventurous travels. We leap over a wide space in the narrative, and meet the expedition on the shores of Lake Baikal, advancing towards the frontiers of China. Up to a very recent period in modern history, the close connection of the Russian and Chinese Empires was unknown. Merchants and traders, however, endeavoured to push their enterprises beyond the usual limit, and the spirit of commercial adventure, which is ever the pilot of discovery, carried them across the wide regions lying between the old kingdom and the then almost fabulous land of the Celestials. Rumours arose, and were spread. It was asserted that beyond the borders of those dreary tracts of land, which the traders of Russia had hitherto been led to consider as the barriers of enterprise, there lay a mighty empire, peopled with millions of inhabitants, and well adapted to enter into commercial intercourse with the half-civilized races of whose existence they were as ignorant as these races themselves were of the nations that surrounded them. Discoveries followed each other in quick succession, and at length opened the way for those immense trading caravans that now form the link of communication between the two empires.

Lake Baikal was completely frozen over, and the expedition at once struck forth upon its wide extent. The horses went forward at a heavy gallop, which never flagged until the opposite shore was gained. Seven German miles were thus completed in the space of two hours and a quarter. A brilliant scene was presented from the heights on the north side of the lake.

"All along the shore the rays of the sun were broken and refracted in a thousand tints from a confused range of shattered fragments and polished sheets of ice, that shot perpendicularly up from the adjacent plain. Beyond lay the glassy expanse, stretching away to the South-west and North to disappear in the dark blue sky; while, in the West, the glittering peaks upon the opposite shore seemed to rise out of the very lake itself, their lower parts being hidden by the convexity of the earth."

Hence a low plain, overgrown with reeds and sedge, allowed but an indifferent road for the sledge. Beyond this lay the valley of the Selenga, a river of considerable size, with fruitful and fertile agricultural tracts extending from its banks. Immense trains of sledges, laden with tea-packages, met them at intervals, while occasionally oxen served as beasts of draught. At Troitskoi they saw a monastery enclosed within a quadrangular wall, with turrets and loopholes at the corners. The Abbot Feodosyi settled here in 1681, when he came from Moscow to convert the Buraets, in company with a few monks. The monastery he built was one of the earliest erected on this side of the Lake Baikal. It contained, when Mr. Erman passed, six monks and a prior. About the middle of February they reached Verkhnei Udinsk, a town of some little importance, inhabited by a respectable population. Beyond this place they again entered among nomade races—the Buraets, who preserve a manner of life similar to that of the Samoyedes. An encampment of these people was met with, and they came out and welcomed the travellers with all the rude hospitality of half-savage tribes. But short stay, however, was made among them, for our travellers were anxious to visit the Chinese frontier, which was now but a few miles distant. Arrived, they found the subjects of China hurrying across the boundary line, in compliance with the law which ordains that every subject of his Celestial Majesty shall be in Maimachen before sunset.

"We followed the crowd that were pressing towards a narrow door in the front of a large wooden building. This admitted us into the inner quadrangle of a Russian warehouse, where merchandise is stored and disposed of by wholesale ; but not exposed for sale. A corresponding door, at the opposite side of this court, opens just upon a wooden barricade, which constitutes the barrier of China. In this there is another portal, ornamented with pillars, and displaying the Russian eagle above it, along with the cipher of the reigning emperor, Nicholas the First, by whom it was erected.

"The change upon passing through this gate seemed like a dream, or the effect of magic ; a contrast so startling could hardly be experienced at any other spot upon the earth. The unvaried sober hues of the Russian horde were succeeded all at once by an exhibition of gaudy finery, more fantastic and extravagant than was ever seen at any Christmas wake or parish festival in Germany. The roadway of the streets consists of a bed of wellbeaten clay, which is always neatly swept ; while the walls of the same material, on either side, are relieved by windows of Chinese paper. These walls do not at first sight present the appearance of fronts of houses, as the roofs are flat and not seen from the street. Indeed, they are nearly altogether concealed by the gay coloured paper lanterns and flags with inscriptions on them, which are hung out on both sides of the way. Cords, with similar scrolls and lanterns, are likewise stretched from roof to roof across the street. These dazzling decorations stand out in glaring contrast with the dull yellow of the ground and walls. In the open crossings of the streets, which intersect each other at right angles, stood enormous chafing-dishes of cast-iron, like basins, upon a slender pedestal of four feet in height. The benches by which they were surrounded were occupied by tea-drinkers, who sat smoking from the little pipes which they carry at their girdles, while their kettles were boiling at the common fire. It is only the porters and camel-drivers, and the petty dealers—that is, Mongols of the lowest class—who thus seek refreshment and chit-chat in the streets."

The travellers walked about the town, viewing its curiosities, and observing the various interesting phases of Chinese civilization, as it develops itself in that extreme limit of the empire. The evening gun, at length, however, put a period to their investigations, for they were then compelled to leave the town, no *barbarian* being allowed to remain within its circumference a moment after sunset. The next day Mr. Erman busied himself with collecting information as to the early Russian expeditions to China, and we are presented with an extremely graphic account of the birth and growth of that intercourse which has since risen to such extent. The Festival of the White

Moon began on the following morning, and Chinese and Russian alike entered into its excitement. The streets were crowded with a gaily-attired throng of pleasure-seekers, while the musical and dramatic performers of Maimachen paraded every public way, and at length offered one of their representations near the sargucher's residence. A feast of one hundred dishes, prepared by one of the great men of the place, next occupied the time of the European visitors; who were then conducted into the temple dedicated to the worship of the great god Fo, where a variety of ceremonies were witnessed, and an enormous number of peace-offerings presented to the idol. A visit to the theatre, which stood in close proximity to the house of worship, closed the day's proceedings; and Mr. Erman and his companions, passing through the wooden gate of the town, again stood in the Russian Empire.

Making a somewhat prolonged stay in Maimachen, the spring had somewhat advanced before our travellers proceeded again to their former starting-place, and made several excursions into other parts of Siberia. We now find them, after having travelled through a diversified country inhabited by several distinct tribes, advancing over a wide plain towards Yakutsk. A burying-ground marked the near approach to human habitations, and the black earth of some fresh graves was prominently visible above the white snow, together with some wooden crosses, and a small chapel in the midst. The town itself was shortly reached. It is situated on the bank overhanging a broad deep hollow, communicating in summer with a river which flows from a neighbouring lake, but now completely filled with snow. A wooden hut, with some towers in a wretched state of dilapidation, were the only traces which the ancient Russian conquerors left behind them, if we except the great stone-built cathedral dedicated to Saint Nicholas, and another church. A singular appearance was presented in the streets of Yakutsk. The more civilized immigrants from other lands have raised houses of somewhat European aspect, and between these modern habitations stand the ancient dwellings of the aboriginal Yakuts, composed of clay and cow-dung, with doors of hairy hides and windows of ice. These people, disdaining the innovations brought from strange countries, chose rather to live in their own primitive simplicity, exchanging

the more solidly-constructed winter huts for light tents when the hot season comes round. This gives the city a heterogeneous and confused appearance, the only uniformity observable being that of the snow, the same covering which is spread alike over the comparatively stately dwelling of the stranger, and the wretched Yurts, the original owners of the land.

A thriving trade is carried on at this town, so that the inhabitants of Yakutsk are enabled annually to send great caravans of European and Chinese goods over the mountains to Okhotsk. Nothing can be more remarkable than the spirit and energy exhibited by these traders. Setting forth early in the year, they collect the produce of the whole line of coast on the Polar Sea, from the mouth of the Lena to the furthest point inhabited by the Chukchi, sometimes extending their voyage beyond Behring Straits, and occasionally even fetching merchandize from the mainland of America. Others wander in all directions through the surrounding countries, buying furs and skins, which, brought to this great centre of trade, are again distributed over a large portion of the world.

"The Yukagirs and Chukchi bring also to these markets the skins of the wild reindeer which they kill in summer. Great herds of these shy animals break forth every year, about the breeding-time, out of the forests in the South, and migrate with unrestrainable haste in a straight line to the naked plains near the sea. Thus the Samoyedes at the Obi told me, that the reindeer there choose for their summer pastures the many valleys in the mountains of Obdorsk, where we, however, in winter could find only traces of their former presence. In both places it is ascertained that these flights of the deer are occasioned by gnats, which then infest the woods ; and I have seen in Kamschatka, under perfectly similar circumstances, reasons to admit the likelihood of this account."

The Chukchi say that many of their tribe have crossed from East Cape to America, and brought back furs with them from thence. To support their statement, they mention the names of several places on the continent. Many years ago an adventurous merchant ventured out upon the Polar Sea, and discovered some islands, though he missed that of New Siberia. With a train of dog sledges it was his custom to set forth every year, and come back laden with the materials of wealth. But his prosperous monopoly was but of short duration. Protodiakonov, an adventurous

trader, followed in his track, discovered New Siberia, and revealed the existence of the northern islands to his government. A brisk traffic is now sustained between these regions, of which one is not more extraordinary than the rest; for all are invested with the highest degree of interest. We cannot pause to enumerate the various materials which form the bulk of this great and annually increasing trade; though amongst the others we may mention ivory, mammoths' teeth, and rhinoceros horns.

But we must not here follow our travellers through any more of their interesting experience. We ourselves have accompanied Mr. Erman over every mile of the ground traversed by him, but space does not allow that we should afford our readers the same gratification. Nevertheless, we have in their company gone over a large portion of the countries visited by the able author of the present narrative. His work is one of the most interesting that has been published within many years. It forms an excellent companion to the wild and adventurous narrative of Mr. Richardson in the Saharan deserts, and to the extraordinary relations of the Rajah Brooke. We take leave of our author with regret, and thank him for the immense amount of interesting matter he has presented to the world. He has, it may be said, reclaimed Siberia from the oblivion into which neglect had thrown it. Little of political importance is connected with this snowy yet noble region; and for that reason perhaps the public has hitherto regarded them with indifference. Mr. Cooley has done the cause of knowledge much good service by his able and vigorous translation of Mr. Erman's valuable work. To no more skilful hands could the task have been intrusted.

ART. VII.—*Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of John Keats.*
Edited by RICHARD MONCKTON MILNES. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Moxon, 1848.

WE cannot help thinking it exceedingly strange that we should have remained so long without an authentic memoir of John Keats. It is difficult to fancy a subject more likely to attract a biographer. Independently altogether of its literary interest, the mystery and gloom which

surrounded his early death, the popular impressions regarding its causes, the universal sympathy which it occasioned, and the loud indignation against its alleged authors, expressed in every quarter, from the light and unfeeling scoff of the noble assailant of "the Quarterly, so savage and Tartarly," down to Shelley's deep and passionate curse—

"On his head who pierced that innocent breast,
And scared the angel soul that was its earthly guest"—

had excited a curiosity which no one could have expected to remain nearly thirty years unsatisfied.

Unlike the generality of youthful poets, too, Keats's character was one to which his published poetry could afford but little clue. Even if we allow for the scantiness and the fragmentary nature of his literary remains, we shall find few writers who have left less trace of themselves and their own personality in what they have written. His poetry is, in the last degree, ideal, or rather, so to speak, unpersonal. Very little of it deals with the realities of life at all, and the little which can be said to do so, throws no light on the individuality of the author himself. In the world of fancy and ideality—in his relation to external nature, to poetry, or to art—in all the *generalities* of feeling and passion—no writer ever revealed himself more fully or more freely. But in those things which are the staple of thought with ordinary men, and which form the especial burden of every youthful poet's theme—in all that regards his relations to common life, its hopes, its fears, its pleasures, its passions—Keats's pages may be considered as almost a perfect blank, at least in all that would tend to illustrate his own personal character and disposition.

Nor, by the way, can we subscribe unreservedly to a doctrine with regard to the lives of authors which Mr. Milnes cites, and appears to adopt, from Wordsworth's "Letter to a friend of Robert Burns;"—that "there is no cause why the lives of this class of men should be pried into with diligent curiosity, and laid open with the same disregard of reserve which may sometimes be expedient in composing the history of men who have borne an active part in the world." We are by no means disposed to cede to genius the immunity from observation which this doctrine would imply; and to permit it to shroud itself from critical scrutiny in the dim and misty veil which

its very elevation casts around it. On the contrary, we would maintain that, in their capacity of public instructors, and in so far as their books are concerned, authors can only be considered in the light of public men ; and if, as Wordsworth himself admits, a scrutiny of the private lives of public men conduces to explain their public conduct, we think it no less just or less necessary to apply the same test for the due explanation of the public conduct of authors, that is, of the works they have given to the world.

In the case of Keats, too, there appears to be a special reason why this delicacy should be regarded as uncalled for, and indeed misplaced. If a poet strictly confine himself to purely literary topics—if his writings have no higher object than to amuse the fancy, or excite and interest the imagination ;—then, perhaps, (although the case may well be considered impossible), he is entitled to be looked upon as a private personage, and to claim the indulgence and reserve with which private character should always be discussed. But the case is very different if, as in almost every instance, the poet assumes, even indirectly, the character of an instructor ;—and especially, as too often has occurred, if he set himself against principles, whether in morals or in religion, which are held as undisputed by society at large. If the poet choose to himself such a part as this, he becomes, by the very fact, and independently of his poetic character altogether, a public man ; and if his biography be submitted to the public at all, they are entitled to demand from his biographer so much of his private life —so much of what he has written and spoken—so much of his intercourse with known and trusted friends—so much even of his most hidden communings with himself, as may furnish a key to his character and habits of mind ; may supply the necessary commentary upon the obnoxious opinions which he has expressed, and throw the necessary lights upon the motives by which he may have been impelled in adopting them, the consistency with which he may have maintained them, and the influence which they have exercised upon his conduct, his happiness, and his peace. Unhappily, it can hardly be denied, that the ill-fated subject of Mr. Milnes's biography, has made himself amenable to this just and equitable law. Even if we could abstract from the doubts and suspicions, to say the least, which hung over his orthodoxy during life, or

the too notorious and ostentatious unbelief of many of his chosen friends and associates, there is a want about all his writings which, for the due understanding of his religious character, required some commentary from himself; there is a vagueness and dreaminess in his philosophy, which needs to be tested by his habits of every-day thought; there is a kind of mystic paganism in his poetic creed—a lingering, reverential love

“Of old Olympus’ faded hierarchy”—

a fond regret for its long-past “happy pieties”—a melancholy repining over our own untrustful days—

“Too, too late for the fond believing lyre,
When holy were the haunted forest boughs,
Holy the air, the water, and the fire”—

which, though perfectly possible in a good Christian, is but a bad support for a suspected orthodoxy;—above all, there is everywhere throughout his works, a perpetual and all-pervading worship of Nature in her various forms, which strongly resembles the pantheistical cant that had become fashionable about the latter years of his life, and which would be downright pantheism, if it were not otherwise proved to be mere sentimentalism.

Such, we believe, were the popular impressions regarding Keats and his opinions; and, although we feel deeply and bitterly everything that tends to depreciate genius, or to lower it in the eyes of common men; and though we especially lament such revelations as lend to vice, in any of its forms, the sanction and authority which genius is sure to impart; nevertheless, we have no hesitation in saying, that in such a case as his, it would have been wrong to suppress any portion of those records of his mind which tended, even remotely, to explain his religious belief, or to illustrate its practical influence upon his destinies.

For our own part, we will confess that this precise consideration formed the chief ingredient in the interest with which we looked forward to the publication of Mr. Milnes’s long promised Memoir of Keats; and it is deeply painful to add, that, loving and cherishing the memory of this ill-fated youth with all the fervour which must ever belong to one’s feelings for the favourite poet of his boyish days, we should have infinitely preferred our former doubts and suspicions, against which, though they could not be dis-

missed, it was still possible to hope, to the saddening and disheartening reality which these melancholy, though most interesting pages reveal. But we must not anticipate.

The materials of this Memoir were collected many years since, by Mr. Charles Brown, one of Keats's earliest and fastest friends, and his partner in some of his literary labours, especially the (hitherto unpublished) tragedy of "Otho the Great." Being prevented by circumstances, from publishing his intended Memoir, Mr. Brown transferred the collection to Mr. Milnes, who, when his intention was made public, received several valuable contributions of further records from the poet's surviving friends. His volumes contain nothing in the form of an autobiography, and hardly anything that can be called a diary, though Keats appears to have projected and actually undertaken one. Its chief interest lies in the collection of his letters to members of his family and other friends, and in the account of his death, supplied by his friend, Mr. Severn, the well-known artist, who was his companion and more than nurse on the last days of his afflicted life, all of which Mr. Milnes has woven together with great taste, feeling, and judgment.

The history of his childhood and early youth is entirely without interest, except in so far as it shows that his mind was entirely self-taught and self-trained. His father, though of low origin, rose to considerable affluence, and left his children—three sons, of whom John, the poet, was the eldest,* and a daughter—in comparative independence. The boys were educated at the school of Mr. Clarke at Enfield; and during the first years, John was only remarkable for his "indifference to be thought 'a good boy;' his skill in all manly exercises, the perfect generosity of his disposition, and his fierce pugnacity." He was "always fighting," and chose his favourites among those who fought most readily, and "showed the greatest pluck" in the school. On the other hand, his disposition was tender and affectionate beyond description. His grief at his mother's death was long and uncontrollable, and his affection for his brothers, though he did not scruple to

* Mr. Milnes says the second; but a writer in the *Athenæum* evidently well informed, affirms the contrary. John was born October 29, 1795.

fight with them on occasion, was deep and sincere. Towards the close of his studies at school, however, his diligence became as remarkable as had hitherto been his idleness; but his reading seems to have been shallow and discursive, and he left school an ill-taught youth, with little Latin and no Greek, and unfamiliar with all the ordinary subjects of early education except the Greek Mythology, in which he seems to have been a perfect adept. His personal appearance was peculiar—

"This impression was no doubt unconsciously aided by a rare vivacity of countenance and very beautiful features. His eyes, then, as ever, were large and sensitive, flashing with strong emotions or suffused with tender sympathies, and more distinctly reflected the varying impulses of his nature than when under the self-control of maturer years: his hair hung in thick brown ringlets round a head diminutive for the breadth of the shoulders below it, while the smallness of the lower limbs, which in later life marred the proportion of his person, was not then apparent, any more than the undue prominence of the lower lip, which afterwards gave his face too pugnacious a character to be entirely pleasing, but at that time only completed such an impression as the ancients had of Achilles,—joyous and glorious youth, eternally striving."—vol. i., p. 7.

"A lady, whose feminine acuteness of perception is only equalled by the vigour of her understanding, tells me she distinctly remembers Keats as he appeared at this time at Hazlitt's lectures. 'His eyes were large and blue, his hair auburn; he wore it divided down the centre, and it fell in rich masses on each side his face; his mouth was full, and less intellectual than his other features. His countenance lives in my mind as one of singular beauty and brightness—it had an expression as if he had been looking on some glorious sight. The shape of his face had not the squareness of a man's, but more like some women's faces I have seen—it was so wide over the forehead and so small at the chin. He seemed in perfect health, and with life offering all things that were precious to him.' "—vol. i. pp. 103, 104.

'At the age of fifteen, (1810) he was apprenticed to a surgeon named Hainmond; but although he appears to have laboured with considerable diligence at his profession, yet he eventually abandoned it for the more congenial pursuit of literature, and especially poetry. Never was there a soul with which poetry was more unmistakably an instinct. He "thought so much and so long together about poetry, that he could not sleep at night." —(vol. i. p. 42.) He "could not exist without poetry—eternal poetry;" the

best prayer that he could think of for his favourite sister's child is, that "he may be a great poet;" (p. 233), and even at the time of life when the heart is most susceptible of other impressions, he declared himself indifferent to all else beside. He writes to his brother and sister in America :—

" Notwithstanding your happiness and your recommendations, I hope I shall never marry : though the most beautiful creature were waiting for me at the end of a journey or a walk ; though the carpet wore of silk, and the curtains of the morning clouds, the chairs and sofas stuffed with cygnet's down, the food manna, the wine beyond claret, the window opening on Winandermere, I should not feel, or rather my happiness should not be, so fine ; my solitude is sublime —for, instead of what I have described, there is a sublimity to welcome me home : the roaring of the wind is my wife ; and the stars through my window-panes are my children ; the mighty abstract Idea of Beauty in all things I have, stifles the more divided and minute domestic happiness. An amiable wife and sweet children I contemplate as part of that Beauty, but I must have a thousand of those beautiful particles to fill up my heart. I feel more and more every day, as my imagination strengthens, that I do not live in this world alone, but in a thousand worlds. No sooner am I alone, than shapes of epic greatness are stationed around me, and serve my spirit the office which is equivalent to a king's Body-guard : ' then Tragedy with scepter'd pall comes sweeping by :' according to my state of mind, I am with Achilles shouting in the trenches, or with Theocritus in the vales of Sicily ; or throw my whole being into Troilus, and, repeating those lines, ' I wander like a lost soul upon the Stygian bank, staying for wastage,' I melt into the air with a voluptuousness so delicate, that I am content to be alone." —vol. i. pp. 234, 235.

This devotion to his art, too, was accompanied by the firmest confidence in his own powers. He felt (1819) "every confidence that if he chose, he could be a popular writer." (v. ii. p. 12). The more he knew what his diligence might effect, "the more his heart distended with pride and obstinacy" (p. 14); and although Mr. Milnes produces some of his letters, which profess an apparent indifference to the well-known coarse and stupid 'articles' in the 'Quarterly,' and in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' to which Keats's death has so long been popularly attributed, yet we are far from being satisfied that such a mind as his could have borne such a blow uninjured, however his pride may have concealed the wound.

Keats's first publication was a small volume, (1816),

which, as his biographer says, "scarcely touched the public attention," though the poet himself attributed its failure to the favourite scapegoat of unhappy authors—an inactive publisher. His very failure, however, had the effect of arousing all his energies, and he immediately engaged upon his great poem, "Endymion," which he finished in November, 1817. The MS. is still extant, with all the erasures, corrections, &c., of the author; and it is not a little remarkable that it goes a great way to confirm almost the only criticism in the too-celebrated "article," which may not be pronounced unjust and bigoted—viz., that the author had been guided in the composition of his poem, not by the subject itself, but by the thoughts suggested by the rhymes of the successive couplets. The alterations which the MS. still exhibits, are precisely such as to bear out this observation.

It would appear, too, as if in "Endymion" Keats had proposed to himself a task of fixed and given dimensions, and resolved to fill up these dimensions, irrespective of the matter of the poem; or rather, as if he had systematically tasked his inventive powers to discover poetic materials in the required quantity.

" ' As to what you say about my being a Poet, I can return no answer but by saying that the high idea I have of poetical fame makes me think I see it towering too high above me. At any rate I have no right to talk until 'Endymion' is finished. It will be a test, a trial of my powers of imagination, and chiefly of my invention—which is a rare thing indeed—*by which I must make 4000 lines of one bare circumstance, and fill them with poetry.* And when I consider that this is a great task, and that when done it will take me but a dozen paces towards the Temple of Fame—it makes me say—'God forbid that I should be without such a task!' I have heard Hunt say, and [I] may be asked, '*Why endeavour after a long poem?*' To which I should answer, 'Do not the lovers of poetry like to have a little region to wander in, where they may pick and choose, and in which the images are so numerous that many are forgotten and found new in a second reading,—which may be food for a week's stroll in the summer?' Do not they like this better than what they can read through before Mrs. Williams comes down stairs?—a morning's work at most.

" ' Besides, *a long poem is a test of invention*, which I take to be the polar star of poetry, as Fancy is the sails, and Imagination the rudder. Did our great poets ever write short pieces? I mean, in the shape of Tales. This same invention seems indeed of late

years to have been forgotten in a partial excellency. But enough of this—I put on no laurels till I shall have finished ‘*Endymion*,’ and I hope Apollo is not enraged at my having made mockery of him at Hunt’s.’”—vol. i. pp. 61, 62.

We need not say that it was the “*Endymion*” which drew forth the articles already referred to, as well as that of Lord Jeffrey in the Edinburgh Review, though not for nearly two years later, on occasion of the publication of his third volume, containing “*Lamia; and other Poems.*” Mr. Milnes, as we have already said, appears to think that Keats’s letters prove him to have been utterly indifferent to these attacks, and there certainly is one which puts a brave face upon the matter.

“I cannot but feel indebted to those gentlemen who have taken my part. As for the rest, I begin to get a little acquainted with my own strength and weakness. Praise or blame has but a momentary effect on the man whose love of beauty in the abstract makes him a severe critic on his own works. My own domestic criticism has given me pain without comparison beyond what ‘Blackwood’ or the ‘Quarterly’ could inflict: and also when I feel I am right, no external praise can give me such a glow as my own solitary reperception and ratification of what is fine. J. S. is perfectly right in regard to the ‘slip-shod *Endymion*.’ That it is so is no fault of mine. No! though it may sound a little paradoxical, it is as good as I had power to make it by myself. Had I been nervous about it being a perfect piece, and with that view asked advice, and trembled over every page, it would not have been written; for it is not in my nature to fumble. I will write independently. I have written independently *without judgment*, I may write independently, and *with judgment*, hereafter. The Genius of Poetry must work out its own salvation in a man. It cannot be matured by law and precept, but by sensation and watchfulness in itself. That which is creative must create itself. In ‘*Endymion*’ I leaped headlong into the sea, and thereby have become better acquainted with the soundings, the quicksands, and the rocks, than if I had stayed upon the green shore, and piped a silly pipe, and took tea and comfortable advice. I was never afraid of failure; for I would sooner fail than not be among the greatest.”—pp. 214, 215, vol. i.

Still, there is sufficient trace, even in the boldest of his letters, of his having felt the attack keenly. He “has hopes of the non-appearance” of the article in Blackwood; he catches at a very trifling circumstance in confirmation of this hope; he does not, however, “*mind it much;*” but

if they go to such lengths with him as they did with Hunt, "he must infallibly," he declares, "call the writer to account;" (194.) and although it is not improbable that the popular impression is an exaggerated view of the injurious impression produced on his health by these most bigoted and unjust criticisms, still, from these and many similar indications, we have no doubt that it is in great part true and well-founded.

It is impossible for us to follow Mr. Milnes through the details of Keats's private life and friendships. His associates and friends are, for the most part, already known from Leigh Hunt's memoir. The most remarkable of them were Hunt himself, Hazlitt, Charles Brown, Mr. Dilke, Haydon the academician, the Rev. Benjamin Bailey, Mr. Taylor, and Severn the painter, to whose more than friendly devotedness he was indebted for the only consolation which his last days enjoyed. His circumstances, as might have been expected, became early embarrassed. He began to feel the terrors "of that hydra, the dun," and, in the year 1819, he half resolved to try to gain a livelihood by periodical writing. But the love of poetry prevailed; and about this time he formed an attachment which, though not unreturned, was nevertheless doomed to disappointment, in consequence of his poverty. We have seldom read any thing more painful than the following letter, written, in all the hopelessness of his love, almost upon his death-bed :

"As I have gone thus far into it, I must go on a little; perhaps it may relieve the load of *wretchedness* which presses upon me. The persuasion that I shall see her no more will kill me. My dear Brown, I should have had her when I was in health, and I should have remained well. I can bear to die—I cannot bear to leave her. Oh, God! God! God! Everything I have in my trunks that reminds me of her goes through me like a spear. The silk lining she put in my travelling cap scalds my head. My imagination is horribly vivid about her—I see her—I hear her. There is nothing in the world of sufficient interest to divert me from her a moment. This was the case when I was in England; I cannot recollect, without shuddering, the time that I was a prisoner at Hunt's, and used to keep my eyes fixed on Hampstead all day. Then there was a good hope of seeing her again—Now!—O that I could be buried near where she lives! I am afraid to write to her—to receive a letter from her—to see her hand-writing would break my heart—even to hear of her anyhow, to see her name written, would be more than I can bear. My dear Brown, what am I

to do? Where can I look for consolation or ease? If I had any chance of recovery, this passion would kill me. Indeed, through the whole of my illness, both at your house and at Kentish Town, this fever has never ceased wearing me out. When you write to me, which you will do immediately, write to Rome (*poste restante*) —if she is well and happy, put a mark thus + ; if ——” pp. 77, 78, vol. ii.

We have said that this letter was written almost upon his death-bed. In the year 1819, the first decided symptoms of his hereditary disease, consumption, which had already carried off his mother and his brother Thomas, showed themselves in an attack which could hardly be mistaken. He recovered somewhat from its worst symptoms; but in the following year his case had become so threatening, that he was ordered to try a warmer climate, as the only hope of recovery. Alas! it was too late! He sailed for Naples, accompanied by his generous friend Severn, and after a short stay in that city, arrived in Rome in such a state, that recovery was utterly hopeless. We can only find room for a few extracts from Severn's most painful and touching diary. The friends were all but penniless.

“ ‘ Torlonia, the banker, has refused us any more money; the bill is returned unaccepted, and to-morrow I must pay my last crown for this cursed lodging-place: and what is more, if he dies, all the beds and furniture will be burnt and the walls scraped, and they will come on me for a hundred pounds or more! But, above all, this noble fellow lying on the bed and without the common spiritual comforts that many a rogue and fool has in his last moments! If I do break down it will be under this; but I pray that some angel of goodness may yet lead him through this dark wilderness.

“ ‘ If I could leave Keats every day for a time I could soon raise money by my painting, but he will not let me out of his sight, he will not bear the face of a stranger. I would rather cut my tongue out than tell him I must get the money—that would kill him at a word. You see my hopes of being kept by the Royal Academy will be cut off, unless I send a picture by the spring. I have written to Sir T. Lawrence. I have got a volume of Jeremy Taylor's works, which Keats has heard me read to-night. This is a treasure indeed, and came when I should have thought it hopeless. Why may not other good things come? I will keep myself up with such hopes. Dr. Clark is still the same, though he knows about the bill: he is afraid the next change will be to diarrhoea. Keats sees all this—his knowledge of anatomy makes every change tenfold worse: every way he is unfortunate, yet every one offers me assistance on

his account. He cannot read any letters, he has made me put them by him unopened. They tear him to pieces—he dare not look on the outside of any more : make this known.

“ ‘ Feb. 18th.—I have just got your letter of Jan. 15th. The contrast of your quiet friendly Hampstead with this lonely place and our poor suffering Keats, brings the tears into my eyes. I wish many many times that he had never left you. His recovery would have been impossible in England ; but his excessive grief has made it equally so. In your care he seemed to me like an infant in its mother’s arms ; you would have smoothed down his pain by variety of interests, and his death would have been eased by the presence of many friends. Here, with one solitary friend, in a place savage for an invalid, he has one more pang added to his many—for I have had the hardest task in keeping from him my painful situation. I have kept him alive week after week. He has refused all food, and I have prepared his meals six times a day, till he had no excuse left. I have only dared to leave him while he slept. It is impossible to conceive what his sufferings have been : he might, in his anguish, have plunged into the grave in secret, and not a syllable been known about him : this reflection alone repays me for all I have done. Now, he is still alive and calm. He would not hear that he was better : the thought of recovery is beyond everything dreadful to him ; we now dare not perceive any improvement, for the hope of death seems his only comfort. He talks of the quiet grave as the first rest he can ever have.

“ ‘ In the last week a great desire for books came across his mind. I got him all I could, and three days this charm lasted, but now it has gone. Yet he is very tranquil. He is more and more reconciled to his horrible misfortunes.

“ ‘ Feb. 14th.—Little or no change has taken place, except this beautiful one, that his mind is growing to great quietness and peace. I find this change has to do with the increasing weakness of his body, but to me it seems like a delightful sleep : I have been beating about in the tempest of his mind so long. To-night he has talked very much, but so easily, that he fell at last into a pleasant sleep. He seems to have happy dreams. This will bring on some change,—it cannot be worse—it may be better. Among the many things he has requested of me to-night, this is the principal—that on his grave-stone shall be this inscription :—

‘ HERE LIES ONE WHOSE NAME WAS WRIT IN WATER.’

You will understand this so well that I need not say a word about it.’ ”—pp. 88-91, vol. ii.

“ ‘ Last night I thought he was going ; I could hear the phlegm in his throat ; he bade me lift him up in the bed or he would die with pain. I watched him all night; expecting him to be suffocated

at every cough. This morning, by the pale daylight, the change in him frightened me : he has sunk in the last three days to a most ghastly look. Though Dr. Clark has prepared me for the worst, I shall be ill able to bear it. I cannot bear to be set free even from this my horrible situation by the loss of him.

" ' I am still quite precluded from painting : which may be of consequence to me. Poor Keats has me ever by him, and shadows out the form of one solitary friend : he opens his eyes in great doubt and horror, but when they fall upon me, they close gently, open quietly and close again, till he sinks to sleep. This thought alone would keep me by him till he dies : and why did I say I was losing my time ? The advantages I have gained by knowing John Keats are double and treble any I could have won by any other occupation. Farewell.

" ' Feb. 27th.—He is gone ; he died with the most perfect ease—he seemed to go to sleep. On the twenty-third, about four, the approaches of death came on. ' Severn—I—lift me up—I am dying—I shall die easy ; don't be frightened—be firm, and thank God it has come.' I lifted him up in my arms. The phlegm seemed boiling in his throat, and increased until eleven, when he gradually sunk into death, so quiet, that I still thought he slept. I cannot say more now. I am broken down by four nights' watching, no sleep since, and my poor Keats gone. Three days since the body was opened : the lungs were completely gone. The doctors could not imagine how he had lived these two months. I followed his dear body to the grave on Monday with many English. They take much care of me here—I must else have gone into a fever. I am better now, but still quite disabled.' "—pp. 93, 94, vol. ii.

Into poor Keats's religious opinions it would be painful to enter too closely, but there is a deep and warning lesson for the incipient doubter to be learned at his early death-bed. His letters, as far as they are now published, do not contain any absolute avowal of a fixed and settled system of unbelief, but they leave an impression which it is impossible to resist ; and in his views even upon the first elements of natural religion, there is a vagueness and uncertainty which fills one with dismay. Thus, for instance, he calmly places Jesus and Socrates (266) upon the same level, as the only two whom he can remember "to have had hearts completely disinterested ;" and speculates as to whether "there may not be some superior beings amused with any graceful attitude his mind may fall into," as if the idea of a Providence was one which did not enter into his mind (269.) Again, although in one place (p. 246) he professes "a firm belief in immortality," yet, in another, he

doubts whether “there is a future life,” and wherever he alludes to the prospect of his death, all his aspirations after death are after the forgetfulness and oblivion with which he professedly identifies it. In a word, all his opinions seem vague and undefined, and we have no doubt that this very vagueness and uncertainty is the worst penalty which unbelief brings in its train.

The reader, we doubt not, will have been reminded, in many passages of Keats’s life, of the not very dissimilar career of our own countryman, Gerald Griffin. But, alas, how different their close! How striking the contrast of Griffin’s peaceful and happy death, with the following outpouring of wretchedness and gloom—the more wretched from the terrible doubts and uncertainties in which the future seems involved!

“I wish to write on subjects that will not agitate me much. There is one I must mention and have done with it. Even if my body would recover of itself, this would prevent it. The very thing which I want to live most for, will be a great occasion of my death. I cannot help it. Who can help it? Were I in health it would make me ill, and how can I bear it in my state? I dare say you will be able to guess on what subject I am harping—you know what was my greatest pain during the first part of my illness at your house. I wish for death every day and night to deliver me from these pains, and then I wish death away, for death would destroy even those pains, which are better than nothing. Land and sea, weakness and decline, are great separators, but death is the great divorcer for ever. When the pang of this thought has passed through my mind, I may say the bitterness of death is passed.”—pp. 73, 74, vol. ii.

“Is there another life? Shall I awake and find all this a dream? There must be, we cannot be created for this sort of suffering. The receiving this letter is to be one of yours—I will say nothing about our friendship, or rather yours to me, more than that, as you deserve to escape, you will never be so unhappy as I am. I should think of you in my last moments. I shall endeavour to write to Miss —, if possible, to-day. A sudden stop to my life in the middle of one of these letters would be no bad thing, for it keeps one in a sort of fever awhile.”—pp. 74, 75, vol. ii.

We shall add, in connexion with the history of the close of his career, his Last Sonnet, written on the Dorchester coast, during that voyage to Italy, from which he was destined never to return.

“KEATS'S LAST SONNET.

“ Bright star ! would I were steadfast as thou art—
 Not in lone splendour hung aloft the night,
 And watching, with eternal lids apart,
 Like Nature's patient sleepless Eremite,
 The moving waters at their priestlike task
 Of pure ablution round earth's human shores,
 Or gazing on the new soft fallen mask
 Of snow upon the mountains and the moors—
 No—yet still steadfast, still unchangeable,
 Pillow'd upon my fair love's ripening breast,
 To feel for ever its soft fall and swell,
 Awake for ever in a sweet unrest,
 Still, still to hear her tender-taken breath,
 And so live ever—or else swoon to death.”*—Vol. ii, p. 306.

The rest of the “Literary Remains,” with a few exceptions, are hardly equal to the reputation which the author's published poetry had won. The largest piece of the entire, the tragedy of “Otho the Great,” was written with a view to its being represented, and was offered for this purpose with some prospect of success, at more than one of the London theatres; but, like Gerald Griffin's “Gisippus,” it was allowed, in the end, to fall to the ground; and even Mr. Milnes acknowledges the judiciousness of the sentence. Nevertheless, there are many passages in it which evince poetic merit of the very highest order; and as a piece for the closet, it is hardly surpassed by any of our modern tragedies. The fairy fantasy of “The Cap and Bells” appears to have been suggested by the study of Ariosto, but it is in a most unfinished state; and though it displays abundant evidence of humour and of imagination, yet the absence of anything like a fixed plan, as well as the exceeding carelessness of the composition, deprive it of almost all interest, except as a specimen of the wonderful versatility of the author's mind, and his extraordinary power, both in diction and in rhyme, over the barren and dissonant vocabulary of our language. The minor pieces are tolerably numerous. They resemble very much in style and character the poems of the same class which had been already published, and perhaps for general interest,

* Another reading :—
 “ Half-passionless, and so swoon on to death.”

are the most valuable of the new materials which Mr. Milnes's volumes have preserved for those faithful hearts which still "weep for Adonais."

ART. VIII.—*Researches on the Chemistry of Food.* By JUSTUS LIEBIG, M. D. Edited by WILLIAM GREGORY, M. D. London : Taylor and Walton, 1847, pp. 156.

NOTWITHSTANDING the really respectable antiquity of the practices of eating and drinking, and the very considerable extent to which they are even yet carried on, the opinions held of their philosophy have been hitherto very slight and incorrect. If the viands have been savoury and easy of assimilation, the theories as to the choice and action of them have been singularly crude and undigested. Sentiments the most erroneous have been entertained regarding the relative nutrition, digestibility, and salubrity of the various articles of food and drink, and are by the majority still entertained. From an ignorance of true principles regarding these points very serious diseases have sometimes been produced, and there can be little doubt but that a considerable undercurrent of indisposition is still from this cause kept up. Indeed, had mankind acted upon the ideas which it held of food and drink, and had it not fortunately been guided by two old-fashioned instincts—hunger and thirst—incalculable consequences might have happened.

The researches of modern chemistry have undoubtedly considerably improved this state of matters. Formerly the amount of nutrition which articles of food contained, was tested by some peculiarity of appearance, smell, or taste, which was wholly arbitrary. The distinguishing of the proximate principles of animal and vegetable substances—Fibrin, Albumen, Osmazome, Gluten, Starch, &c.—and the attempting to discriminate the value of each as a nutritive agent, and what proportion of each or any of them any article of food contained, were unquestionably important advances. We have always been of opinion that if Davy had lived longer, some important discovery in the philosophy of food would have been made. Equal

to any of his predecessors, this eminent philosopher was undoubtedly far superior to any who have succeeded him in chemical investigations. Unfortunately, however, he was not spared to us.

Then, Dr. Prout's speculations as to the manner in which the articles of food should be arranged, are interesting and important. He divided them, according to their chemical relations, under three heads,—the Saccharine, the Albuminous, and the Oily. The first of these he conceived to consist of carbon in different proportions, chemically combined with water; and the two others of compound bases, also united with water. The prototype of all these classes exists in milk, and Dr. Prout is of opinion that two at least of these must be taken, either together or soon after one another, to meet the demands of the system, and to answer the purposes of digestion and nutrition.

Next have come the brilliant theories of Liebig. Others have previously to him perceived the necessity of the connexion of physiology and pathology with organic chemistry, and also the great importance of a more particular study of the chemistry of animal and vegetable life; but he has had the good fortune to convince the world of this. He has even made it, and this too in a very short space of time, an enthusiastic admirer both of the science and of the splendid hypotheses with which he has adorned it. In almost every particular he has been most fortunate. Deeply versed in chemistry, possessed of an extraordinary skill in making analyses, endowed with quickness of perception, readiness of reasoning, and a facility of getting over objections, he has also been assisted by minor advantages. In other countries than his own he has found valuable editors. His own style, abrupt and obscure as it occasionally is, yet gives sometimes to his opinions and statements the magic and bright colour of romance. Enthusiastic, it excites enthusiastic admirers in its readers. Even when an adversary has risen up against him, Liebig has, like a Napoleon of science, immediately put out his whole strength against him, and as yet has succeeded in at once and effectually crushing him.

But if the style of Liebig sometimes resembles that of the writer of fiction, we fear that his ardent imagination occasionally carries him further than strict logical deduction from facts should permit him. Some of his details

and minor theories, at least, will not bear that entire accordance with results that chemistry so rigorously demands. We even doubt if the present state of the science of organic chemistry, brilliant as it seems, be founded on a sure basis. The very theory of hypothetical radicles, which now looks so charming, is destined, we suspect, to be destroyed by some future Liebig. Strong as is the contempt expressed by the present one for those physiologists and pathologists who neglect the study of chemistry, we are inclined to think that some of these might taunt him with an occasional ignorance and want of practical familiarity with some physiological and pathological processes. And the reader of Liebig, and of the whole school of modern chemists, should carefully bear in mind that the laws of chemistry are subject to a certain modification in all living bodies; in other words, to the control of the strictly vital powers, or of those powers which characterize and distinguish living from inanimate bodies. The discovery of the exact nature of these modifications would indeed be a triumph.

Struck with the novelty and ingenuity of the new theories promulgated by Liebig, we, in common with many others, were perhaps a little inclined to forget that spirit of criticism and scepticism which is so useful in modern physical science. We take the opportunity of the appearance of the work which we place at the head of this article, to make some desultory remarks upon several of the doctrines propounded by Liebig relative to phenomena in plants and animals, principally with reference to their food, or to the *Philosophy of Eating and Drinking*.

The "Researches on the Chemistry of Food," like the "Animal Chemistry, or Chemistry in its applications to Physiology and Pathology," is edited by Dr. Gregory. But we are sorry to see Dr. Lyon Playfair, who edited, and edited well, the "Organic Chemistry in its applications to Agriculture," discarded even to make room for Dr. Gregory. To deprive a younger but promising chemist of a post, because an elder or better known offers, has an ugly look.

The first part of the "Organic Chemistry," upon the chemical processes which take place in the nutrition of vegetables, is, we suspect, the one which the future chemist will read with the most satisfaction. It is too, one which will undoubtedly lead to a great improvement of

practical agriculture. We do not think that it is possible to draw up a more concise or a clearer summary of the constituent elements of plants than the following :

"*Carbon* enters into the composition of all plants, and of all their different parts and organs.

"The substances which constitute the principal mass of every vegetable, are compounds of carbon with oxygen and hydrogen in the proper relative proportions for forming water. Woody fibre, starch, sugar, and gum, for example, are such compounds of carbon with the elements of water. In another class of substances containing carbon as an element, oxygen and hydrogen are again present, but the proportion of oxygen is greater than would be required for producing water by union with the hydrogen. The numerous organic acids met with in plants belong, with few exceptions, to this class.

"A third class of vegetable compounds contains carbon and hydrogen, but no oxygen, or less of that element than would be required to convert all the hydrogen into water. These may be regarded as compounds of carbon with the elements of water and an excess of hydrogen. Such are the volatile and fixed oils, wax, and the resins. Many of them have acid characters.

"The juices of all vegetables contain organic acids generally combined with the inorganic bases or metallic oxides, for these metallic oxides exist in every plant, and may be detected in its ashes after incineration.

"*Nitrogen* is an element of vegetable albumen and gluten, it is a constituent of the acids and of what are termed the 'indifferent substances of plants,' as well as of those peculiar vegetable compounds which possess all the properties of metallic acids, and are known as 'organic bases.'

"Estimated by its proportional weight, nitrogen forms only a very small part of plants, but it is never entirely absent from any part of them. Even when it does not absolutely enter into the composition of a particular part or organ, it is always to be found in the fluids which pervade it.

"It follows from the facts thus far detailed, that the development of a plant requires the presence, first, of substances containing carbon and nitrogen and capable of yielding these elements to the growing organism; secondly, of water and its elements; and lastly, of a soil to furnish the inorganic matters, which are likewise essential to vegetable life."—*Organic Chemistry*, pp. 3, 4.

Where do plants obtain a supply of these constituent elements? In the first place, what supply does *humus* afford? Liebig's answer to this question is both original and philosophical. Humus or mould, as our readers are aware, is the name given to a peculiar substance upon

which the fertility of any soil depends, and which has been supposed to be absorbed by the roots, and to be the principal source of nutriment to plants, especially in affording carbon, an element in which it is rich, inasmuch as mould is formed by the decomposition of structures rich in carbon—in a word, of previous plants. Further, humus has been supposed by vegetable physiologists to owe its properties to a peculiar substance which they have called humic acid.

Liebig, on the contrary, denies that humus, in the form in which it exists in soil, can yield any nutriment to plants. It has been supposed by previous physiologists, that by the aid of water humus was rendered capable of being absorbed by the roots of plants. But humic acid is only soluble just after precipitation, and by exposure to the air or to cold speedily becomes insoluble in water. Indeed, if a piece of mould be treat with water, the fluid only dissolves a very inconsiderable portion of matter, consisting in fact of salts. Water, then, cannot render humus capable of being absorbed by the roots of plants.

This observation had, however, been made by previous physiologists, and hence they had assumed that the humic acid combined with alkalies and alkaline earths, which do undoubtedly exist in the different kinds of soil, and this, too, in sufficient quantity to form such soluble compounds with humic acid. In this manner the roots of plants might absorb humic acid, and thus obtain a supply of carbon. Liebig, however, proves that this view of the matter is erroneous. He assumes that humic acid is absorbed by plants in the form of that salt which contains the largest portion of humic acid—viz., in the form of humate of lime. By burning a plant, and weighing its ashes (consisting of salts and basic oxides), the amount of humic acid which would theoretically be assimilated in this way may easily be reckoned.

"Let us admit likewise," says Liebig, "that potash, soda, and the oxides of iron and manganese have the same capacity of saturation as lime with respect to humic acid, and then we may take as the basis of our calculation the analysis of M. Berthier, who found that 1000 lbs. of dry fir wood yielded 4 lbs. of ashes, and that in every 100 lbs. of these ashes, after the chloride of potassium and sulphate of potash were extracted, 53 lbs. consisted of the basic metallic oxides, potash, soda, lime, magnesia, iron, and manganese.

"40,000 square feet, Hessian measure, of woodland, yield annu-

ally, according to Doctor Heyer, on an average 2,650 lbs. Hessian of dry fir wood, which contain 5.6 lbs. Hessian of metallic oxides.

"Now, according to the estimates of Malaguiti and Sprengel, 1 lb. Hessian of lime combines chemically with 10.9 lbs. Hessian of humic acid, 5.6 of the metallic oxides would accordingly introduce into the trees 61 lbs. Hessian of humic acid, which, admitting humic acid to contain 58 per cent of carbon, would correspond to 91 lbs. Hessian of dry wood. But we have seen that 2650 lbs. of fir wood are really produced.

"Again, if the quantity of humic acid which might be introduced into wheat in the form of humates is calculated from the known proportion of metallic oxides existing in wheat straw, (the sulphates and chlorides also contained in the ashes of the straw not being included) it will be found that the wheat growing on 46,000 square feet of land would receive in that 57½ lbs. Hessian of humic acid, corresponding to 85 lbs. Hessian of woody fibre. But the extent of land just mentioned, produces, independently of the roots and grain, 1780 lbs. Hessian of straw, the composition of which is the same as that of woody fibre."—pp. 10, 11.

Again, one part of even the most soluble humate—humate of lime—requires 2500 parts of water for its solution. Now, if we calculate the whole amount of water which falls upon a field of wheat during the four months of its growth—if, further, we assume that it is saturated with humate of lime, and that all this is absorbed by the roots, none of it being evaporated, we shall have the amount of humic acid or carbon which the wheat can obtain from the soil. We can then ascertain the amount of carbon which the wheat actually contains; and we shall find it an immense deal more than can have been obtained from the soil.

Further, a meadow, which is never manured, goes on producing grass; and its soil, instead of becoming decarbonized, actually gets rich in carbon. Humus in fact, it is admitted on all hands, is the product of decayed vegetation. Vegetation, and the assimilation of carbon in plants, must have preceded the formation of humus.

The fact is, that the grand source of carbon in vegetables is the carbonic acid of the atmosphere, which they absorb by means of their leaves, and which is exhaled from the lungs of animals, and which they have the power of decomposing, and whose oxygen they return to the atmosphere. But does humus play no part in the nutrition of plants?

Humus is woody fibre in a state of decay, or, to use

the expression of Liebig, *eremacausis*. This is to say, that woody fibre, which (when pure) consists of carbon and the elements of water, can, when it has lost its vitality, no longer maintain its chemical constitution. Its carbon and the oxygen of the air mutually act upon one another, and carbonic acid is slowly formed. "An atmosphere of carbonic acid gas, formed at the expense of the oxygen of the air, which it emits very slowly, surrounds every particle of decaying humus. The cultivation of the land, by tilling and loosening the soil, causes a free and unobstructed access of air. An atmosphere of carbonic acid is therefore contained in every fertile soil, and is the first and most important food for the young plants which grow in it."

In fact, in the early life of a plant, before its leaves are formed, there can be no doubt that it is from this source that the radicles absorb carbon for its growth. We can now understand why everything which prevents the humus from being exposed to the air (or to oxygen) diminishes the formation of carbonic acid in this manner, and hence diminishes the food, and hence the growth of the young plant. When, however, a plant is matured, and has its leaves formed, it is comparatively independent of this source of carbon. We can also now understand the truth of the following statement:

"In former periods of the earth's history its surface was covered with plants, the remains of which are still found in the coal formations. These plants, the gigantic monocotyledones, ferns, palms, and reeds, belong to a class to which nature has given the power, by means of an immense extension of their leaves, to dispense with nourishment from the soil. They resemble, in this respect, the plants which we raise from bulbs and tubers, and which live while young upon the substances contained in their seed, and require no food from the soil when their exterior organs of nutrition are formed. This class of plants is even at present ranked among those which do not exhaust the soil."

"The plants of every former period are distinguished from those of the present by the inconsiderable development of their roots. Fruit, leaves, seeds, nearly every part of the plants of a former world except the roots, are found in the brown coal formation. The vascular bundles, and the perishable cellular tissue of which their roots consisted, have been the first to suffer decomposition. But when we examine oaks and other trees, which, in consequence of revolutions of the same kind occurring in later ages, have undergone the same changes, we never find their roots absent."

"The verdant plants of warm climates are very often such as obtain from the soil only a point of attachment, and are not dependent on it for their growth. How extremely small are the roots of the Cactus Sedum and Sempervivum in proportion to their mass and to the surface of their leaves! Again, in the most dry and barren sand, where it is impossible for nourishment to be obtained through the roots, we see the milky juiced plants attain complete perfection. The moisture necessary for the nutrition of these plants is derived from the atmosphere, and, when assimilated, is secured from evaporation by the nature of the juice itself. Caoutchouc and wax, which are formed in these plants, surround the water, as in oily emulsions, with an impenetrable envelope, by which the fluid is retained in the same manner as milk is prevented from evaporating by the skin which forms upon it. These plants therefore become turgid with their juices."—*Organic Chemistry*, pp. 60, 61.

The hydrogen necessary for plants is obtained by the decomposition of water. From this fluid hydrogen is extracted, as carbon is from carbonic acid. The consequence of both these processes is the separation of oxygen. And it would seem that the various structures of a plant in some degree depend upon whether this exhalation of oxygen is complete or not. Caoutchouc, and many volatile oils, contain no oxygen—nothing but hydrogen and carbon. Most, however, of the parts of plants contain a more or less proportion of oxygen. The following table is curious:

“36 equivalents carbonic acid and 22 eq. hydrogen, derived from 22 eq. water with the separation of 72 eq. oxygen,	Woody Fibre.
36 eq. carbonic acid and 36 eq. hydrogen, derived from 36 eq. water with the separation of 72 eq. oxygen.	
36 eq. carbonic acid and 30 eq. hydrogen, derived from 36 eq. water with the separation of 72 eq. oxygen,	Sugar.
36 eq. carbonic acid and 16 eq. hydrogen, derived from 16 eq. water with the separation of 64 eq. oxygen,	
36 eq. carbonic acid and 18 eq. hydrogen, derived from 18 eq. water with the separation of 45 eq. oxygen,	Tannic Acid.
36 eq. carbonic acid and 18 eq. hydrogen, derived from 18 eq. water with the separation of 54 eq. oxygen,	

36 eq. carbonic acid and 24 eq. hydrogen, derived
from 24 eq. water with the separation of 84 eq.
oxygen,

Oil of
Turpentine.

"It will readily be perceived," says Liebig in reference to this table, "that the formation of the acids is accompanied with the smallest separation of oxygen, that the amount of oxygen set free increases with the productions of the so-named neutral substances, and reaches its maximum in the formation of the oils. Fruits remain acid in cold summers, while the most numerous trees under the tropics are those which produce oils, caoutchoucs, and other substances containing very little oxygen. The action of sunshine and influence of heat upon the ripening of the fruit is thus, in a certain measure, represented by the numbers above cited."—*Organic Chemistry*, p. 67.

Every plant, moreover, contains, as an essential part of its composition, nitrogen or azote; and some vegetable principles, as gluten and vegetable albumen, contain it in large quantity. The main source from which plants obtain it is explained in a very satisfactory manner by Liebig. Plants, we know, can grow if placed in pure charcoal, provided they be supplied with rain water. This rain water may be supposed to contain nitrogen in two forms, either as dissolved atmospherical air, or as ammonia. The former of these is improbable; and we have no reason to believe that the nitrogen of the air takes any part in the assimilation of plants. Further, we know that we can increase the nitrogenized portion of a plant—the gluten of wheat, for example—by adding ammonia in the form of manure to the soil, where it is dissolved by the rain water, and absorbed by the roots of the wheat.

But plants are undoubtedly supplied with nitrogen in another manner than that of applied manure. To take an illustration of Liebig's: A farm is cultivated, without any importation of foreign substances containing nitrogen, and corn and cattle (both of course rich in nitrogen) are exported from it in exchange for substances which do not contain nitrogen. Yet the quantity of nitrogen in this farm does not diminish; it even increases. The earth cannot yield it, nor can that which is originally present reproduce itself. Nitrogen must have been in some manner derived from the atmosphere.

Now all decaying animal bodies yield ammonia. To use the words of Liebig, "a generation of a thousand millions of men is renewed every thirty years, and thousands of millions of animals cease to live, and are repro-

duced in a much shorter period. Where is the nitrogen which they contained during life? There is no question which can be answered with more positive certainty. All animal bodies during their decay yield* the nitrogen which they contain to the atmosphere in the form of ammonia. Both ammonia and all its compounds are very soluble, and it is manifest that every shower of rain water must condense it, and bring it in solution to the earth, and thence to the roots of plants.

Liebig, however, is the first to show that ammonia certainly exists in the air. This he did very satisfactorily. The ammonia obtained by him from rain or snow water had an offensive smell, an evident indication of its animal origin.

The supply of nitrogen, then, to plants is by ammonia, the product of decomposed animal matter, and contained either in the atmosphere, or in the soil in the form of manure.

In addition to these elements, many plants require certain inorganic substances, salts and metallic oxides. Grasses, for instance, contain silicate of potassa, seaweed iodine, sorrel oxalic acid, and so forth. These inorganic substances must be contained in the soil, where dissolved in water, they are applied to and absorbed by the roots of those plants which require them.

Thus we see that the food of vegetables consists of water, oxygen, carbon, hydrogen, and nitrogen, and certain inorganic substances. We see further that these are *selected* by each individual plant according to its wants, and taken into its systems by its lungs and mouths, or its leaves and roots. These various substances, once received into the system of the plant, cease entirely to be governed by their previous mechanical and chemical laws. They acquire peculiar properties termed vital. The observation and generalization of these are the business of the physiologist, as distinguished from the mechanical or chemical philosopher. It is from not attending sufficiently to this distinction, that we are threatened by modern chemists with many erroneous views in physiology.

The wants of mankind require that the knowledge of the above facts, or the philosophy of the food of plants, should be reduced to practical details. This is done by agricul-

* He means yield a *part* to the atmosphere.

ture or the art of culture. The constituents of a plant being known, and the various sources from whence these constituents are derived, it is the business of the farmer to provide that the plant which he wishes to grow be not starved, but have a sufficient supply of food. Thus the farmer or gardener supplies water to his crops; thus he ploughs or digs the ground on which young plants (i. e., unprovided at first with leaves) are to be raised, in order that there may be sufficient oxygen present to unite with the decaying humus; thus he analyses the different soils to ascertain if they contain the inorganic matters necessary for the particular plant which he wishes to cultivate, or, if it be not present, he adds it; thus he adds manure to supply nitrogen, or fresh humus to form more carbonic acid. Fallow, interchange of crops, &c., are necessary from analogous principles, into which it is not necessary to enter.

Such is a brief outline of what seems to be ascertained relative to the supply of food to the vegetable kingdom, and for some important parts of it the world is indebted to Liebig. We have only stated as much of his doctrines as appears to us undoubtedly true; and we have dwelt the longer upon the subject, because we conceive that the philosophy of the food of the animal creation should be investigated in a similar manner, and that this is at present the true aim of organic chemistry in relation to physiology. We cannot dwell too often upon the fact, that the explanation of vital phenomena by chemical laws is not only premature but impossible. We may as well explain the formation of Epsom salts, when magnesia and oil of vitriol are mixed together, by gravitation, or the fall of an apple by chemical affinity. We believe that it cannot be too often repeated, that chemical processes and mechanical processes in the living body are subject to the control, not only of chemical and mechanical, but also of vital laws. We suspect that many of the chemical physiologists of the present day forget the fate of many philosophers, both chemical and mechanical, of bygone days, who had the same aspirations as they had, and who failed.

Liebig, however, avows that the vital force, as he calls it, is a "peculiar force, because it exhibits manifestations not to be found in any of the other forces." But there can be no doubt but that many of his school do not sufficiently perceive the distinction. Another error which they

commit, is the perfect indifference which they show to well observed pathological phenomena. Practical physicians have even been obliged to notice this in Liebig himself, and to point out particular instances where pathological facts do not accord with the theories which he lays down.

The theories of Liebig relative to the use of the bile, are perhaps the most original, and certainly not the least ingenious, of the many which can boast of him as a father. We cannot help thinking, however, that, while forming his opinions upon this point, he overlooked some important physiological and pathological facts. Bile, it is well known, is a substance very rich in carbon. Some discrepancy of opinion has been entertained regarding its action ; but, before the publication of Liebig's views upon the subject, it was generally agreed that, although it undoubtedly acted as a stimulant to the motions of the intestines, yet that it was an excretion. Any element which has entered into the body, and becomes vitalized, after a time loses its vital properties, and actually becomes poisonous. If not expelled or excreted, it acts as a narcotic poison, and produces death. Carbon is an essential ingredient of the human body, and when any portion of the actually existing carbon of the body becomes unfitted for further use, it is expelled. Physiologists have believed that the organs employed for the expulsion or discharge of it, are the lungs and liver. The former drives out carbonic acid into the atmosphere ; the latter discharges bile, which contains some sixty or seventy per cent of carbon, into the small intestines. This view was confirmed by a good many observations. It was remarked by comparative anatomists, that whenever the lungs were small, the liver was large, and vice versa. Thus reptiles with small lungs are possessed of enormous livers ; thus the infant before birth has a very large liver, its lungs being of course useless, although when ushered into the world, and beginning to use its lungs, the size of its liver gradually diminishes. These facts seem to show, that the two organs have in this respect the same office. Further, those contents of the small intestines destined for further purposes in the economy, are absorbed by the veins and lacteals. But bile could never be traced in these. This was considered an additional proof that it was destined to be expelled as an excretion. Again, it was observed that, in cases of dis-

ease where bile was not secreted, its retention in the system acted as a deadly poison, just as retained urea, an undoubted excretion, does. Other facts confirm this view of the action of bile, but it is useless to detail them.

According to Liebig, all this is erroneous, and these facts go for nothing, if indeed, which we doubt, he is aware of them. Bile, he thinks, is not an excretion, but is returned into the circulation, where it entirely disappears. Its use is for the carbon to combine with the oxygen taken in at the lungs, and the result of this combination is the animal heat.

The principal reasons assigned for this belief lie in the assumed facts, that in man only a portion, and in carnivora none, of the bile can be found in the large intestines. To this it may be answered, that the quantity of bile presumed by Liebig to be secreted is probably grossly exaggerated; and, indeed, he would seem to be aware of this. A horse, for instance, is supposed to secrete daily nearly three stones' weight of bile!! If the statement, that no bile at all is found in the large intestines of carnivora (which is, perhaps, somewhat hastily assumed) be correct, the undoubted fact, that none has ever yet been found in either lacteals or veins leading from the intestines, may at least be set against it. When the bile is retained in the system (i. e., not secreted), does the animal heat suffer? No, but the man loses consciousness, and at length dies, because he is not aware of the necessity of breathing, and therefore ceases to do so. We think, in this particular instance, that an impartial critic would prefer the slow and cautious deductions of the old-fashioned physiologist, to the hypothetical theories, however brilliant, of the modern chemist.

Connected with the subject of the bile, Liebig has an ingenious speculation. Bile contains a substance, taurine, which has in its composition a small, a very small proportion of nitrogen. Liebig remarks :

"We shall never certainly be able to discover how men were led to the use of the hot infusion of the leaves of a certain shrub, (tea), or a decoction of certain roasted seeds, (coffee). Some cause there must be which would explain how the practice has become a necessary of life to whole nations. But it is surely more remarkable that the beneficial effects of both plants on the health must be ascribed to one and the same substance, the presence of which in two vegetables belonging to different natural families, and the pro-

duce of different quarters of the globe, could hardly have presented itself to the boldest imagination. Yet recent researches have shown in such a manner as to exclude all doubt that caffeine, the peculiar principle of coffee, and theine, that of tea, are in all respects identical..... Tea and coffee were originally met with in nations whose diet is chiefly vegetable.

"Without entering minutely into the medicinal action of caffeine and theine, it will surely appear a most striking fact, even if we were to deny its influence on the process of secretion, that this substance, with the addition of oxygen and the elements of water, can yield taurine, the nitrogenized compound peculiar to bile..... A similar relation exists in the case of the peculiar principle of asparagus and of althaea, &c. The addition of the elements of water, and of a certain quantity of oxygen, to the elements of theobromine, the characteristic principle of the cacao bean (*theobroma cacao*) yields the elements of taurine, &c.

"To see how the action of caffeine, asparagine, theobromine, &c., may be explained, we must call to mind that the chief constituent of the bile contains only 3.8 per cent of nitrogen, of which only the half, or 1.9 belongs to the taurine.

"Bile contains in its natural state water and solid matter in the proportion of 80 parts by weight of the former to 10 of the latter. If we suppose these ten parts by weight to be cholic acid with 3.87 of nitrogen, then 100 parts of fresh bile will contain 0.171 parts of nitrogen in the shape of taurine. Now this quantity is contained in 0.6 parts of caffeine, or $2\frac{8}{10}$ grains of caffeine can give to an ounce of bile the nitrogen it contains in the form of taurine. If an infusion of tea contain no more than the $\frac{1}{10}$ of a grain of caffeine, still, if it contribute in point of fact to the formation of bile, the action even of such quantity cannot be looked on as a nullity.* Neither can it be denied that in the case of an excess of non-azotized food, and a deficiency of motion which is required to cause the change of matter in the tissues, and thus to yield the nitrogenized product which enters into the composition of the bile, that in such a condition the health may be benefited by the use of compounds which are capable of supplying the place of the nitrogenized product formed in the healthy state of the body and essential to the production of an important element of respiration."—*Animal Chemistry*, pp. 178-180.

Supposing that bile really is "an element of respiration," this is possible, as it certainly is ingenious. But the consumption of tea and coffee may, we suspect, be explained upon other grounds. A certain quantity of

* In these instances, however, very different proportions and quantities of water and oxygen are employed.

moisture or water must be taken into the system every day. In all times nations somewhat civilized have endeavoured not to be obliged to drink pure water only, but water flavoured in some way or other; beer, weak wine, mead, tea, and coffee, are but some of the substitutes for water. Moreover, the great majority of civilized individuals like their drinks to be occasionally hot, and hot water alone is not palatable. Besides, tea and coffee possess a decided action upon the nervous system, aptly described as "cheering, but not inebriating." But if the tea speculation does not convince us, still less do some others which grow out of it, as to the actions of nitrogenized vegetable principles. What these are, the following extract will show:

"With respect to the action of the other nitrogenized vegetable principles, such as quinine, or the alkaloid of opium, &c., which manifests itself not in the processes of secretion, but in different phenomena, physiologists entertain no doubt that it is exerted chiefly on the brain and nerves. This action is commonly said to be dynamic, that is, it accelerates, or retards, or alters in some way the phenomena of motion in animal life. If we reflect that this action is exerted by substances which are material, tangible, and ponderable, that they disappear in the organism, that a double dose acts more powerfully than a single one, and that after a time a fresh dose must be given if we wish to produce the action a second time: all these considerations, viewed chemically, permit only one form of explanation, the supposition, namely, that these compounds, by means of their elements, *take a share in the formation of new, or the transformation of existing brain and nervous matter.*

"However strange the idea may at first sight appear, that the alkaloids of opium and of cinchona bark, the elements of iodine, morphia, quinine, &c., may be converted into constituents of brain and nervous matter, into organs of vital energy, from which the organic motions of the body derive their origin, that these substances form a constituent of that matter, by the removal of which the seat of intellectual life, of sensation, and consciousness is annihilated, it is nevertheless certain that all these forms of power and activity are most chiefly dependant, not only on the existence, but also on a certain quality of the substance of the brain, spinal marrow, and nerves, insomuch that all the manifestations of the life or vital energy of these modifications of nervous matter which are recognized as the phenomena of motion, sensation, or feeling, assume another form as soon as their composition is altered. The animal organism has produced the brain and nerves out of compounds furnished to it by vegetables, it is the constituents of the food of the animal, which, in consequence of a series of

changes, have assumed the properties and the structure which we find in the brain and nerves."

Such speculations as these, without a particle of evidence to support them, in our opinion, retard the progress of science. Even almost the only thing stated as a physiological fact in the above quotation, that the action of these remedies is, or is supposed to be, dynamic, is not correct. Nor do the "organic motions," as he calls them, depend upon the nervous system.

Assuming that the highly carbonized bile returns into the circulation, Liebig states that its carbon combines with the oxygen of the blood, and that this combination is the source of animal heat. The carbonic acid thus formed, is exhaled at the lungs. He takes some pains to show that animal heat is produced either by muscular contraction, or by nervous influence. In this respect he is undoubtedly right. But we were not aware that any one of consequence was of an opposite opinion. Indeed, since the time of Dr. Black, it has generally been supposed that the union of carbon and oxygen, to form the carbonic acid of the expired breath, is the great source of animal heat. The peculiarity of Liebig's views consists in the supposition that the carbon of the carbonic acid is derived from the bile: (i. e., that, to use his mode of expressing it, it is the carbon of the metamorphosed tissues.) He states, we ought to mention, that the combination of the hydrogen of the bile with oxygen to form water, is, in a small degree, a cause of animal heat. He thinks, however, "that the heat involved in combustion, to which the food is subjected in the body, is amply sufficient to explain the constant temperature of the body, as well as the evaporation from the skin and lungs." He denies the correctness of the deduction, and his reasons for so doing are strong ones, drawn by Despretz, from which it was inferred, that the formation of carbonic acid, or, to use the modern expression, "the mutual chemical relations between the elements of the food and the oxygen of the air," was sufficient to account for a part only of the animal heat. But the deductions of Despretz have been confirmed by Muller and others, and it is moreover extremely probable that *several* of the chemical changes which take place in the blood in the course of the greater circulation, are attended with an evolution of caloric. The deduction drawn by Professor Alison from the evidence upon this subject,

appears to us to be more philosophical than that of Liebig. "It is highly probable," he says, "that the application of oxygen to the blood in respiration is essential to the animal heat, not simply by combining with carbon, and so generating heat, but by adapting the blood for the maintenance of the *various* processes (partly chemical and partly vital) by which it is to be changed in the living body, and of which one of the results is the formation of the carbonic acid which appears in the air."*

In confirmation of this opinion, he brings forward the fact that the animal heat is not increased by voluntarily quickening or increasing the act of respiration, but that it is by exercise, which, by hastening the circulation, causes an involuntary frequency of respiration. It would seem from this, that animal heat is dependant not simply upon the application of oxygen to the blood, but to the changes which take place in the circulation, to the maintenance of which the oxygenation of the blood is one special condition.

For the necessity of a constant supply of carbon for the maintenance of animal heat, and for the importance of the reception of food rich in it for this purpose, physiology is indebted to the school of modern chemists. According to Liebig, the quantity of carbon nominally given out is exactly equal to that taken in, and the body in a natural state acquires no increase of weight from eating substances rich in carbon, but deficient in nitrogen. If, however, the quantity of oxygen absorbed into the system be less than necessary to combine with all the carbon received into the system in a similar space of time, this excess of carbon is deposited in the form of fat. Hence, he instances that individuals who take much exercise, as the Bedouins, or animals who use much exertion, as tigers, are lean, and free from this deposit; while sedentary men, and stall-fed cattle, are encumbered with it. This is, in some degree, we believe, true; but it is further asserted, that the deposition of fat is abnormal, and does not take place in a healthy man or animal. The words, indeed, used, describing the arm of the Arab, or the flesh of the carnivora,† are such

* Outlines of Physiology, p. 232.

† We do not like to grumble overmuch about any production of a man of talent, but we cannot help noticing that tendency to

as to imply that they are "altogether free from fat." Now the truth is, that fat is as natural and as constantly present in man and other animals as lean is. Its use, perhaps, is not so dignified; but it is indispensable to preserve symmetry and obviate pressure.

In the earliest of Liebig's works are broached the theories of fermentation, putrefaction, and decay, or the theory of metamorphosis. This, as our readers know, is the name given by him to those chemical actions in which a given compound, owing to the pressure of a peculiar substance, resolves itself into two or more new compounds; as, for example, when wort, by the addition of ferment, resolves itself into carbonic acid and beer. The exciting body, or ferment, in all cases of metamorphosis, is invariably a substance in an active state of decomposition, and whose particles are, therefore, in a state of motion. This motion being communicated to the particles of the body to be metamorphorized, overturns their previous equilibrium, never perhaps very steady, and more stable compounds are formed. The doctrine of metamorphosis has, we believe, been generally considered creditable to its author. Since its first appearance, he has applied it to the explanation of many physiological phenomena. This brings us back to the consideration of the philosophy of eating and drinking, from which, however, we have only been apparently wandering.

The *proteine* theory affords several instructive points of view. Fibrin and albumen, the principal constituents of blood, are each mainly composed of carbon, nitrogen, hydrogen, and oxygen, which are moreover combined in the same proportion in each. They differ merely in the proportions exceedingly small of sulphur, phosphorus, and saline matter, which enter into their composition. Mulder

strong statement which characterizes all Leibig's works. This is particularly objectionable in the exposition of new, and sometimes startling doctrines, and is occasionally very annoying. For instance, (among many similar ones,) in the index there is "carnivora have no fat," a statement notoriously incorrect. On turning to the place referred to, we find that "the flesh of wild animals is devoid of fat," but at the next page, the presence of fat in such animals is admitted, but stated to be "insignificant." Such statements may be of no great consequence, but they certainly tend to give either sceptical or suspicious readers unpleasant notions.

maintained that they were compounds of a substance, to which he gave the name of proteine, (and which he stated to be composed of oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, and carbon only,) with minute quantities of sulphur, phosphorus, and salts. The various tissues of the body, he further maintained, to be compounds of proteine with various substances. According to his views, we may express the composition of the animal solids as follows, P R standing for proteine, P for phosphorus, and S for sulphur :

Albumen is PR + P + S + salts.

Fibrin is PR + P + 2 S + salts.

Arterial Membranes is PR + water.

Hartshorn and the like is PR + ammonia + oxygen.

Caseine is PR + S + salts, &c., &c., &c.

Thus the food of the carnivoræ consists of compounds of proteine, and has the same composition as their bodies. As the blood (or proteine) wastes, it is renewed with a fresh supply of proteine (or animal food) almost in the same manner as one fills a half empty bottle with water. The nutriment of the herbivoræ is more complex; but Liebig thus explains it: All parts of plants which can afford nutriment to animals are rich in nitrogen. The nutritive proximate principles of plants are vegetable fibrin, vegetable albumen, and vegetable caseine. Such are analogous to the same named proximate animal principles, and are therefore composed of proteine. It will be observed that, according to this view, plants *produce* proteine; and animals, which live either upon them, or upon one another, originally derive their food from vegetables.

The use of sugar and starch in the food of the herbivoræ, and of oil, fat, and butter, in that of the carnivoræ, and of both vinous and alcoholic drinks in man, all substances rich in carbon, are, according to Liebig, to furnish material for respiration and animal heat. He states, that in the case of the carnivoræ, the carbon necessary for their respiration, must be derived from their food, which is analogous to their bodies. Hence their carbon is derived from the waste of their tissues, this waste being made up by their food. In order to furnish in this way enough of carbon to maintain the animal heat, great waste is necessary, and this requires to be accelerated by motion. This is, he thinks, the cause of the restlessness of this class of

animals, and which is to be remarked in tigers confined in a menagerie.

Liebig is further of opinion, that when proteine and its compounds are taken into the stomach, they meet with gastric juice, which is, he thinks, a substance in a state of transformation, (like yeast.) This acts as a ferment, the food ferments, its particles are grouped in a new manner, and chyme is formed ; just as beer, by the aid of yeast, is obtained from wort. And this, he thinks, is done quite independently of the vitality of the digestive organs. It is merely an instance of chemical transformation.

The first part of this theory, the existence of proteine, and its presence in both animal and vegetable fibrin, albumen, and caseine, we owe to Mulder, who ascertained it, according to the Liebig of 1843, by "exact and careful analysis." The latter part is Liebig's own ; indeed, he is somewhat given to adopting the discoveries of another, and by adding to it much that is novel, giving the impression, that nearly, if not all that is of any value in them, is his.

We suspect, however, that few physiologists will be found willing to believe that digestion is not a vital process very different from fermentation. A process so much under the control of mental emotion, is surely something very different from the bubblings in a brewer's vat. Most physiologists will, we think, be of opinion that this part of the theory is but the revival of an old and exploded one.

When we first read the proteine theory, we considered it possible. We do not believe that organic chemistry in its present state can assert any thing of this kind for certain and undoubted fact. Now, however, in 1848, Liebig declares that the whole hypothesis is false, that albumen, fibrin, &c., are not, as stated by Mulder, compounds of proteine, and that, in fact, a body having the appearances described by Mulder, cannot be obtained by Mulder's method. Mulder has written a very angry letter, maintaining, that all this is said by Liebig from jealousy, and giving the baron any thing but an amiable character. This letter has, we suspect, caused the world to be favoured with "Researches into the Chemistry of Food" somewhat earlier than it otherwise would have been. The first fifth of it is taken up with writing at Mulder. The tone of this part is somewhat different from what we have been accustomed to. The abuse and sneers previously bestowed upon physiologists and physiology, is now

reserved for organic chemists and organic chemistry, which is declared to have made no progress in its most important part, the constitution of the blood, for forty years, and the "exact and careful analysis" of 1843 becomes in 1848 "most frivolous experiment."

Besides the "showing up" of Mulder, however, the "Researches into the Chemistry of Food" contain an account of some very interesting and important researches into the chemical constituents of flesh made by Liebig, who has certainly no reason to be jealous of any other chemist. It has long been known that the flesh of newly-killed animals contains a free acid, which was considered to be lactic acid. In 1835, Chevreul discovered a peculiar substance, which he called kreatine, in flesh; but as other chemists failed in procuring it, it was considered an accidental ingredient. Liebig determined to give the subject a thorough investigation. He has succeeded in procuring kreatine from the flesh of a variety of animals, and he finds that it is in greater quantity in the flesh of wild than in that of confined animals, and he thinks that it bears an obvious relation to the amount of fat, being by far more abundant in lean animals than in fat ones. From eighty-six pounds of beef, he obtained about thirty grammes of kreatine. It is neither acid nor basic.

Kreatine, upon being heated in contact with strong mineral acids, has its elements transformed, and a new substance, to which the name of kreatinine has been given by Liebig, is procured. This he regards as a true organic alkali. Farther, if kreatine be treat with crystalized hydrate of baryta, another transformation takes place, and a new organic base, sarcosine, is formed. Besides kreatine, Liebig has also discovered in flesh a new organic acid, on which he bestows the name of inosinic acid. He also procured lactic acid. Of the inorganic constituents of flesh, the alkaline salts preponderate, and these salts are phosphates and chlorides. We had marked for quotation two passages on the purposes which lactic acid and phosphate of soda fulfil in the economy; but we forbear from quoting hypothesis, which, however ingenious, really seem to us anything but firmly established. We prefer making two extracts, the one relating to boiling meat, and the other to salting it.

He thus describes the best method of boiling beef where no soup is required:

" If the flesh intended to be eaten be introduced into the boiler when the water is in a state of brisk ebullition, and if the boiling be kept up for some minutes, then so much cold water added as to reduce the temperature of the water to 165° or 158° and the whole kept at this temperature for some hours, all the conditions are united which give to the flesh the quality best adapted to its use as food.

" When it is introduced into the boiling water, the albumen immediately coagulates from the surface inwards, and in this state forms a crust or shell which no longer permits the external water to penetrate into the interior of the flesh. But the temperature is gradually transmitted to the interior and there effects the conversion of the raw flesh into the state of boiled or roasted meat. The flesh retains its juiciness and is quite as agreeable to the taste as it can be made by roasting, for the chief part of the sapid constituents of the mass is retained under these circumstances in the flesh.

" If we reflect that the albumen of the juice of flesh begins to coagulate at a temperature of 105.5° , and that it is completely coagulated at 140° , (Berzelius) it might be supposed that it would not be necessary in the cooking of flesh to expose it to a higher temperature than 140° . But at that temperature the colouring matter of the blood is not yet coagulated, the flesh indeed is eatable, but when it contains blood, it acquires under these circumstances a bloody appearance, which it only loses when it has acquired throughout the whole mass a temperature of 150° to 158° .

" In the interior of a very large piece of flesh which has been boiled or roasted, we can tell with certainty the temperature attained in the different parts by the colours which they present. At all those parts which appear bloody, the temperature has not reached 144° . In the boiling or roasting of poultry, the flesh of which is white and contains little blood, the temperature of the inner parts, when the flesh has been well cooked, seldom exceeds 130° or 140° . The flesh of poultry or game is therefore sooner drest (ready or done as it is called) than flesh which contains much blood, such as beef or mutton."—pp. 126, 127.

The following are some of his remarks regarding salting meat :

" It is universally known, that in the salting of meat the flesh is rubbed and sprinkled with dry salt, and that where the salt and meat are in contact, a brine is formed, amounting in bulk to 1.3rd. of the fluid contained in the raw flesh.

" I have ascertained that this brine contains the chief constituents of a concentrated soup or infusion of meat, and that therefore, in the process of salting the composition of the flesh is changed, and this too in a much greater degree than occurs in boiling. * * * *

"It is now easy to understand that in the salting of meat, when this is pushed so far as to produce the brine above-mentioned, a number of substances are withdrawn from the flesh which are essential to its constitution, and that it therefore loses in nutritive quality in proportion to this abstraction. If these substances be not supplied from other quarters, it is obvious that a part of the flesh is converted into an element of respiration, certainly not conducive to good health. It is certain, moreover, that the health of a man cannot be permanently sustained by means of salted meat if the quantity be not greatly increased, inasmuch as it cannot perfectly replace by the substance it contains those parts of the body which have been expelled in consequence of the change of matter, nor can it preserve in its normal state the fluid distributed in every part of the body, namely, the juices of the flesh."—pp. 134, 135.

We cannot help thinking that the present state of our knowledge regarding the aliment of man can be expressed in simpler terms than it has hitherto been. The human frame may be regarded as a congeries of a few of the elementary bodies of nature; but which bodies, in a chemical point of view, are precisely similar to those forming parts of inorganic matter, rocks, earth, stones, and the like. The instant, however, any of these elements become part of the human body, they become endowed with vitality, and fit to perform those peculiar functions and actions which we term vital. None of these elements, however, are capable of remaining long in this state, and they soon become incapable of performing these vital actions. They may be said to die, and portions of us do die daily, and require to be cast away from the system as useless. Thus the lungs and the liver excrete carbon, thus the kidneys excrete nitrogen, phosphorus, soda, &c., thus the lungs excrete also oxygen, and so forth. This constant death of particles of our bodies demands a constant renewal of the elements of which we are composed, and this, during healthy life, is frequently done. If from disease it be not, the whole frame perishes; so likewise does it if the system loses its power of controlling the chemical and mechanical properties of its elements and of imparting vitality to them.

Perhaps the most convenient plan is to consider whatever elementary body is necessary for the support of the healthy state of the body as food. In this view the lungs and the stomach are the two organs which receive the elements of which the body stands in need. Whatever is taken into the latter, is, by a peculiar or vital process, vital-

ized, and is then poured into the blood by the channel of a vessel in the thorax. The elements the lungs select are added immediately to the blood in them. Moreover, it is a law of nature that the vital action of assimilation, as well as other vital actions, cannot go on without the presence of water.

It remains, then, to consider where to obtain water; next, to enquire of what elements is the body composed; and, lastly, as these elements are continually being rejected from the body, to ascertain where a fresh supply of each of them is to be obtained.

Water is, as every one knows, most abundantly supplied to us, and forms a large portion of what, under the direction of our appetites, we take as food and drink. Besides drinking it in its uncombined state, it constitutes a very large portion of our ordinary drinks—wine, infusions of tea and coffee, and the like. Moreover, it forms a large proportion of the substance of vegetables, fruit, and flesh. Water is indeed indispensable to us, but nature has taken every precaution that we shall not be in want of it.

The human body consists mainly of nitrogen, oxygen, hydrogen, and carbon. Other elements—as phosphorus, sulphur, sodium, &c.—enter into its constitution in very small proportions.

Man derives a great part of his nitrogen from the flesh of animals. Substances derived from animals—as eggs, cheese, or milk—also contain it. As before mentioned, the vegetable principles, vegetable gluten, albumen, and caseine, also have nitrogen in their composition, and contain about fifteen per cent of it. As wheat and the other cerealæ are rich in gluten, they afford a large supply of nitrogen, and hence have become important articles of food. Further, it is possible that a portion of the nitrogen of the atmosphere is absorbed for assimilation by the lungs.

By the process of respiration, a large quantity of oxygen is regularly and frequently taken into the system. Moreover, there are few articles of food which do not contain more or less of this element, and if water, as is probable, be decomposed in the system, we have another abundant source of oxygen.

So, also, do most articles of food contain hydrogen; and, as every one knows, supposing water to be decomposed, hydrogen would be abundantly supplied to the economy.

The wants of the system require daily a large supply of carbon. There is no doubt but that, when the animal temperature becomes low, we can raise it by administering additional carbon. Many of the articles of food which nature dictates to us to use, are rich in it. Animal fat, and butter, vegetable oil, starch, gum, and sugar are instances. Another abundant dietetical source of carbon, is the product of the fermentation of grape or other sugar—wine, spirits, beer, &c. Very absurd statements are sometimes made by wandering lecturers and the like to the effect that these liquids contain no *nourishment*, as they term it, and are therefore of no use in the economy. By nourishment they seem to understand nitrogen, as if the body did not require as constant a supply of the other ingredients composing it as of azote. Indeed, were we unaware of the chemical nature and composition of alcoholic drinks, we might be sure, from the antiquity and invariability of their use, that they were a means of supplying some natural want. The manner in which nature guides man to another source of carbon when one fails him, is very interesting. The Hindoo, for example, who takes neither much animal fat nor wine, consumes a large quantity of rice. We have another curious instance nearer home. Those who from habit or principle are members of temperance societies, to satisfy a craving of nature, eat a great deal of heavy (fatty) pastry and sweet cakes; so also do children and many females, while men, who habitually consume a quantity of wine, rarely partake of these supplies of carbon.

The phosphorus, the sulphur, the sodium, and the other elements which enter into the constitution of the human body, are required in very small quantities, and are constituents of articles of food which are rich in one of the four more important elements. These it is not necessary to particularize. It is important to observe that, as a general rule, the elements necessary for the human body cannot be assimilated by the digestive organs, unless they have formed part of a previously existing vital structure, animal or vegetable.

The above remarks apply to the *nutrition*, or nutritive property, of various articles of food. Their *digestibility*, or the relative ease and rapidity with which they are assimilated, is another and very important question in dietetics. This is much under the control of idiosyncracy and

of habit, and by repetition articles of food, at first more or less indigestible, become easy of digestion.

Our lengthening columus, however, bid us draw these desultory remarks to a conclusion. In the profound chemical research and knowledge, and of the original genius of Liebig, no one is a firmer believer than ourselves. But we cannot disguise from ourselves the firm conviction that vital processes cannot be explained by the laws which govern dead matter. The history of medicine is full of instances of the futility of attempting it. Medicine is so connected with many other physical sciences, and its professors so much led to cultivate them, that ever and anon medical men, who have become attached to some particular science, have endeavoured by its rules to explain vital phenomena. In this way physiological and pathological actions have been attempted to be explained by the laws of chemistry, of mechanics, and of mathematics; but the attempts have always ended in nothing. We believe that the physiologist, making the proper use of the discoveries of the organic chemist, will improve his science; but we are also of opinion, that the improper application of chemistry to physiology will but end in disappointment.

ART. IX.—*Die Reformation: ihre innere Entwicklung, und ihre Wirkungen.* (The Reformation: its interior Development and its Effects.) By J. DÖLLINGER, 3 vols. 8vo. Ratisbon, 1846-8.

WHEN the lion in the fable, saw the picture of a brother-lion subdued by a man, he contented himself with observing that “if lions were painters, the figures would be reversed.” The royal critic, in this observation, unconsciously enounced one of the fundamental principles of the philosophy of history. It is an established rule in historical criticism, to consider whether the evidence advanced in favour of any disputable statement, be the evidence of a friend or of an enemy; and to regard with suspicion, if not with absolute unbelief, the testimony of a writer who shall be proved to be a partisan on the matter upon which his testimony is produced.

Nor is there any department of history in which this caution is so indispensable, as the history of the Church, especially during periods of more than ordinary excitement. There are very few of the contemporary historians of the Reformation, either upon the Catholic or the Protestant side, upon whose unsupported statement it will be found safe to rely uniformly and implicitly; and, at all events, whatever may be the *objective* veracity of the several historians of this important period, so strongly are men impressed with the belief that absolute impartiality on such a subject is entirely beyond human attainment, that a favourable testimony from a Protestant writer, or an unfavourable one from a Catholic, is sure to be received, if not with hesitation and distrust, or at least with considerable deduction for the prejudice of the writer, to whichever party he may chance to belong. Hence it has always been a principal object with the historian, Catholic or Protestant, as the case might be, to strengthen his view of the subject by evidence from "the other side;" and to regard his statement as comparatively incomplete, except in so far as it relied upon such authority.

The elaborate and voluminous publication now before us, is an attempt to carry out this principle to its fullest extent, by composing a Catholic history of the Reformation exclusively from Protestant sources. If there be any single writer of the present day, in whose hand this bold and novel attempt might reasonably be hoped to prove successful, we cannot hesitate to say that Dr. Dollinger is that man. His various and most accurate erudition, his indefatigable industry, his clear and comprehensive perception, above all, his singularly acute and critical judgment, fit him for such a task, beyond any historian of his own or any other country. Those of our readers who know Dr. Döllinger only from the results of his research, as displayed in his compendium of Ecclesiastical History, and who are in the habit of estimating a writer's learning by the number of references which figure at the foot of his pages, may not perhaps be disposed to subscribe to this judgment in its widest extent. The truth is, that Dr. Döllinger has done himself great injustice, and has materially weakened the authority of his work, by his unwillingness to overload with references, a book intended chiefly for popular reading; and it is only after examining a few chapters of his history carefully and minutely, and

after searching deliberately the original authorities on which they are compiled, that a true idea can be formed of its real character, and of the long and painful labour which its composition involved. A few simple and unpretending paragraphs will often be found to comprise the pith of a controversy on which volumes have been expended; and many a statement put forward without pretension and parade, turns out, upon examination of the authorities, to be the result only of a long, irksome, and perplexing critical investigation. We have always considered the absence of these authorities as a serious drawback, not alone on the character, but also on the usefulness of Dr. Döllinger's otherwise invaluable history; but it is only after having carefully compared him with many other historians—after having had occasion to pass over, in many instances, the same ground which he had traversed—and after discovering how little light, in most instances, it was possible, from the most minute personal investigation, to throw upon the facts which he contented himself with stating in the briefest outline;—that we have come, on one hand, to know the full value of his work as a summary of Church History, and on the other, to regret the suppression, however well intended, of authorities which it must have cost so much labour to examine and compare.

The present publication, though a perfectly independent one, is nevertheless an off-set of the author's general History of the Church. He states in his preface, that the idea of a separate work on the History of the Reformation, was first suggested by the voluminousness of the materials which presented themselves to him in the course of his researches for the preparation of his general History. How varied and extensive these researches must have been, might be collected even from a bare enumeration of the authors who are cited in the course of the two thousand closely printed pages which these massive volumes comprise: but this would, after all, furnish an exceedingly imperfect idea of the author's labour. These three volumes are confined exclusively to the History of the Reformation in Germany. He has passed over, for the present, that portion of the subject which is connected with the movement in the other countries of Europe; but we may conclude that it has received a proportionate share of his attention: and the writer of these pages is enabled to state of his own knowledge, that, on the origin and progress of

the Reformation in England, and even in Ireland, Dr. Döllinger's minute and singularly accurate information, and his acquaintance with all the rarest sources of our post-reformation history, would put to the blush the industry and research even of the most learned and accomplished of our native ecclesiastics.

It is impossible, therefore, at a period like the present, to overrate the value of such a work, from a pen so eminently fitted for the task. The work of Merle d'Aubigné, unsubstantial and declamatory as it is, has been circulated so widely and read so universally, that it is time to present the reverse of the picture; and it cannot be denied, that the various criticisms and rejoinders which it has called forth, however solid and satisfactory to a Catholic reader, lose all, or nearly all, their weight with a Protestant critic, when he discovers their too often careless and uncritical character; when, for instance, he finds among the authorities alleged for their most vital statements, the names of such sturdy partisans of Catholicity as Eck, or Cœchlæus, or Kœllin, or Wimpina; or even the less suspicious evidence of Dietenberg, Anspach, Dungersheim, or Mensing. These, and all such as these, are excluded from Dr. Döllinger's pages. No Catholic,* however unimpeached his impartiality, is alleged by him in his roll of witnesses; it is entirely and exclusively Protestant; it embraces almost all the leading names of the reforming party; and his work may therefore fairly be regarded as a picture of this great event, sketched by the hands of those whom interest, affection, prejudice, and zeal of party, would have prompted to suppress all its repulsive and disfiguring elements, or at least to soften their harshness, and to place them in the furthest and least noticeable shadow of the background.

There is one suspicion to which, at first sight, such an attempt is undoubtedly liable. The selection of authorities may be made in an uncritical and undiscriminating, or even in an unfair and dishonest spirit. Passages may be mutilated, or garbled, or adapted to suit the compiler's purpose.

* Erasmus, and a few of those who, after embracing the Reformation, returned to the Church before their death, should perhaps be mentioned as exceptions to this statement. But authorities such as these, can hardly be said to differ in principle from the purely Protestant.

Isolated and incidental statements may be presented as substantive and independent; admissions made by a writer with a definite view, and qualified either in express words, or by the circumstances themselves, may be taken out of their context, and put forward as unquestioned and unqualified allegations. In a word, the ignorance, the illfaith, the undiscriminating judgment, of the compiler, may abuse, under the shield of an apparently genuine and honest reference, the license which his character as an accredited compiler affords; and even, while he literally fulfils all his engagements, and adheres to the very words and letters of extracts, may make them speak a very different language, and convey a very different impression from that which, in the integrity of their originals, they are calculated to produce. No one who has dealt much in the verification of authorities, will have any difficulty in understanding the abuse to which we allude. We may promise, however, that of this there is no fear in the pages of Dr. Döllinger. We do not of course pretend to say that we have regularly and systematically examined the enormous mass of authorities which his work contains. Many of his sources are of such a nature, that it would not be possible for us to test the accuracy of his citations. A considerable number are manuscript, and are found only in the noble collection of the Royal Library of Munich, of which he has for years had unlimited control. A large proportion, too, are from rare and almost unknown tracts and publications of the period to which they refer. Many of the authors are hardly known even by name in these countries. But the accuracy of those citations which we have had occasion to verify, is to us an abundant guarantee for the fidelity of the rest; and, indeed, the very copiousness of the extracts from each author, and the full and frequent analysis of the scope and object of the work which is cited, would in themselves be a security against most of the perils to which we have alluded above. Indeed, there is much less danger of distorting an author's meaning, or at least of warping the objective historical truth which his statement regards, where (as in history) there is question of facts, than where (as in polemics) there is question of opinions. An opinion, however generally and unreservedly it may seem to be announced, may yet be qualified by a subsequent restriction or limitation. But a fact being once stated, no subsequent qualification will affect its objective truth,

however it may alter and modify the writer's inferences from it, or his application of it to the subject which he is considering.

The reader will easily anticipate that it is not our purpose to enter into a full and minute account of this most elaborate publication. We trust that there will be found among our German scholars some one with courage and perseverance to undertake a complete translation.* We can only hope, for the present, to offer a brief and general description of its contents, and a summary of the principal conclusions suggested by its perusal.

The three volumes of which it consists, have appeared at separate intervals;—the first in 1846, and the last in the spring of the present year. They contain, as we have already observed, about two thousand octavo pages; and, under the hands of a book-making publisher, would have easily extended to a third more than their present dimensions. The third volume, which regards, almost exclusively, the history of the Lutheran doctrine of justification, may almost be regarded as an independent work, and is so exceedingly important, that we shall endeavour to return to it in a separate article. For the present, therefore, we shall confine ourselves to the two first volumes.

Perhaps, indeed, Dr. Dollinger's title may be calculated to create a false impression as to the nature of the work. It is not so much a Protestant history of the Reformation, as a Protestant character of its origin and its effects. It does not follow any fixed chronological order, nor does it discuss in detail the successive stages of the reformation. It is rather a collection of judgments and opinions regarding this great movement, and the state of society under its influence, drawn up by those who were best acquainted with all its workings, and who had the deepest interest in concealing its defects. That the witnesses on whom the author relies are impartially selected—that they do not represent any particular class of doctrines among the reformers, but may be fairly taken as the representative of the reformation itself—will be at once evident even from the catalogue of their names. The authors cited in the two first volumes only, amount to more than three hundred; they are all contemporaries of

* Since the above was written, it has been actually undertaken.

the Reformation ; all were themselves actively, and many of them prominently, engaged in the movement ; and the list includes every class in society—lay, as well as clerical, preachers, doctors in divinity, professors, essayists, jurists, statesmen—and every shade of religious belief, from the iron orthodoxy of the father of the Reformation himself, down to the wildest vagaries of Hetzer, or Gaspar Schwenckfeld.

The work may, therefore, be briefly described as a practical commentary on the working of the great experiment in religion, morality, and social order, which was undertaken in the sixteenth century ;—its progress and its results being noted and registered, not merely by men who were witnesses of all its phenomena, but by the very individuals with whom it originated, and who were themselves the agents by whom it was carried out. The catalogue will be found to contain many names unfamiliar to the English reader. Indeed, we know as yet, in this country, very little of the details of the working of the Reformation in Germany. But the inconvenience which might be anticipated in this circumstance, has been anticipated and obviated by Dr. Döllinger, who has, generally speaking, prefixed to the testimonies from each author, a short, but, in most cases, exceedingly graphic and satisfactory, sketch of his life, his writings, and especially of his religious history.

The name of the Reformation sufficiently indicates the object which the originators of the movement proposed to themselves ; the mission which they boasted and undertook to execute ; and the point of view in which they regarded the existing Church, as well as that purer and better society which they professed to substitute in its stead. In the popular views of the period put forward by them, the existing Church was held to be irretrievably fallen and corrupted, infected, even to death, in its head and in its members ; an apostate from the doctrine, as well as from the practice of Christianity ; and an outcast, not only from the spirit and the virtue, but also from the gifts, the hopes, and the privileges, of the gospel. To wipe away the stain of this apostacy, and to restore men to their forfeited inheritance ; to enlighten the darkness in which they were sunk ; to call back to earth the spirit which the degeneracy and the crimes of Rome had driven from the Church ; to reanimate the faith which had lain dead for ages ; to revive purity of

doctrine and holiness of life in the world ; ·in a word, to bring back the early glories of christianity, and all its precious, but forgotten, privileges ;—these were the least of the pretensions which the professors of the new learning put forward, and by which they drew crowds to the standard of revolt. “ Let us restore the Gospel ! ” was at once their boast, their promise, and their rallying-cry.

To determine, therefore, how far these lofty pretensions were fulfilled by the event ; to what extent the Reformers succeeded in driving away from the world the corruption and depravity in which the old “ apostate Church ” had plunged it ; how far they dispelled the ignorance by which they found the earth overspread, and the corruption in which they declared it to be steeped ;—in a word, to compare the promise with the fulfilment, the anticipation with the result ; to see how much the world became better, purer, more enlightened, more observant of the gospel ;—these may be briefly stated to be the objects of Dr. Döllinger’s enquiry. And these he investigates solely from the evidence supplied by the parties themselves.

A portion of the first volume is occupied with the testimonies of a peculiar and very important class of witnesses —we allude to the many eminent writers of the sixteenth century, (several of them close and confidential friends of the leading Reformers,) who, after having for a time joined in the movement, and even urged it forward with all their power, withdrew from it in the end, from disgust at its violence, or conviction of the falsehood and hollowness of the pretensions which it put forward. It may, perhaps, be alleged that such evidence cannot be considered disinterested ; that it must necessarily take a colour from the disappointed hopes and embittered feelings of its authors ; and that the very vacillation and inconstancy of character which it betrays, must detract from the authority which might otherwise attach to it. Now we have no intention of placing the evidence of these men upon the same footing with that of the purely Protestant writers, (to which, indeed, it bears but a small proportion) ; but we regard the fact itself as of the very utmost importance. It is no small argument, as well of the intrinsic weakness and hollowness of the Reform, as of the vitality and recuperative power of the Church, that, even in a period of excitement like that to which we refer—at a time when the whole current of popular (and in Germany, of princely) favour was with the

reforming movement,—while the charm of novelty was still fresh, and the experiment still presented all the attraction inseparable from its boldness and originality ;—there were nevertheless found many, and these of the highest eminence, who, after having committed themselves fully to the cause, and embarked in it all their hopes and all their interests,—position, reputation, fortune, family, friends,—were yet driven, by a thorough conviction of the wrongfulness of the course which they had hitherto pursued, and of the fatal consequences to which it had already led, to return to the Church which they had abandoned, even (not to speak of more substantial sacrifices) at the risk of incurring the imputation of weakness, cowardice, and inconsistency.—The value of such evidence for Dr. Döllinger's purpose will be fully understood, when it is recollected that his list comprises not alone such men as Staupitz, or Erasmus, but still more avowed and unmistakable partisans of the Reformation, like Witzel,* Haner, Zasius, Wildenauer, Billicanus, Amerpach, and Pirkheimer.—The last-named had taken so prominent a part in it from the very commencement, that his name was included by Eck in the first excommunication issued against Luther; and, though he obtained absolution, after an appeal to Leo X, yet he continued, even after Luther's condemnation, to vindicate and uphold him, and to forward his views with all the influence which he was able to command.

Witzel's account of the motives by which he himself was seduced into the movement, may perhaps be taken as representing the general feeling of his class. He was “first attracted,” he writes, “by the universal applause with which the new doctrines seemed to be received; the sympathy of the learned drew him on; the very novelty of the opinions excited him; the apparent foul abuses which overspread the face of the Church drove him into the ranks of her rival; the hopes which were held out of the revival of a purer Christianity completed the conquest; † and he was secured in his allegiance by the sweet liberty which it proposed to him, and the immunity from the practice of good works which it was understood to imply.”‡

* Better known by his Latinized name, *Wicelius*.

† Vol. i. p. 18.

‡ Vol. i. p. 19.

Amerpach, a native of Wemdingen, and one of the most eminent scholars of his time, was attracted to Wittenberg by the love of the new truth of which he believed this city to be the centre and seat; and his return to the Church, and the testimony which this event may be supposed to render to her, are the more interesting from the fact that it took place while he was in constant communication and daily intercourse with Luther, Melancthon, Justus Jonas, Cruciger, and Bugenhagen; and that, even according to their own representation, the step was taken after long and laborious research, careful examination of the Fathers, and diligent study of the theologians.* Haner, too, had early embraced the Lutheran opinions, and had entered warily into all the successive steps of the movement. He was in close and intimate correspondence with all the leading members of the party, and renounced rich and valuable preferments in the Church, for the purpose of joining them. But when, as he himself declares, “he saw the true tendency of the movement; the actual fruits of this false and corrupt gospel; when he found that *never, under the name of Christian, had the faith of the world been more unregulated, or its morals more licentious;* that never, at any previous period, had there simultaneously arisen so many sects, of so horrible a character, and of such prodigious impiety; that under the standard of that most fatal doctrine—Justification by Faith alone—not only had all the discipline of the Church been relaxed, but all penance towards God, and charity towards men, had been abolished;”†—when such results as these opened his eyes to the truth, he did not hesitate to withdraw, although his return to the Church drew upon him a storm of abuse, which those only who are read in the polemic literature of that age, can fairly appreciate.

We do not mean, however, to dwell upon the evidence of these men; nor upon that of an equally important class, of which many startling specimens are now before us—namely, the various separatists of the sixteenth century, who, starting with the early Reformers from one common point, and guided like them by the great fundamental law of private interpretation, either outstripped them in the race of innovation, or turned aside into some peculiar path,

* Vol. i. p. 157.

† Vol. i. p. 128.

diverging as widely from the course selected by the general body of the Reformers, as from the olden road of authority which both in common had deserted. If the Reformation be judged by their evidence, we shall indeed fear for its reputation. “The world,” they* tell us, “has always been an evil tree; but never has it borne such ill fruit as in these days. Christendom is fuller than ever of adulterers, usurers, and drunkards.” “All the crimes,” writes another,† “which were in the world in the days of Noah and Lot, are now in full career.” “The majority, both of preachers and hearers,” adds a third,‡ “know less of God than the papists; for they are whoremongers, drunkards, blasphemers, slanderers, covetous, and the like.” “The word of God,” declares another,§ “is preached loudly enough in your temples; but I do not see that you are one whit better, nay there is even more avarice, more occasion of every fleshly licentiousness.” “Nothing that we do prospers,” another|| is forced to exclaim; “our teaching is without benediction, our ministering without spirit, our sacraments without grace.” And even Agricola ¶ is driven to admit that “whether it be true or not, that the consequence of the teaching of the Lutheran gospel now-a-days is heathenism, epicureanism, and violence, inasmuch as all faith, charity, purity, honesty, godliness, piety, virtue, and fear of God, have disappeared both among old and young; it is, at all events, evident from their fruits, that, as the Prophet Ossee says, there is no truth, no love, no word of God, in the land;” and he adds it as his deliberate opinion, that among the Lutherans of his day, there prevails such “heathenish barbarism of life,” that what all the world accuses them of, viz:—“that with them sin is no longer sin—is fully verified.”

Now, even making the largest allowance for the prejudices which the mere fact of separation would seem to imply, it is impossible not to feel that the state of things which could justify *any approach* to such a picture, (though it were an exaggerated one), must have been shocking in the last degree. No wonder after this, that, in meeting the attacks of the Anabaptists upon the notorious corruption

* Johann Denk, cited, vol. i. p. 196. † Sebastian Frank, p. 191.

‡ Johann Eberlin, p. 208. § Eoban Hesse, p. 216.

|| Krautwald, p. 272.

¶ Ib. p. 274.

and profligacy of his church, Justus Menius was obliged to have recourse to the “secret and hidden [heimlichen und verborgenen] fruits of the gospel!”* Nor can we any longer be surprised even at the blasphemous, and otherwise incredible, extravagance to which Luther resorted, when he turned even this profligacy of his followers into an argument of their divine mission, and described it as “no slender mercy of God!” “It is no slight grace on God’s part,” he writes in his *“Letter to Two Anabaptist Preachers,”* [1528], “that He gives us His word through profligate and godless men also. Nay, it is in some sense *more dangerous when He gives it through the ministry of holy, than of unholy, men*; for in the former case, men depend more on the holiness of men than on God’s word, and thus there is more honour given to men than to the word of God; of which there is no danger when it is preached by a Judas, a Caiphas, or a Herod.”†

It is not without difficulty we pass from this curious and most important branch of Dr. Döllinger’s enquiry; but if we hope to give any idea of the really interesting portion of his work, we must resist the temptation of dwelling longer here. We proceed, therefore, to the purely protestant, indeed, we may say, purely Lutheran witnessess; for such is the fertility of the subject, that he has confined himself almost exclusively to them. Although the extracts from the various authorities are arranged without any classification of subjects, under the heads of their respective authors, we prefer to classify under distinct heads those which we shall select as a sample of the entire, bearing in mind the general objects already specified, which the author proposes to himself in his inquiry.

We shall begin with

I. *The moral Results of the Reformation.* Upon this head few will be disposed to call in question the authority of our first evidence, the Father of the Reformation himself.

With all his partiality for the child of his own labours, Luther is forced to admit, † that it were no wonder if his

* p. 214. † *Luther’s Werke*, (Walch’s edit.) vol. xvii. p. 2675.

† Döllinger, vol. i. p. 312. It would be tedious to transcribe the references to the several authors cited by Dr. Döllinger. We must be content with the page of his own work, where the reader will find the references most fully and accurately given.

beloved Germany “were sunk in the earth, or utterly overthrown by the Turks and Tartars, by reason of the hellish and damnable forgetfulness and contempt of God’s grace which the people manifest ; nay, that the wonder is, that the earth does not refuse to bear them, and the sun to shine upon them any longer.” He doubts “whether it should any longer be called a world, and not rather an abyss of all evils, wherewith those sodomites afflict his soul and his eyes both day and night.”* “Everything is reversed,” he laments, “the world grows every day the worse for this teaching ; and the misery of it is, that *men are nowadays more covetous, more hardhearted, more corrupt, more licentious, and more wicked, than of old under the papacy.*”† “Our evangelicals,” he avows, “are now sevenfold more wicked than they were before. In proportion as we hear the gospel, we steal, lie, cheat, gorge, swill, and commit every crime. If one devil has been driven out of us, seven worse ones have taken their place, to judge from the conduct of princes, lords, nobles, burgesses, and peasants, their utterly shameless acts, and their disregard of God and of his menaces.”† “Under the papacy, men were charitable and gave freely; but now, under the gospel, all almsgiving is at an end, every one fleeces his neighbour, and each seeks to have all for himself. And the longer the gospel is preached, the deeper do men sink in avarice, pride, and ostentation.”§ So utterly, too, does he despair of the improvement of this generation of his disciples, that he “often wishes that *these filthy swine-bellies were back again under the tyranny of the pope*, for it is impossible that a race so savage, such a ‘people of Gomorrha,’ could be ruled by the peaceful consolations of the gospel.”

It could hardly be expected, indeed, that Luther would himself attribute the universal depravity, the presence of which he thus frankly acknowledges, to the influence of his own gospel. But he cannot, and does not conceal, that such was the popular impression regarding it; and although, of course, he denounces the imputation as sinful and blasphemous, he admits that men “loudly and complainingly *attributed it all to the gospel, or, as they call it, the new*

* Vol. i. 308.

† Vol. i. 297.

‡ Page 285.

§ Page 327.

*learning,"** and tauntingly demanded what was the good of all their fine preaching and instruction, if no one followed it, or was the better for it, nay rather, if they grew worse than they were before; "it would be better," they said, "if things had remained as they were."[†] Indeed, not to multiply evidence of a fact so notorious, he himself acknowledges that "the peasants, through the influence of 'the gospel,' have become utterly beyond restraint, and think they may do what they please. They no longer fear either hell or purgatory, but content themselves with saying, 'I believe, therefore I shall be saved:' and they become proud, stiff-necked Mammonists, and accursed misers, sucking the very substance of the country and the people."[‡]

These are but a few out of a host of similar avowals, which Dr. Döllinger has collected from every portion of Luther's works. Lest it should be supposed they are confined to the earlier years of the Reformation, and regard only the state of the Lutheran body in the first phases of its formation, we shall venture, even at the risk of being tedious, to select a few passages written during the last years of his life, not a whit less expressive than those already produced. During the years 1540-6, Lutheranism may be truly said to have reached its culminating point, as far as regards the career of its founder. In a letter of his written to Hermann Bonn, (April 5, 1543), he expresses his exultation at the completeness of his success—"From Riga to Metz—from the foot of the Alps to the north point of the peninsula of Jutland"—his realm had been gradually extended. The number of crowned heads and of sovereign princes now in his following, was very great, and later years had notably increased the catalogue. Duke Otho, Henry, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, the Duchess of Calenberg, Archbishop Hermann of Cologne, and the Bishop of Münster and Osnabrück, were among his most recent adherents. Wolfenbüttel had just been added to the ranks by the ministry of Bugenhagen. The nobility and many of the lower classes in Austria, had begun to feel the contagion. The great body of the German nobility were, at least indirectly, favourers of

* Page 289.

† Page 288.

‡ Page 313.

the movement. Many of the noble chapters had passed over *en masse*, and others were but tottering in their allegiance. The Imperial Cities were for the most part Protestant; and it seemed but a question of time to complete and perpetuate the conquest thus rapidly and systematically achieved!

Such was the exterior history of the movement; such was the external condition of the Lutheran Communion during the latter years of its founder's life. But how hollow the triumph, and how unsubstantial the conquest which had been thus obtained!

On Nov. 10th, 1541, Luther writes to one of his friends, that "he had almost abandoned all hope for Germany, so universally had avarice, usury, tyranny, disunion, and the whole host of untruth, wickedness, and treachery, as well as disregard of the word of God, and the most unheard of ingratitude, taken possession of the nobility, the courts, the towns, and the villages."^{*} In the March of the following year, he writes in much the same strain, adding, that "his only hope is in the near approach of the last day;—the world has become so barbarous, so tired of the word of God, and entertains so thorough a disgust for it."[†] On the 23rd of July, he declares, that "those who would be followers of the gospel, draw down God's wrath by their avarice, their rapine, their plunder of the churches; while the people listen to instructions, prayers, and entreaties, but continue, nevertheless, to heap sin upon sin."[‡] On another occasion, (October 25th, 1542), he declares that "he is tired of living in this hideous Sodom;" that "all the good which he had hoped to effect has vanished away; that there remains nought but a deluge of sin and unholiness, and nothing is left for him but to pray for his discharge."[§] And in reality, not only did he wish for death as a boon to himself, 'that he might be released from this satanical generation,' but he was even able calmly to see his little daughter Margaret, to whom he was devotedly attached, die before his eyes. "Alas!" he cried to the prince of Anhalt, "we live in Babylon and Sodom. || Everything is growing worse each day." And even in the very last hours of his life, so bitterly did he feel

* Page 338. † Page 339. ‡ Page 340.

§ Page 341. || Page 347.

the immorality and irreligiousness of the city which he had made the chosen seat and centre of his doctrines, that he had actually made up his mind to leave it for ever. So sensible was he made of the connexion between his doctrines and the moral condition of Wittenberg, that the thought of residence there became unsupportable. “Let us but fly from this Sodom!” he wrote to his wife a few months before his death, “I will wander through the world, and beg my bread from door to door, rather than embitter and disturb my poor old last days by this spectacle of the disorder of Wittenberg, and the fruitlessness of my bitter dear toil in its service.” It is a significant commentary on the fruitlessness of the mission to which he had devoted his life, that it needed all the influence of the Elector to induce him to abandon his determination!

Such is a faint outline of Luther’s own report of the moral fruits of his reformation. It is but too well borne out in its worst details by his friends and fellow-labourers. The reader will perceive that we are drawing but lightly upon Dr. Döllinger’s abundant and overflowing pages; and for what remains, we must be even more sparing in our extracts. We shall only observe that those which we mean to present are taken almost at random; that it would have been easy to find hundreds of others equally striking; and that the effect of all is grievously impaired by the broken and fragmentary form, in which, of course, they must appear in such a notice as the present.

Few of the reformers dealt less in extremes than “the mild Melancthon.” What therefore are we to think of the state of things which drew even from him the declaration, that “in these latter times the world has taken to itself a boundless license; that very many are so unbridled as to *throw off every bond of discipline, though at the same time they pretend that they have faith*, that they invoke God with true fervour of heart, and that they are lively and elect members of the church; living, meanwhile, in truly cyclopean indifference and barbarism, and in slavish subjection to the devil, who drives them to adulteries, murders, and other atrocious crimes?”* This class, too, he tells us,† are firmly wedded to their own opinions, and entirely intolerant of remonstrance. “Men

* Vol. i. p. 403.

† Vol. i. p. 402.

receive with avidity the inflammatory harangues which exaggerate liberty and give loose rein to the passions ; as, for an example, the cynical, rather than christian, principle, which denies the necessity of good works. Posterity will stand amazed that a generation should have ever existed, in which these ravings have been received with applause.”* “Never in the days of our fathers,” he avows, “had there existed such gluttony as exists now, and is daily on the increase.”† “The morals of the people, all that they do, and all that they neglect to do, are becoming every day worse. Gluttony, debauchery, licentiousness, wantonness, are gaining the upper hand more and more among the people, and in one word, every one does just as he pleases.”‡

“Most of the preachers,” writes Bucer, “imagine, that if they inveigh stoutly against the anti-christians [papists], and chatter away on a few unimportant fruitless questions, and then assailed their brethren also, they have discharged their duty admirably. Following this example, the people, as soon as they know how to attack our adversaries, and to prate a little about things far from edifying, believe that they are perfect Christians. Meanwhile, there is nowhere to be seen modesty, charity, zeal, or ardour for God’s glory ; and in consequence of our conduct, God’s holy name is everywhere subjected to horrible blasphemies.”§ “Nobody,” writes Althamer, in the preface of his Catechism, “cares to instruct his child, his servant, his maid, or any of his dependants, in the word of God or his fear ; and thus *our young generation is the very worst that ever has existed.* The elders are worthless, and the young follow their example.”|| “The children,” says Culmann, “are habituated to debauchery by their parents, and thus coines an endless train of diseases, seductions, tumults, murders, robberies, and thefts, which unhappily, owing to the state of society, are committed with security. And the worst of all is, that they are not ashamed to palliate their conduct by the examples of Noah, Lot, David, and others.”¶

* Page 373.

† Page 387.

‡ Page 385.

§ Vol. ii. p. 29

|| Vol. ii, p. 93.

¶ Vol. ii. p. 104.

In one word, it would be as difficult to add to the catalogue of popular crimes enumerated by these men—"contempt, falsification, and persecution, of God's word; abuse of his holy sacraments; idolatry, heresy, simony, sorcery, heathenish and epicurean life, indifference about God, absolute infidelity, disregard of public worship, ignorance of the first elements of religion, and the whole hideous deluge of shame and sin shamelessly committed against God's commandments, not the mere result of human weakness and frailty, but persevered in remorselessly and unrepentingly, and regarded by the majority of men as no longer sinful and disgraceful, but as downright virtues, and legitimate subjects of boast and self-gratulation"**—as it would to add to the evidence of the universal prevalence of such crimes which they supply, and for the truth of which they themselves challenge a denial. "Take any class you please," says Dietrich, "high or low, you will find all equally degenerate and corrupt. What is more, there is no longer any social honesty to be found among the people. The majority persecute the Gospel, and cling to the old idolatry. The rest, who have received God's word and Gospel, are also lawless, insensible to instruction, hardened in their old sinful life, as is evident from the whoredom, adultery, usury, avarice, lying, cheating, and manifold wickedness which prevail."†

There is one branch of this subject which we do not approach without great repugnance, but which, nevertheless, it would be most unhistorical, as well as unphilosophical, to overlook, because there is none in which the working of the positive teaching of the reformers is so palpably and unmistakably recognized. We refer to the avowed and undeniable deterioration of public morality,—the indifference to the maintenance of chastity, to the observance of the marriage vow, and indeed to the commonest decencies of life, by which the spread of Lutheranism was uniformly and instantaneously followed. We cannot bring ourselves to pollute our page with the hateful and atrocious doctrines of Luther (vol. i. pp. 428-9.), of Sarcerius (p. 431), Dresser (p. 432), Bugenhagen (p. 434), and many others (p. 431), founded upon what they allege to be the physical impossibility of observing continence,

* Osiander, cited vol. ii. p. 90.

† Ibid, p. 97.

which results from the original constitution of the sexes as ordained by God ; but we are necessitated to allude to them, in order to establish beyond question the connexion of these doctrines (which, it must be remembered, were enforced by Luther chiefly in his German tracts and sermons addressed to the entire people) with the moral consequences which we shall proceed to detail, as briefly and as slightly as circumstances will permit, in the words of the authorities collected in the pages before us. Nothing can be more revolting than the picture of universal and unrestrained depravity which they reveal.

“ ‘The youths of the present day,’ says Brentius in 1532, ‘are hardly released from their cradles when they must take women to themselves, and girls, long before they are marriageable, begin betimes to think of men : priests, monks, and nuns, marry in despite of every human law. Four years earlier the reformer of Ulm, Conrad Ian, complained that ‘impurity and adultery were universal in the world, that each one corrupted his neighbour, that it was no longer reputed as a sin or a shame, but was even made subject of public boast.’ In 1537, Osiander complains, that ‘so commonly, and, unhappily, in all places with so much impunity, were fornication and adultery practised, that, revolting and unchristian as it is, wives and daughters were hardly secure among their own blood relations, where their virtue, honour, and purity should be most rigidly respected ;’ and his colleague Link avows that ‘now-a-days the vice of unchastity is made a subject of laughter and of amusement.’ Mathesius discovered a token of the approach of the end of the world in the prevalence of this vice. ‘How universal was the practice of debauchery, adultery, fornication, incest, conjugal infidelity, we learn partly from the criminal processes, the consistories, and the superintendents, partly from private intercourse. Assuredly either the last day is at hand, or there is some awful pestilence at our door.’—‘We Germans, now-a-days,’ says Sacerius, in 1554, ‘can boast but little of the virtue of chastity, and that little is disappearing so fast that we can hardly speak of it any more. The number who still love it are so small, that it would be matter not of surprise, but of absolute horror ; and debauchery prevails without fear and without shame. The young learn it from the old ; one vice leads to another, and now the young generation is so steeped in every species of vice, that they are more experienced in it than were the oldest people in former times.’* Braunmüller, minister

* We shall leave the following passage, (which, strange to say, is from an old popular hymn) in its original German.

“ Die fünft Kunst ist gemeine,
Ist Ehebruch, Unkeuschheit

of Wurtemburg in 1560, complains that ‘bastardy is very common. Every one is so hardened, and so habituated to this diabolical vice, that it is not considered grievous, for it is as daily bread every-where around. Almost every wife is unfaithful ; and hence no one need wonder that the band of adulterers in these our days is more powerful and influential than it was in the days of our ancestors, or even of the heathens.’ Again, five years later, Andrew Hoppenrod raised the same complaint in Mansfeld. ‘We see and hear (alas ! God help us !) that impurity and fornication have made frightful inroads among christians, and have sunk their roots so deeply, that it is hardly any longer reputed a sin, but is rather gloried in as a noble and desirable thing, without sorrow or remorse of conscience.’ In 1573, Christopher Fischer, superinten-dent in Brunswick, complains in like manner, that ‘such is the prevalence of whoredom and debauchery, that they are no longer looked on as sinful ; any one who has the opportunity thinks he does well in availing himself of it, for the world does not punish it; and, as for adultery, so completely has it obtained the upper hand, that no punishment can avail any longer to suppress it !’”—vol. ii. pp. 435-7.

We cannot venture to extend our extracts on this sub-ject further. It need only be added, that the frightful state of morality depicted in these pages is attributed with-out disguise, even by the Lutherans themselves, to the doctrines of Luther already alluded to. The reader will find at pp. 438-40 a long and most remarkable extract from Czechanovius, in which the connexion is fully and freely admitted. Districts in which these crimes were utterly unknown, were scarcely initiated in the principles

Das kann jetzt gross und kleine
Hat man jetzund Boscheid.
Man schämt sich auch nichts mehr,
Man hält's gar fur ein Ehre ;
Niemand thut es fast wehren ;
Welcher's jetzt treibet viel,
Will seyn im bessten Spiel.”

After all, one can hardly wonder at this, when one recollects the chorus of what is still popularly preserved as Luther’s favourite chaut,

“ Wer liebt nicht Weiber, Wein, Gesang
Er bleibt ein Narr sein Leben lang !”
“ Who loves not women, wine, and song,
He lives a fool his life-time long !”

of the Reformation till they became corrupted to the heart's core. A most remarkable example of this is Ditzmarsen, a district in Holstein, in which the Catholic religion was abolished in 1532. So remarkable had this province been for the purity and simplicity of its population, that it was known under the name of *Maryland* [Marienland]; cases of unchastity were so rare and unexampled, that the forfeiture of her virtue on the part of a female was visited with perpetual disgrace, and was generally atoned for by voluntary exile, and even in some cases by the suicide of the despairing defaulter. Before Lutheranism had been established ten years, its own apostle, Nicholas Boje (in 1541), was forced to complain that "public crimes—especially whoredom, adultery, and merciless, heathenish, Jewish, nay, Turkish usury—prevail so universally, that he was obliged to call God to witness, that neither preaching, teaching, instruction, menaces, nor the terror of God's wrath, and of his righteous judgments, was of any avail." The practice of divorce, too, was, in every reformed country, an immediate consequence of the Reformation; and if there were no other evidence of the connexion between the introduction of the new religion and this frightful deterioration of morals, it would be found in the numberless laws against adultery, fornication, bigamy, &c. which date from this period, and the frequent and flagrant convictions and sentences under these laws in every protestant province of Germany. For abundant and convincing evidence of all this, we must refer the reader to the fifteenth section of the first volume, which is a mine of curious and most extraordinary learning, but yet free from that coarseness and indelicacy in which learned writers too often feel themselves privileged to indulge in dealing with such subjects.

Indeed, to add further testimonies would be but to weary and disgust the reader. We can say with truth, that to cull even these few from this mass of painful and revolting record, has been anything but an agreeable task; and that the reader who will be content to pursue the general enquiry further for himself, to read through the evidence of Amsdorf, Spalatin, Bugenhagen, Gerbel, Major, Flacius Illyricus, Brentius, Schnepf, Wesshuss, Camerarius, and the numberless others whom the author's industry has accumulated, must make up his mind to encounter many shocking and disheartening details, for which the popular

representations of the social and religious condition of the great era of the Reformation will have but ill prepared him.*

It must not be supposed that the testimonies which we have hitherto alleged, or the great mass of those collected by the author, describe the social condition but of a portion of Germany, under the Reformation. There is not a single locality which has not its witness : Saxony, Hesse, Nassau, Brandenburg, Strasburg, Nurnberg, Stralsund, Thorn, Mecklenburg, Westphalia, Pomerania, Friesland, Denmark, Sweden ; and all, or almost all, are represented by natives, or, at least, residents, familiar with the true state of society, and, if not directly interested in concealing, certainly not liable to the suspicion of any disposition to exaggerate, its shortcomings or its crimes.

Indeed, the connection between the progress of Lutheranism and this corruption of public morals, could not possibly be put more strikingly than in the words of John Belz, a minister of Allerstadt in Thuringia, (1566) : “ If you would find a multitude of brutal, coarse, godless people, among whom every species of sin is every day in full career, go into a city where the Holy Gospel is taught, and where the best preachers are to be met, and there you will be sure to find them in abundance.” † “ To be pious and upright (for which God praises Job) is now-a-days held, if not to be a sin, at least a downright folly ; and from many pulpits it is proclaimed, that good works are not only unnecessary, but hurtful to our souls ! ” ‡

We shall subjoin, as a pendant to this hasty and imperfect picture of the moral condition of Germany under the Reformation, a similar outline of its doctrinal, social, and literary state. The materials are even more various and abundant, and the details, though sufficiently startling, are of a character on which it is less painful to dwell. We pass on, therefore, to examine.

II.—*Doctrinal Results of the Reformation.*—The popu-

* It is a feeling of its unsuitableness as a popular topic, even more than the narrowness of our space, that prevents us from entering into the exceedingly curious particulars of the celebrated sanction given by the Lutheran divines to the proposed polygamy of the Landgrave Philip, which Dr. Döllinger has collected in his second volume.

† Page 201.

‡ Page 202.

lar controversialists, when discussing the question of church authority, never fail to dwell upon the doctrinal extravagancies and excesses to which the great principle of the Reformation—the right of private judgment—has invariably led, from the very first day on which it was propounded. It would be easy to collect from the second volume of Dr. Dollinger's work, evidence of these results, which would satisfy the most sceptical and incredulous. But as we shall have, in the other topics which still remain, more pressing claims upon our space, we must confine ourselves to a few extracts. It is really painful to read the lamentations of the writers of those days, over the utter and inextricable confusion in which every doctrinal subject had been involved by the disputes and contentions of the rival religions. “So great,” writes the learned Christopher Fischer,* superintendent of Smalkald, “are the corruptions, falsifications, and scandalous contentions, which, like a fearful deluge, overspread the land, and afflict, disturb, mislead, and perplex poor simple common men not deeply read in scripture, that one is completely bewildered as to what side is right, and to which he should give his adhesion.” Bartholomew Meyer, professor of theology at Marburg, declares, that the “last times,” predicted by the Lord and his apostles, have arrived, and that “not only in morals, but also in the doctrine of the church, there is such confusion, that it may be doubted whether there is a believer on earth.”† An equally unimpeachable witness of the same period admits, that “so great, on the part of most people, is the contempt of religion, the neglect of piety, and the trampling down of virtue, that they would seem not to be christians, nothing but downright savage barbarians.”‡ Flacius Illyricus declares, that “the falsification of the doctrine of penance and justification had led to complete epicureanism.”|| Klopfer, the parish minister of Bolheim, in Wurtemberg, (1566) complains, that “the greater number among them hold all that God has revealed in the scripture, to be silly and idle things, old-world fables and tales.”§ Ratzenberger, an old friend and fellow-labourer of Luther, had long before complained that “all true doctrine and religion was utterly extinguished

* Page 310.

† Page 223.

‡ Page 223.

|| Page 227.

§ Page 79.

in Germany;''* and the celebrated Selnecker was so impressed with a sense of the hopelessness of the evil, that he declared that many pious hearts gave up in despair. "I advised that things should be left to themselves, that it was not possible to change them, so completely had this spirit got the upper hand almost throughout christendom."†

We need not multiply authorities on this topic, fertile as it is. Although Dr. Dollinger's authorities on this, as well as all the rest of his subject, are, for the most part, new, yet as it is one which has often been handled in our popular controversies already, we think it more interesting to devote a portion of our space to other subjects on which much less is known, and regarding which most erroneous notions are entertained even among Catholics themselves.

III. *The Social Results of the Reformation.* — If every written evidence of the injury inflicted on society by the preaching of the Reformers had been lost or destroyed, the War of the Peasants, and the Anabaptist atrocities, would remain as indisputable monuments of its unhappy and fatal influence. It would be tedious to appeal to contemporary writers for proofs of the direct connexion of this sanguinary outbreak with the first principles professed and preached by Luther. Although he himself disclaimed and denounced the misguided men who but carried out his principles too faithfully in practice, their proceeding was not only (as he himself admits in a passage already cited) vindicated by themselves, but is recognized by numberless writers of the times, as the natural, if not the legitimate, consequence of Luther's teaching. But in truth, the whole framework of society is represented by the writers and preachers of that day as in a state of complete and hopeless dissolution; class set against class, subjects against rulers, peasants against nobles, poor against rich, flock against pastor. "If you look around upon the society of the present day," asks Burenus, "what age or what rank will you find that is not changed, and grievously unlike to the generation that is gone by? What rank or condition has not fallen away, and wandered far from the habits and institutes of our forefathers?"‡

* Page 608.

† Page 347.

‡ Vol. I. p. 477.

“The father,” says Leopold Dick, “is no longer safe from the son, the son from the father; the daughter from the mother, nor the mother from the daughter—the citizen is not safe from his fellow-citizen, the rich man from the poor; everything is turned upside down, without discrimination and without order; so universally and so uncontrollably does deceit [*η εἰαβόλη*] now-a-days pervade the world, bringing frenzy, strife, and contention in her train.”*

“Such is the depravity of living,” says Joachim Camerarius, “such the corruption of morals, such is the wretchedness and confusion, both public and private, of all ages, sexes, ranks, and conditions, that I fear all piety and virtue are at an end.”† And in another place he declares that “Nothing is so daring as to be beyond the reach of their cupidity or their violence. Neither reason, nor moderation, nor law, nor morality, nor duty, will serve as a restraint; not even the fear of their fellow-men, nor the shame of posterity.”‡ Even in Luther’s time, the complaints of the “insubordination, the arrogance and the pride of the young, and in general of all classes,” had become most universal.§ They had grown so “wild and licentious as to be utterly uncontrollable—indifferent to the authority of parents, masters, and magistrates.”|| “Every one,” says Melanchthon, “strives with his neighbour to obtain unbounded liberty and unrestricted gratification of all his desires; every one tries to gain money by every unjust act, pillages his neighbour for his own profit, takes from others to increase his own stores, and seeks advantages for himself in every way.”¶

We might pursue this through numberless other writers, but we have said enough to show the extent of the evil; and we shall only add, that the great source from which it all flows, is discoverable even through the interested declaimations of the great reformer himself. “The people,” he writes, “stick to the idea of the gospel.” ‘*Eh!*’ say they, ‘*Christ proclaims liberty for us in the gospel, does he not?* Well then, we will work no more, but eat and make merry!’ And thus every boor who but knows how to reckon five, seizes upon the corn-land, the meadows, and

* Vol. I. p. 483.

† Vol. I. p. 484.

‡ Vol. I. p. 493.

§ Page 330.

|| Page 331.

¶ Page 402.

the woods, of the monasteries, and carries everything according to his own will, under the pretext of the gospel.”* Here was the true root of the evil. It was all very well for Luther to express his “mortification” [ver-dreusst] at these results. But results they were, and natural results, of his teaching. He had sown the wind, and we need not wonder that he reaped the whirlwind; nor need we any longer be surprised at Brentius’s good-humoured, though most cutting jest, that “*there was no need to warn Protestants against relying on good works, for they had not any good works to rely on.*”†

IV. The influence of the Reformation on the condition of Literature and Science. To those who judge by the commonly received notions, this enquiry, we doubt not, will appear perfectly idle, perhaps absurd. To move a doubt upon the subject is to return to the first principles—to call evidence itself in question. The very name of the Reformation is popularly regarded as synonymous with enlightenment and progress, and from it is commonly dated the origin of what is called the great intellectual movement of the modern world. How far the character is merited, let it be determined from the statements of the reformers themselves.

(1.) *The sciences and profane literature.* Perhaps it would be wrong to insist too much upon the testimony of Erasmus; but it is impossible to read his indignant denunciations of Luther, as condemning the whole philosophy of Aristotle as diabolical, declaring “all science, whether practical or speculative, to be damnable, and all the speculative sciences to be sinful and erroneous;” his denunciation of Farel of Geneva as “representing all human learning as an invention of the devil;” his furious tirade against the whole reforming body, as “both publicly and privately teaching, that all human learning is but a net of the devil”‡—his reiterated assertions, that “wherever Lutheranism flourishes, study begins to grow cold,” that “where Lutheranism reigns, learning comes to ruin”—his contrasts of the Catholic and the Protestant seats of learning—without feeling that the pretensions of modern historians, as to the services

* Vol. i. Page 326.

† Vol. ii. Page 698.

‡ Page 437.

rendered to learning by the reformation, are not entirely beyond question. And, on a nearer examination, we find that these denunciations of Erasmus are literally borne out by the facts. Melancthon himself, notwithstanding his own literary tastes, is found to admit their justice.* Glarean, a Swiss reformer, maintains a long argument against a party of his fellow Lutherans, who held that "there was no need to study Greek and Latin, German and Hebrew being quite sufficient."† Gastius records the prevalence of a still more extravagant opinion among the evangelical ministers, (*complusculos evangelii ministros*), that it was *even unlawful* for those destined to the preaching of the gospel to study *any part of philosophy* except the sacred scripture alone."‡ In the Bostock university, the celebrated Arnold Büren was suspected of infidelity, because he placed Cicero's philosophical works in the hands of his pupils, as a text-book;§ and in Wittenberg itself, the Rome of Lutheranism, it was publicly maintained by George Mohr, and Gabriel Didymus, that "scientific studies were useless and destructive (*verderblich*), and that all schools and academies should be abolished."|| And it is actually recorded, that in pursuance of this advice, the school-house of Wittenberg was converted into a bakery! "It is with reluctance," writes the celebrated Brassikanus, one of Melancthon's disciples at Tübingen, "I am forced by truth to say, that a distaste for letters exists among men of genius, and to such a degree, even in the greatest cities of Germany, that it has become a mark of nationalism to hate learning, and an evidence of prudence and statesmanship to condemn all study."¶ What must have been the evidence of the evil to have extorted such an admission! Under these influences science fell completely into disrepute. Nicholas Gerbel could not find "any period in history where the sciences were at a lower ebb than the present."** "In the last century, the least cultivated man," writes Eusebius Menius,|| "would have been ashamed not to be expert in mathematics and physics; but nowadays one cannot but see that (to our shame in the sight of posterity) these sciences are completely despised, and that, out of

* Page 441. † Page 441. ‡ Page 441.

§ Page 416. || Page 413.

¶ Page 525. ** Vol. ii. p. 55. †† Page 609.

a great number of students, but few would ever know what once mere boys would have been perfectly familiar with.” And so universal and deep-rooted had this hatred of science become, that “from the revilings of science, which echo in almost every church in Germany, and the coarse invectives against which issue from the press,” Moller,* in his commentary on Malachy, “can anticipate nothing but the complete downfall of the sciences, the re-introduction of the most immeasurable barbarism into the church, and unlimited licence for daring spirits to deal with the christian doctrine as they may think fit.”

(2.) *Theological Studies.* The same distaste extended even to sacred studies. It will not be matter of surprise that Luther’s hatred of the scholastics should have driven them at once and for ever from the schools of the new learning. But it will sound oddly in the ears of a Protestant of the present day, that the *scriptures themselves should have fallen into disrepute, even among students of divinity, and even in Luther’s own university of Wittenberg.* Yet we learn from an unimpeachable witness, a professor at Wittenberg itself,† that “so great is the contempt of God’s word, that even students of divinity fly from a close study and investigation of the bible, as if they were sated and cloyed therewith; and if they have but read a chapter or two, they imagine that they have swallowed the whole of the divine wisdom at a draught;” and Melchior Petri, minister at Radburg, in 1569, “is driven to confess that things have come to such a pass among Lutherans, that as Luther himself had set at nought the authorities of the entire of the fathers, so his disciples place their father Luther far beyond, not merely the fathers, but even the scripture itself, and rely exclusively upon him.”‡

The author enters minutely into the claim of priority in the foundation of schools of biblical criticism, and the introduction of the critical study of scripture set up in favour of the Reformers. Nor does it bear the test of investigation a whit better than the claims which we have been discussing. Though we find so much stress laid by them upon the study of the Hebrew text, yet it turns out that not a single edition of the Hebrew bible was

* Page 496.

† Paul Krale, p. 460.

‡ Page 454.

printed in Germany during this entire period. How few copies of the editions printed at (the still popish) Venice between 1518 and 1544, and of the Paris ones of Robert Stephens, found their way into Germany, may be inferred from the exceeding rarity of these editions ; and although the Basil edition of Sebastian Munster, (1536) may have had somewhat more circulation, yet the first edition of the Hebrew text which appeared in Protestant Germany, dates near the close of the century after the commencement of Luther's career. In like manner, there does not appear to have been any edition of the Greek New Testament in Germany for forty years after the same period. Contrast with this disgraceful indifference, the sixteen editions of the Hebrew text printed in Venice alone before the year 1559, and the ten editions of the Greek text which appeared at Paris before 1551, and say to which side the priority in justice belongs ! Well may Dr. Döllinger, with such a contrast before him, appeal to Melancthon's lamentation so frequently and so feelingly uttered over the "total neglect of the original sources of divine learning."

" 'Alas !' exclaims Strigel, ' were pious christians to shed as many tears as there is water in the Saal, they could not sufficiently deplore the downfall of Christian doctrine and discipline. Men not only turn with disgust and loathing from the word of God, but what is still more deplorable, they blush at the very name of 'theologian,' and abandon the study of theology to a few poor wretched men, apparently without talent or means to cultivate it, and betake themselves to more honourable and more agreeable pursuits.' "*

(3.) We need hardly dwell on the decay of *Patristical Studies*. The well-known principles of Luther on the subject of the authority of the fathers—his frequent declarations that the "poor dear fathers lived better than they wrote"—his lamentations over the "darkness on the subject of faith which pervades their writings ;" their "blindness ;" the "obscurity in which they have involved questions which are plain in the scripture"—the contempt, and indeed worse, which he displays for them, taken individually; will prepare us for great extravagance in the same matter on the part of his followers. But we cannot refrain from mentioning, as a curious example of the spirit of the time, that it was made a serious charge against a

master at Augsburg, that he introduced Lactantius among his scholars as an introduction to the study of the fathers,* and that “among the especial arts which satan employs to undermine the authority of the man of God, Dr. Luther, the chief is described to be his withdrawing them from Luther’s writings to those of the fathers, and of others who are far inferior to him.”†

(4.) From the same principles of Luther will be understood without difficulty the decline of *Historical Studies* also. Germany, in the early part of the sixteenth century, had produced a larger number of historians than perhaps any other in Europe. Wimpeling, Tritheim, Albert Kranz, Rhenanus, Peutinger, Cuspinian, and several others enumerated by Dr. Döllinger. In the last seventy years of the same century we find scarcely a single name on the Protestant side, with the exception of Sleidan, a clever but unscrupulous writer; and the only historical writers of any note are those of the Catholic party—Gerhard van Roo, Dalrav, bishop of Olmütz, and Fabricius, rector of Düsseldorf.

(5.) But it is from the character of the Universities and other seats of learning, even more than from general statements like these, that we can most securely gather the intellectual condition of Germany. Upon this part of the subject the author appears to have bestowed exceeding care; and if it be remembered how obscure and how scattered must have been the sources of such an enquiry, some idea may be formed of the difficulty of the performance. He passes in review the universities of Erfurt, Basil, Tübingen, Wittenberg, Leipzig, Rostock, Frankfort, and Heidelberg. Contrasting their condition before and after the Reformation, and detailing in the words of the reformers themselves, many of them members of the communities they describe, their actual condition under the working of the new system, he traces to its immediate influence the corruption which most unquestionably did follow its introduction, so clearly and satisfactorily, that it would be impossible to entertain a doubt of the fact, even if it were not expressly admitted by the parties most interested in its concealment. The universities of Germany, without

* Xystus Vetuleius, p. 416.

† Jerome Weller, p 453.

any exception, were described, in the year 1568, as “remarkable for nothing but the pride, laziness, and unbridled licentiousness of the professors,”* and Camerarius (I. 484) often thought that “it would be better to have no schools at all than such asylums of dishonesty and vice.” Wittenberg held a bad pre-eminence among them. Flacius Illyricus (227) “would rather send children to a brothel, than to the High School of Wittenberg.” No discipline or godliness was known there, and “especially among Dr. Philip’s (*Melancthon*) disciples,” whom people visiting the university, and expecting to find angels, discovered to be, in reality, living devils.† Indeed, the students of this university were “universally infamous (land-rüchig) for debauchery, gambling, impiety, blasphemy, cursing, drinking, and indecent language and behaviour;”‡ and though the university authorities were well aware of the scandals, they were afraid to publish their shame by expelling the guilty, who constituted the majority.§ At Frankfort on the Oder, (1562) the students were “so wild and undisciplined, that neither professors nor townsmen were secure of their lives.”|| At Tübingen the “habits of blasphemy, drunkenness, and debauchery,” which came under his own personal notice, called for the prompt and decided interference of Duke Christopher of Würtemberg in 1565.¶ A few years later, (1577) the students were represented in the magistrates’ Report to the senate as “a godless race, like those of Sodom and Gomor-rha:” and in 1583, a solemn visitation, for the sole purpose of staying or eradicating the notorious and habitual immorality, was ordered by the public authorities of the city.** The accounts of the universities of Marburg (480) Konigs-berg (482) Leipzig (573), Basil (557), are precisely the same; and in his report on the university of Rostock, Arnold Buren frankly avows, that, “comparing the new generation with the old ones, every right-minded man complained, and the conduct of the members themselves evinced even more clearly, that a general deterioration of morals had taken place; that crimes of every description were day by day

* Rudolf Walther, vol. i. 473. † Schwenckfeld, vol. i. 476.

‡ Waldner, ibid. § George von Solmes, ibid.

|| Musculus, 478. ¶ Page 479.

** Mohl, 479.

on the increase ; that instead of the virtuous gravity and youthful modesty of former days, wanton levity and unbridled licentiousness had been introduced ; and that things had come now to such a pass, that from the entire frame of society, and from the morals of every class, simplicity, integrity, and purity had completely disappeared.”*

In a short time this disrepute began to produce its effect upon the attendance of the pupils. The declaration of Illyricus is an echo of the general feeling. Parents feared † to send their children to such dens of immorality : the numbers gradually diminished : the university of Basil, once so flourishing, became a desert within a few years : and at Erfurt, which at the outbreak of the Reformation had been in its highest reputation, the pupils, who in 1520 amounted to 311, fell to 120 in 1522, then to 72, and afterwards to 34, till, in 1527, the entrances amounted to but 14 !

From the variety of these extracts, and the exceeding diversity of the sources from which they are taken, it will readily be believed that our difficulty has rather been to limit than to extend them. We had originally intended to pursue the enquiry on a similar plan through various other topics, as,—the scandalous lives of its ministers, and the contempt and hatred with which, as a class, they were regarded by their flocks † — the weariness of spirit, the remorse, the longing after death,§ even the miserable end, in many cases, by their own hands,|| which it entailed upon those who were actively engaged in it—the repining after the good old times, the longing for the revival of popery, and the habitual reference, on the part of the people, of all the evils which had overwhelmed the world to the new Gospel which had been introduced.¶ But we have already more than wearied out the reader’s patience by these pain-

* Page 477. † 480.

‡ See vol. II. pp. 26, 293, 551, 554, &c. &c.

§ As in the cases of Mathesius, (vol. II. p. 130) Sarcerius, (vol. ii. p. 180) Spalatin, (vol. II. p. 90) Gigas, (535) Grossehans, (515) &c.

|| For example, Bessler, (vol. II. p. 90). William Bidembach, who threw himself out of a window in despair, (vol. II. p. 370); his brother, who after attempting to hang himself, died mad, (371) &c.

¶ See vol. II. pp. 79, 316, 208, 331, 531, 698, &c.

ful and revolting extracts, nor shall we venture to pursue the Reformation into the ‘lower deeps’ of sin and wretchedness to which it led. Even in the few, and perhaps ill-assorted extracts which we have hastily heaped together, there is enough and more than enough to fix its character as a movement claiming to be divinely directed. We are ready to allow its claims to be tested by any reasoning man, no matter how deeply prejudiced in its favour, upon these admissions of its own most zealous founders. Let him but contrast in the light of this evidence, imperfect and fragmentary as our narrow limits have made it, its great promise with its small performance, its magnificent anticipations with its miserable results—let him follow it in its career through the various countries where it found an entrance, and mark the fruits which it produced in each—where it promised peace and happiness, let him see it produce disorder, insubordination, murder, rebellion, division of class against class, sanguinary war; where it promised piety, lukewarmness, impiety, blasphemy, irreligion; where it promised purer morality, debauchery, fornication, drunkenness, revolting indecency in young and old; where it promised all the social and domestic virtues, adulteries, divorces, bigamy, fraud, avarice, hard-heartedness to the poor; where it promised the revival of true faith, confusion, scepticism, contempt of all religion, and utter unbelief; where it promised enlightenment, ignorance, barbarism, contempt of learning, and fanatical hatred of science;—let him but remember how all this is attested by those to whose dearest and most cherished hopes the admission was as gall and wormwood, and we defy him to resist the direct and palpable conclusion, that the finger of God was *not* in that unhappy movement—that the prestige of its success was hollow and unsubstantial, that its boasted advantages were a juggle and a delusion, that its lofty pretensions were but a silly mockery, and its very title a living and flagitious lie.

A Catholic Journal, (the Tablet) on the appearance of the April number of the Dublin Review, took occasion to pronounce some strictures on two or three passages of an article in that number, entitled "Protestantism and Catholicism considered," &c. The writer of that paper considers it due to himself, as well as to the Review in which the article appeared, to reply to those strictures.

The exceptions regard four points ; 1st, the assertion, that the spiritual and temporal powers were separated in the Jewish Church; secondly, that the Episcopacy circumscribes the exercise of the Papal power ; thirdly, that the Pope is bound by compacts with secular princes ; fourthly, the rejection of the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty by the Catholic Church.

I. When we speak of the spiritual and temporal powers in the Jewish Church, we, of course, mean the sacerdotal and political jurisdictions ; and it must be evident that in a Polity half spiritual, half temporal, like that of the Jews, the priesthood could not have the same spiritual character as in the higher and more perfect dispensation of Christianity. In 'the Patriarchal' times the constitution of religion was domestic; religious instruction and the solemnization of religious offices being entrusted to the heads of families and tribes. In Heathenism, which, though a corruption of the Patriarchal faith, preserved the substance of its doctrines, rites, and constitution, this union of sacerdotal and political power was ever retained. Anius, of whom Virgil says : "Rex Anius Phabique Sacerdos," is a true specimen of a Gentile king. In Egypt and India, when the Royal Dynasty happened to belong to the military rather than to the sacerdotal caste, the king, before he ascended the throne, was always consecrated priest.

In China the emperor even offered up the most solemn sacrifice. The early kings of Greece and Rome, as well as their later magistrates, enjoyed this privilege. Even when Rome had expelled her kings, she still retained the name and title of royalty in her sacerdotal system—a touching reminiscence of the Patriarchal ages, when the kingly and priestly offices were ever united in the same hands.

Judaism was the second stage in the development of religion ; priests were set apart and ordained of God for his service, and a public ministry was substituted for the domestic one of Patriarchal times. "Among the Jews," says the learned Bergier, "*the priests constituted a special tribe ; but their functions were confined to divine worship ; they had no share in the civil government.*" The judges, whom Moses, by the counsel of Jethro, established to decide the disputes of the Israelites, were chosen from every tribe, Exod. xviii. 21, Deut. i. 15. In the number of the fifteen chiefs who successively governed the nation, the only priests were Heli and

Samuel, and it is even a matter of doubt whether the latter were of the tribe of Levi.....The Jewish priests rendered the same services as the Egyptian, without having the same privileges."—*Dictionnaire Théologique, art. Prêtres, vol. vi.*

There are three remarkable circumstances which point out the separation of the spiritual and temporal powers in the Jewish church.

1. Moses, the Hebrew lawgiver, the divinely appointed founder of the civil and ecclesiastical polity of the Jews—the type of Him who was one day to bring about a more perfect dispensation—Moses was no priest. The sacerdotal office was allotted to his brother Aaron and his successors. Surely, if the spiritual and temporal powers were not intended to be kept separate in Judaism, Moses, the guide and teacher of his people—the most highly favoured servant of God—who was admitted to converse with Him face to face, would have been exalted to the priestly dignity.

2. The ceremony of coronation prescribed for the institution of Jewish royalty, proves clearly the distinction of the two powers. As the kings could not be raised to the priesthood, they were, by an affecting ceremony, reminded of the divine origin of authority, and of their obligations to God and to their subjects. They became, like the Christian kings after them, the Lord's anointed and his vicars in the temporal order of things.

3. The punishment which was inflicted on Uzziah for his rashness in laying hands on the censer, is another proof how distinct and separate were the temporal and spiritual powers in the Jewish dispensation.

It was precisely by its greater spiritual independence, by its hierarchic constitution, as well as by the greater variety and importance of its rites and ceremonies, that the Jewish priesthood, more than the Patriarchal, prefigured the Christian.

II. We now come to the second point. The words "Episcopacy which circumscribes the exercise of the Papal power," as cited by the writer, detached from the context, are ambiguous. They may signify that the Episcopacy can of its own will set limits to the Papal power—an opinion utterly uncatholic, and which never entered our mind; or, the words may mean (and the context clearly shows they can bear no other signification) that although the Holy See is the foundation of Episcopal jurisdiction, yet Episcopacy, by its divine institution and canonical rights, is a check on the exercise of the Papal authority.

In the passage cited by the writer, we compare Episcopacy to the temporal nobility, which is at once a limit and a support to royalty; and we merely developed the well-known proposition of Bellarmine, that the constitution of the Catholic Church is a monarchy tempered by aristocracy and democracy. In what country does the nobility, except in times of revolution, set arbitrary limits to the royal authority? Yet, in all countries, its

riches, influence, privileges, and (in temperate monarchies) its legislative power, circumscribe the exercise of the royal prerogative. Thus, to return to the matter in question, it is well known that, except in cases of extraordinary emergency, where the utility of the church requires the canons to be momentarily suspended, the Sovereign Pontiff, cannot, without a canonical trial, deprive a Bishop of his see; but that in missions where the Apostolic Vicariate prevails, the prelate can be deposed at the pleasure of the Holy See. We ask, therefore, whether it would not be perfectly correct to say, that the exercise of the Papal power in England would be circumscribed by the re-establishment of the ordinary Episcopate? How could there be any ambiguity in our words, when, in a preceding passage we stated, that "the Papal power *mighty, and all-prevailing as it is*, and as becomes the end for which its divine Author instituted it, was yet, in the exercise of its jurisdiction, bound by the canons of the Church, by the disciplinary decrees of general councils and preceding Pontiffs, by the *subordinate*, though divine institution of Episcopacy and its inherent rights, &c., &c?" Had we meant to attribute to the Prelacy the power of restraining *ad libitum* the exercise of the Papal power, should we have spoken of the *subordinate* institution of the Episcopacy? and, should we have called the Papal power *mighty and all-prevailing*, and a little afterwards professed our belief in its doctrinal infallibility *ex cathedrâ*? It will be well to hear on this matter the opinion of an eminent canonist of Catholic Germany—one who is anti Gallican in his opinions, and who, for his literary services to the church, received a decoration from his late Holiness, Pope Gregory XVI.

"This power of the Roman See," says M. Walter, professor at the University of Bonn, "is, from its very nature, the supreme power in the church. Hence, for all the acts which it exercises in virtue of its supremacy, this See is responsible to God only and its own conscience. *Prima Sedes a nemine judicatur*, (c. 16, 17. cix. q. 3. (Gelas anno, 455) c. 14, eod. Symmach. anno 503.) Moreover its mode of acting is determined by the spirit and practice of the church, by respect for general councils (c. 14. e. xxv. q. 1. Concil. Chalc. anno 451. o. 1. eodem Gelas. anno 455. (c. 17. cxxv. q. 2, Lev. 1. anno 452.) and by the welfare of Christendom, of which this See is to be in all things mindful. Thus is the Papal Supremacy, whatever name we may give it, by no means arbitrary and unlimited in its exercise, but more than any other power is it bound and attempered (*gæbunden und gemildert*) by the consciousness of duties correlative with rights, by respect for ancient ordinances and customs, (c. b. cxxv. 9. 1. Urban, inc. a. c. 7. eod. Zozim. anno 418. c. 15. cxxv. q. 2. Gelas. anno 454. c. 21. eod.) by the mild tone of the government, by the recognition of customary rights and liberties, by the regulated division of affairs, by a necessary regard to the secular powers, lastly, by the spirit of nations."—Kirchenrecht, § 23, p. 57. 1 ed.

The Journal does not seem to like the expression, "the Pope is bound by special compacts with secular princes." Those who know that the alliance between church and state is founded in nature, sanctioned by all ages, and approved by the Church, will acknowledge that concordats, or compacts between the spiritual and temporal powers, may at certain times, and under certain conditions, be wholesome and necessary. The Holy See in its wisdom weighs the general circumstances of the church, and in order to obtain certain advantages, makes certain concessions to the secular princes. Undoubtedly, as in these disciplinary regulations the Roman See is not under the immediate guidance of the divine Spirit, a weaker Pontiff will make concessions which a more energetic one would have refused; and an energetic Pontiff will, under unfavourable circumstances, surrender rights which at other more propitious times he would have retained. This is the circle for the operation of the mere human activity of the Sovereign Pontiff; but the Spirit that watches over the church will not permit any essential injury to accrue to her from the weakness or want of foresight of her rulers.

But the concessions made by the Holy See to temporal Sovereigns may prove very advantageous to the church. Thus, to cite an instance, the Popes at Avignon, from their financial embarrassments, not unfrequently exercised the extreme right of derogating from the lawful claims of lay and ecclesiastical Patrons, and of presenting individuals to livings. All are aware that this exercise of the Papal power was a fruitful source of discontent and complaint, more especially in our own country. Now any compact with secular governments that would have waived so extreme a right, would, in our humble opinion, have been very beneficial to the church and to the Holy See, whose interests are identified with those of the church.

If space permitted, many other instances might be cited.

We are at a loss to understand what insinuation is meant to be conveyed by the distinction taken between right and fact in the words above quoted. We appeal to our opponent's candour, whether a writer who professed the opinion of the infallibility of the Pope, *ex cathedrâ*—(an opinion never entertained by those Catholics who were inimical to the full liberty of the church)—who had reprobated so strongly the ecclesiastical policy of Joseph II. and his brother Leopold of Tuscany—who had shown that the Sovereigns of the eighteenth century, by violating the rights of the church, the aristocracy, and the commons, had undermined the foundations of their own thrones:—whether such a writer, we say, were likely to sacrifice the spiritual prerogatives of the Holy See either to prelates or princes? We ask whether had we even used an incautious or ambiguous phraseology (which we had not), charity, nay, common justice, did not require a favourable construction to be put upon our words?

IV. We come now to the fourth point, the doctrine of "Popular Sovereignty." Whenever the expression "the doctrine of popular Sovereignty" is used, this refers not to the *de facto* possession of power on the part of the multitude, but to the opinion that the civil power in the origin of Society emanated from the people, and not from God. Space will not permit us here to enter upon the examination of this important question. The Catholic church repudiates the doctrine of the Sovereignty of the people *implicitly*, by inculcating the divine origin of the civil power, and the consequent criminality of rebelling, except in certain cases of extreme tyranny, when the natural and divine laws are trampled under foot, and when the majority of Catholic theologians allow the right of physical resistance. Some divines of the fifteenth century, like Gerson, Peter D'Ailly, Almain, and others, who were the first to introduce into the Christian world the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, which they borrowed from the later schools of Greek philosophy, applied their principles to the church as well as state, and while they declared that the majority of the people could cashier its princes, conceded the same right to general councils over the sovereign Pontiff. The later Gallicans, like De Marca, Fleury, and the great Bossuet, while they borrowed, to a certain extent, the ecclesiastical principles of the above named theologians on the hierarchy, rejected their political opinions, and even went to the contrary extreme of maintaining, in all cases, the indefeasibility of the civil power.

The examples of the archbishop of Milan and the French clergy during the recent revolutions in Paris and in Milan, adduced by our critic in defence of the doctrine of popular sovereignty, are by no means to the point. In planting the cross on the barricades of Milan, the archbishop of that city may have been influenced by three different motives. Either he may have thought with very many of the Italian clergy, that the Austrian sway in Italy was illegitimate, and that the struggle was not so much one between ruler and subject, as between nation and nation ; or that, if legitimate, the authority had been abused to such an extent as to justify open resistance ; or, (what indeed is most probable) he may have deemed fit to interpose his sacred authority in the jar of civil strife, in order to procure due protection to religion, life, and property, and prevent, if possible, the accession of an irreligious party to power. His conduct, in any of these cases, is perfectly consistent with the rejection of the opinion of popular Sovereignty.

That in the miserable anarchy which afflicts unhappy France, the clergy should set the best face on matters, and bear with evils they cannot remedy, is only natural. But until our opponent can adduce some public declaration from the venerable bishops of that country, stating that power in the origin emanated from the people, and not from God ; that in every state, whatever be its form of government, the authority of the supreme magistrate

depends on a primitive delegation of the people, and that as La Fayette once said, "Insurrection is the holiest of duties;" until, we say, he can adduce some such declaration, he will be unable to invoke the authority of the church of France against the doctrine we have advanced. The doctrine of divine right, as taught in the Catholic church, protects republics as well as monarchies against the dangers of anarchy. We cannot better conclude these observations than in the words of the illustrious Dominican, father Lacordaire, who, as is well known, does not belong to the Legitimist party. "L'Evangile avoit posé, a principe," says he, in one of his conferences, "que l'homme est trop grand pour obeir à l'homme; que l'homme est trop miserable pour être vénéré de l'homme par sa propre substance et sa propre vertu. Ce principe renversoit le système oriental. Mais en revanche, l'Evangile avoit dit qu'il faut obeir à Dieu dans l'homme, "servientes sicut Domino, et non hominibus." Ce principe renversoit le système occidental. Le prince n'étoit plus seulement le mandataire du peuple; il étoit le mandataire de Jesus Christ; on n'obeissait plus seulement à l'homme, mais à Jesus lui même présent et vivant dans celui qu'a voit élu la Société. Je dis celui qu'avoit élu la Société; car l'Evangile n'avoit pas ravi à la Société son droit naturel d'élection: il n'avoit par même déterminé si le gouvernement devoit être une monarchie, une aristocratie, ou une democratie. Il laissoit la question de forme et de choix au cours de l'experience et des événemens; il avoit dit aux nations: "Mettez à votre tête un consul, un president, un roi, qui vous voudrez; mais souvenez-vous qu'au moment où vous aurez assis votre magistrature suprême, Dieu viendra dedans."—*Conferences*, p. 377, vol. ii. Paris, 1845.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*Mary, the Star of the Sea, a Story of Catholic Devotion.*
London : Burns.

AFTER the multitude of religious tales which have been given to the world during the last fifteen or twenty years, we hardly expected that we could ever meet with another which we should not fancy we had read a hundred times before. "Loss and Gain," however, undevived us: here, at last, was something essentially new. "Mary, the Star of the Sea," again, is something quite

unlike anything in the way of Catholic fiction, which has ever appeared in this country. It is unlike all its predecessors, not only in the general subject, but still more in the peculiar tone of thought and mode of treatment which runs through the volume, from the first chapter to the last. Its title tells its purport, which is to illustrate the exquisite loveliness of the Mother of God, under all the various types by which she is spoken of in the holy scripture, and to show the happiness, peace, and protection, enjoyed by every pious christian who cherishes a tender devotion to her, who is the first and most powerful of all creatures formed by the Almighty's hand.

All this is done, not only with a very surprising amount of knowledge of the divine scriptures, and a remarkable facility in discerning and explaining their typical meaning, but with a high sense of all that is most poetic, romantic, and touching, both in the christian's daily life, and in the passing world, in which he dwells for a season. We question indeed whether there exists any other book, except professed theological treatises, which contains so rich a mine of information with respect to the innumerable types and figures, especially in the case of the holy women of the old dispensation, which refer to the person and office of Mary in the work of the redemption of man. All this portion of the book, also, is written with so much zest and life, and with such an evident delight in the subject on the part of the author, that it will probably tempt many a superficial reader to study, who would pass over anything put in a more scholastic or didactic form.

The story itself, which forms the groundwork of the whole, has not much in the way of incident; though we have found it by no means lacking in interest. The characters, however, are drawn with very considerable delicacy of touch and refinement of idea; and throughout there is an elevation of sentiment and an imaginative colouring to every phase of the tale, singularly unlike the commonplace prosiness which besets the average class of professedly religious fictions. Some readers, indeed, may find fault with the book for being too ideal in its views, and in the people who figure in its pages, and will say it is *too* unlike the sad actual life even in the brightest spots in the Catholic world, as it really is. Its personages talk not only the language of a rank in life higher than their own, —(a point which the author explains in the preface;)—but

they talk as people speak in poetry; not vaguely, unmeaningly, and pompously; but with that peculiar cast of phrase, and that ideal mode of thought which the nature of poetry demands; but which we rarely, if ever, meet with in the realities of prosaic existence. All this, at the same time, by no means destroys our interest in their affairs; we only think that they are what men and women might be, rather than what they commonly are. The book is so genuine, ardent, and sincere, that we feel in every page that the author has written with the profoundest conviction of the strict possibility of everything that is said, done, suffered, and thought, by its various characters.

We shall be curious, at the same time, to see how the book takes with the generality of readers. Being something quite dissimilar from the old run of story books, we can hardly tell what sort of a reception it will meet with. We shall be surprised, however, if it is not welcomed with cordial satisfaction by a large class of persons.

II.—*Topham's Patented Railway Time-Table.* Richardson and Son, London, Dublin, and Derby.

Who that has travelled by railway, and wished to learn the precise time at which he might arrive at a particular town, or at his final place of destination, has not found himself bewildered and confused by the conglomeration of little figures, lines, and letters which the old railway time-tables presented to him? Who has not discovered, no matter how closely and earnestly he sought to spell his way out of the apparent confusion, that he has, after all, fallen into an irretrievable error — mistaking the time marked for the train passing a town when leaving London, for the time at which the up train would reach it when on its way to London, and *vice-versa*? And if this were the case with one railway table, how infinitely more hopeless the task when there was question of a long journey, on two or three different lines, each distinct in itself, but still connected with and branching off from others? The great merit of *Topham's Patented Railway Time-Table* is, that all these difficulties are removed, these embarrassments are avoided, this confusion, perplexity, and uncertainty is at an end, and every point, the most minute, as well as the most important, is so simplified, that a

child can comprehend the entire plan. All the hours marked for trains travelling *from* London are printed in *black ink*—all the hours marked for trains travelling *to* London are printed in *red ink*: to ascertain the first, the eye runs *down* the page; to ascertain the second, the eye runs *up* the page. Such is the principle on which *Top-ham's Patented Time-Tables* are constructed. The very facility with which it can be explained is a proof of its usefulness, its certainty, and its applicability to all the occasions on which it can be required. The pamphlet does not, however, confine its pages to an accurate and complete account of all the railway tables in the United Kingdom. It is not only a Railway, but also a Steam Navigation Guide for England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. It gives the arrival and departure of mails, coaches, and conveyances, &c. In fact, there will be found in it every species of information required by those who travel for business, or for pleasure; whilst at the same time, by the rejection of advertisements, the work is of such moderate compass and convenient size, that it can be carried without the slightest inconvenience in the pocket or the reticule. It is a traveller's book, and nothing else—telling the traveller all he can want or desire to know, and not intruding upon him with a single line which is not of direct and immediate use to the traveller. The price of this excellent publication is only sixpence; and we cannot refrain from adding, that it is impossible to open a single page, with its clear type, its bold figures, and its happy combination of red and black inks, without being struck by the beauty, the distinctness, and general elegance of the typography.

III.—*The Surgical, Mechanical, and Medical treatment of the Teeth, including Dental Mechanics*, with one hundred engravings, by JAMES ROBERTSON, Surgeon Dentist to the Royal Free Hospital, &c. London, Webster, Piccadilly, and Blakiston, Philadelphia. Second edition.

THIS is a practical work by an accomplished and practical man upon a most important subject, on which, however, so much of general ignorance prevails, that it has long since been seized upon by empirics and quacks, as affording them a ready means for subsistence. We have long felt the want of such a book as this—of a treatise upon the

teeth, which would put the general reader in possession of so much knowledge, as to enable him to test the qualifications of the *professed dentist* to whom he was obliged to have recourse, either for the purpose of relieving pain, or of supplying that, which once felt, is instantly recognized as a great calamity, the loss of teeth. It is strange, that until now, we have never met with a work in the English language, which conveyed that information in plain, simple, and intelligible language, although our neighbours on the continent, and surgical writers in America, have not been so inattentive to this matter. The simplicity of style, the plainness of language, and the intelligence conveyed in every page of Mr. Robertson's treatise, arise from the abundance of his knowledge; and it is because he is so complete a master of his subject, that every one who peruses his book, arises from the study of it a well instructed pupil. We learn how the teeth should be treated from childhood to old age—by what means they may be preserved, by what resources saved from decay; by what expedients the pain arising from decay or accident abated or removed, and finally, how, and in what manner, their loss can be best supplied.

What we admire most in this book, is that for which we have least reason to admire most modern publications, and that is the appositeness of its arrangement, and the clearness of its expression. It proceeds step by step, making the path of the reader more clear every step he advances, conveying to the mind the knowledge of a fact, or of an important principle in every page, all bearing upon the one topic, and all laid bare without the slightest assumption of pedantry, and never obscured by the employment of a single unnecessary technical expression. The author, in the first part, whilst teaching the public, is also instructing the dentist; and in the second part, when lecturing the dentist, and pointing out to him how his art is to be exercised, is conveying a vast fund of knowledge to the general reader. Whatever is stated by Mr. Robertson as a fact, or whatever is laid down by him as a principle, may be relied upon by the reader as an unerring truth, for the author has tested both by numberless experiments. He states only what he knows, and the knowledge is the result of years of study, fortified by daily proofs. Thus we have a book on which the most perfect reliance may be placed, coming from one who has won for himself not only exten-

sive practice as a dentist, but also a high name in the medical world ; for Mr. Robertson is the gentleman who was the first in Europe to introduce the employment of ether in difficult surgical cases, and he, too, was the first to reduce its effects to a practical certainty, by discovering the index when an operation ought to commence. He has also contributed much original information upon the employment of anaesthetic agents, a subject we may remark, which has not been as yet sufficiently considered.

Such is the author of the book now before us. We regret that we cannot afford space to go more fully into the contents of such a book, for the more it is known, the more must the public feel indebted to the author for the great and important information communicated by him.

IV.—*Philothea; or, an Introduction to a Devout Life.* Translated from the French of St. FRANCIS OF SALES, by the REV. JAMES JONES. London, Dublin, and Derby ; Thomas Richardson and Son. 1848.

AMONG the numberless happy results which have followed from the multiplication, the cheapness, and the extensive circulation of modern books of piety during the last ten or fifteen years, there is one consequence which has followed indirectly, and which we have often been tempted to regret. By the very variety and novelty of the modern appliances of devotion with which busy translators and enterprising publishers have enriched the young generation, we fear they have been led in some measure to forget the good old standard works which formed the entire stock of devotional reading for their less happy forefathers. We have often looked in vain through the ascetic collection of modern pious libraries for the works of St. Francis of Sales, of Lewis of Granada, for Cardinal Bellarmine's inimitable devotional treatises, and even occasionally for the golden book itself—Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*. And although we should be sorry to say or insinuate a single word which could be construed into a depreciation of the invaluable books of St. Alphonso Liguori, of Father Segneri, of Pere de la Salle, or the numberless other pious writers with whose works these later days have been blessed, yet we cannot but regret that any cause, however good in itself, should lead even to a temporary forgetfulness of the favourite pious authors of our own earlier years.

It is with more than ordinary satisfaction, therefore, that we welcome this new and most excellent translation of St. Francis of Sales's inestimable Introduction to a Devout Life; and although the learned translator, Mr. Jones, has deserved highly of his catholic countrymen by his numerous and most valuable earlier publications, yet, we cannot help thinking that the present work entitles him to still better and higher praise. "The Devout Life" is a work for which our entire stock of devotional reading will not supply any adequate substitute. Other books are equally tender in sentiment, equally elevated in thought, equally fervid in language, equally, perhaps, more, rich in scriptural knowledge. But there is not in the whole circle of ascetic theology a single volume so admirably calculated for the class to which it is addressed—for persons engaged in the world. Almost all our other books of devotion appear in the eyes of the world to adopt one ideal standard of sanctity, to the attainment of which all their exhortations are directed and all their rules and precepts adapted. Few of them seem to descend to the details of real life, taking men and women as they actually are; and endeavouring to make them better, with so little of abandonment of their actual duties, engagements, and even recreations or pleasures, as to win them insensibly to virtue by divesting it of its repulsiveness and difficulty, and satisfying them, even at first sight, of the possibility of practising it in the world. Now, we are fully sensible, that for many souls such a course of direction, indiscreetly pursued, would be dangerous, and indeed, destructive; but we also know, that, for the majority of mankind, it is the only course that is either feasible or hopeful; and, in the hands of a saint, like Francis de Sales, so tender, so considerate, so cognizant of every little detail, so full of emotion and winning piety, in a word, so specially, and we believe, providentially gifted for this arduous but holy office, it has been the instrument of salvation to countless thousands, whom a more unbending course of direction would have driven to despair.

The original preface of the Devout Life expresses so clearly and so characteristically the author's views in its composition, that we are induced to transcribe a paragraph as a specimen of the manner in which the translation is executed.

" Almost all have hitherto written of devotion in a manner either suitable for those only who live far away from all commerce with the world, or leading souls to an entire separation from it. My design, therefore, is to instruct those who live in towns, in families, or at court, and whose condition subjects them, externally, to the ordinary routine of life. Such persons, very generally, imagine that a devout life is an impossibility in their regard, and that therefore they need not think of attempting to lead such a life ; like animals who never dare to taste the seed of the plant *Palma Christi*, they think that they must not aspire to the palm of Christian piety so long as they are engaged in the hurry of secular affairs. To such I endeavour to make it appear, that as the mother-of-pearl fish lives in the midst of the sea without taking in a drop of salt water, and as in the direction of the Chelidonian islands there are springs of fresh water in the midst of the sea, and as fireflies pass through flames without burning their wings ; so a resolute and persevering soul may live in the world without imbibing its spirit, discover sweet springs of piety in the midst of its bitter waters, and pass through the flames of earthly concupiscence without burning the wings of her holy aspirations to a devout life. It is true that this is not an easy task, and therefore I could wish that many would attend to it with much greater care and earnestness than heretofore. With a view to contribute towards this, I offer in these pages, weak as I am, assistance to those, who with a generous heart engage in so worthy an undertaking."—pp. 21, 22.

Those to whom the old English version, with its quaint and startling, though not inexpressive idioms, is familiar, will join with us in the expression of our gratitude to Mr. Jones for his clear, easy, and graceful translation. The peculiarly ornate style of St. Francis, his constant use of similes and illustrations, and the many simple graces of composition for which his manner is so remarkable, require the pen of a skilful and practised translator, more perhaps than any other doctrinal author with whom we are acquainted : and Mr. Jones's previous labours, as well as his excellent natural taste, had prepared him to render full justice to all the delicacy which his task involved.

There is something exceedingly touching in the sweet humility of the concluding paragraphs of the preface.

" For the rest, my dear reader, it is true that I have written of a devout life without being myself devout, but certainly not without the desire of becoming so ; and this desire has encouraged me to undertake to instruct thee. For, as said by a most learned man, ' A good way to learn is to study, a better is to listen, but the best is to teach.'—' It frequently happens,' says St. Augustin, writing

to his devout Florentina, ‘that the office of distributing makes us worthy of receiving, and the office of teaching lays the foundation of our learning.’ Alexander having commanded the celebrated Apelles to paint the portrait of his much-loved Campaspe, the artist was obliged for this purpose to gaze on the countenance of Campaspe for a long time together ; and thus became, as he drew her features, deeply enamoured of her person. Alexander, on hearing this, took pity on him, and gave her to him in marriage ; depriving himself for Apelle’s sake, of her whom he most loved in the world. ‘In this,’ says Pliny, ‘he showed as much greatness of soul as he could have done by the most signal military victory.’ Now, I am of opinion, my beloved reader, that, as a bishop, God required me to portray upon the hearts of others not only common virtues, but also his most dear and well-beloved devotion. This I willingly undertook, as well in obedience to him, and to discharge my duty, as in the hope that while I delineated her in the hearts of others, my own might become holily enamoured of her ; and that his Divine majesty seeing me thus deeply stricken with her, would give her to me in eternal marriage. The beautiful and chaste Rebecca, for watering the camels of Isaac, became his destined wife, and received from him earrings and bracelets of gold : so I trust, through the infinite goodness of my God, that for thus leading his dear sheep to the salutary waters of devotion, my own soul will become his chosen spouse, and that golden words of divine love will be breathed into my ears, and strength given me to reduce them to practice, which is the essence of true devotion. This do I beseech his Divine Majesty to bestow upon me, and upon all the children of the Church, to which I desire ever to submit my writings, my actions, my words, my inclinations, and my thoughts.”—pp. 26, 27.

Need we express our hope, in conclusion, that this admirable book is destined to become even more popular than ever among us ?

V.—*The Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage, of Great Britain and Ireland, including all the Titled Classes*, by CHARLES R. DOD, Esq., author of “the Parliamentary Companion,” &c. London : Whittaker and Co., Ave Maria Lane, 1848.

THERE is a great distinction between this and all other works that are best known under the general designation of “peerage books ;” for Mr. Dod has in this given what no other peerage or baronetage book ever yet attempted to give,—*a full account of all persons bearing titles* ;—such, for instance, as the children of the nobility, who are by courtesy, “lords, ladies, and honourables,” — of the

bishops, the Scotch judges, all ranks of knights ; that is, all persons using the prefix of "Sir," whether they be civilians or military men—all, too, who bear the title of "Right Honourable," including of course in these the members of the Privy Council. In one department alone we thus find in Mr. Dod's book what we can discover in no other book that is published, authentic information respecting at least one thousand officers in the colonial, diplomatic, military, naval, and civil service of the state. This information—of vast importance to all classes—is to be found in no other book. We are justified in stating that it is authentic ; because we have long derived assistance from the labours of Mr. Dod in his valuable "Parliamentary Companion ;" and we can affirm that we never yet have known him to fall into any error. Such is his anxiety and his care not to state anything for which he has not the means of proving that it is asserted on the best authority. Those who desire to know the biography of every person in the fashionable world, as well as those who would be acquainted with the past history and the present position of every one who is in the service of the country, or has been honoured by any mark of distinction by the crown, will find every particular necessary to be known in this volume by Mr. Dod. It is a book as indispensable in the drawing-room as in the library.

VI.—*Italy in the Nineteenth Century, contrasted with its Past Condition.* By JAMES WHITESIDE, M.A., one of Her Majesty's Counsel. Two volumes, 8vo. London : Bentley, 1848.

WE are compelled by want of space to postpone our intended notice of these volumes.

VII.—*Hymns of the Heart, for the use of Catholics.* By MATTHEW BRIDGES, Esq. London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son, 1848.

MR. BRIDGES has spoken very modestly in the few feeling sentences which introduce his little volume, when he expresses a hope that "it may not be unprofitable to pious Catholics." We have not for a long time read anything with more sincere pleasure. We trust we are not too sanguine in regarding it as the commencement of a new era ; for although the collection is too brief, and the subjects

too little diversified, to warrant us in hoping for much practical change in our devotional poetry from its immediate publication, yet, on the one hand, we feel a confidence that this is but the first essay of a poet who possesses the taste, the genius, and above all the piety, which are necessary for the task of raising the standard of devotional poetry, which at present is sadly low among us ; and, on the other, we are sure that the circulation of even so small a collection will do more to create the desire for really good sacred poetry than it would be possible to effect by endless criticisms, strictures, and exhortations.

As we shall probably take another opportunity of returning to what we cannot but regard as a most important subject, we shall content ourselves for the present with a single specimen from this delightful little volume. It is one of a series of metrical paraphrases of the titles of our Blessed Lady in the Litany of Loretto.

“ DOMUS AUREA.

“ LIGHT ! Light ! Infinite Light !
 The mountains melted away :
 Ten thousand thousand seraphim bright
 Were lost in a blaze of day :
 For God was there, and beneath His feet
 A pavement of sapphires glow'd,*
 As the mirror of glory transcendently meet
 To reflect His own abode.

“ Love ! Love ! Infinite Love !
 The lowly Lady of grace
 Bows underneath the o'ershadowing Dove,
 Her eternal Son to embrace !
 For God is there, the Ancient of Days,
 An infant of human years :
 Whilst angels around them incessantly gaze,
 And nature is wrapt in tears !

“ Peace ! Peace ! Infinite peace !
 A gilded House hath it found,
 Whose ineffable beauty must ever increase
 With immortality crown'd !
 For God was there, the Lord of the skies,
 Whose loud alleluias ran.
 From heaven to earth,—as Emmanuel lies
 In the arms of Mary for man !”—pp. 68, 69.

* Exodus xxiv. 10.

We may add, as an interesting circumstance connected with this beautiful little publication, that it is modestly offered by the author as some expression of his "poignant and unmitigated regret, for having ever used his feeble pen against that holy and Apostolic Church, which by divine grace he has lately been enabled to join, after nearly eight years of labour spent in investigating her claims, and a desire throughout that entire period that he might be mercifully guided aright by the Spirit of God into the fulness of divine truth."

VIII.—*A full Course of Instructions for the use of Catechists*, being an Explanation of the Catechism, entitled "An Abridgment of Christian Doctrine," by the Rev. JOHN PERRY. Vol. 2. London: T. Jones, 63, Paternoster Row.

WE congratulate the Catholic public upon the completion of this truly valuable work. We can but repeat what we have already stated with respect to it, when the first volume appeared,* that in these volumes the Rev. Mr. Perry has afforded most valuable assistance to all who have the arduous task of catechising and instructing the young in their religion. These instructions are, in our estimation, indispensable as an accompaniment to the catechism, because they lighten the labour of the teacher, whilst, at the same time, they afford instruction to the young in that manner and form which we would wish to see imitated in every book of instruction; that is, giving to the young the authorities on which statements are made, and assertions grounded, and thus affording them an incitement to study in other books, than the one immediately placed before them. Most books placed in the hands of children—educational books as they are called—are mere statements without authority or proof of the correctness of those statements. Mr. Perry's book being one intended for the old, and calculated for the perusal of the young, happily violates this practice, and thus holds forth an example which we would wish to see universally imitated.

A single brief extract will suffice to show the author's manner of dealing with his subject:

* See Dublin Review for April, 1848, No. XLVII. pp. 253, 254.

"NECESSITY OF CONFIRMATION.—Is it necessary for every one to receive the Sacrament of Confirmation? The reception of this Sacrament is not so necessary, as to be an *essential* means of salvation, (*non est necessaria necessitate medii*); but it is, nevertheless, so necessarily to be received, that it cannot be wilfully neglected without a grievous sin. 'This opinion,' (says St. Alphonsus Liguori.) 'must be followed, as having been decided by Pope Benedict XIV. in a Bull concerning the Greeks, wherein he says: 'They (*who are not confirmed*) are to be admonished by the bishops that they contract the guilt of a *grievous sin*, if they refuse and neglect to receive confirmation when they have an opportunity.' ('*Sed prima sententia oīnnoī est tōnēda, utpote decisa Benedicto XIV. in Bulla, Etsi pastoralis, de Ritibus et Dogmatibus Græcorum*, 1742, ubi (§ iii. n. 4.) hæc habentur: monendi sunt (qui non sunt confirmati) ab ordinariis locorum eos gravis peccati reatu tenerisi (cum possunt) ad confirmationem accedere renuunt ac negligunt.' *S. Alph. Lig. Hom. Apostol. tract. 14 de Confirma. n. 47.*) And this is especially true in a persecuting, or in a country like this, where Catholic faith and practice are so much opposed and ridiculed by those amongst whom we live.

"In the apostles, we have a striking example of the necessity, or extreme utility of receiving the special graces of the Holy Ghost, such as are conferred upon us in confirmation. The apostles had been three years with Christ, had seen his miracles, had heard his instructions, witnessed his example, &c.; yet they had not courage to profess and practice what he required from them: they even forsook him, denied him, durst not show themselves in public, or appear to be his disciples. But no sooner did they receive the Holy Ghost, with his gifts and graces, than their minds were enlightened, and their hearts inflamed; they were filled with zeal and courage, and being thus 'endued with power from on high,' (Luke xxiv. 49.) they boldly professed, publicly preached, and courageously and even joyfully suffered for the Religion which they professed and preached. The Sacrament of Confirmation works the like beneficial effects on the souls of them who receive it worthily."—Vol. ii. pp. 40, 41.

It is in this manner that the Reverend author instructs alike the old and the young—thus illustrates every point, and gives to the reader the authorities on which he relies; and thus has he made in these volumes a very valuable addition to Catholic literature.

IX.—*The Roman Martyrology, set forth by the command of Pope Gregory XIII., and revised by the authority of Pope Urban VIII.*
By WILLIAM NUGENT SKELLY. London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son, 1848.

THIS is a most acceptable, and will prove, we trust, a most useful volume. We have been too little in the habit, hitherto, of conforming our practices of devotion, not alone with those of our continental brethren, but even with the spirit of the Universal Church itself. Few Catholics perhaps are aware, or at least few recollect in practice, that not only does the Roman Martyrology form part of the prescribed spiritual reading of every pious foreign community, but that it actually enters into the Divine Office itself. In England too, in the olden time, our persecuted fathers recognized its importance, for we find an English translation of the Martyrology* among the few books which their oppressed and impoverished condition permitted them to publish.

The diffusion of the Religious Institute among us, and the increased desire of domestic spiritual reading which every day appears to bring forth, induce us to hope that the present modernized reprint of this ancient translation will be found a welcome addition to our pious libraries, both public and private. The translation is executed with great judgment and accuracy ; and the volume itself, as a specimen of correct and elegant typography, is one of the handsomest which has been issued from the Derby press.

X.—1. *Cottage Conversations. First Series.—The Church.* London : Burns, 1848.

2.—*Cottage Conversations. Second Series.* London : Burns; 1848.

IT is hardly necessary to describe the nature or object of this excellent publication. It purports to be from the pen of “one who, after years of anxious wanderings, was called at the eleventh hour ;” and is written with the view of “helping our poorer brethren into that fold, where she has found rest and peace.” In the little work before us she has begun her mission well. It consists of a series

* Printed at St. Omers, 1667.

of simple and plain conversations on the subject of religion, chiefly explanatory and apologetic ; and while it avoids the vice into which such works have ordinarily fallen, of puzzling rather than satisfying, by their display of learning and of acute reasoning, it leaves but few of the popular misrepresentations of Catholic doctrine and Catholic practice without precisely such a refutation as is calculated to produce its effect on a sincere and enquiring mind.

We trust that the success of the Series may be such as to draw forth many such volumes as these—written in the same simple and intelligible style, with the same interesting liveliness, and, above all, with the same winning tenderness and charity—reviling none, assailing none, content with calm and temperate self-justification, and breathing in every page “ peace on earth to men of good-will.”

XI.—*Revelations of Ireland.* By D. O. MADDEN, Esq. Dublin : McGlashan, 1848.

MR. MADDEN is well known as a ready and prolific writer, a humorous story-teller, a graphic painter of character, and an indefatigable collector of anecdote. The ‘Revelations of Ireland’ is just such a book as we should have expected from his pen. It aims at no higher object than the amusement of the reader, and some of the chapters are exceedingly amusing. But we have long ceased to feel an interest in that class of Irish literature to which Mr. Madden’s book belongs.

XII.—*The Manners of the Israelites ; wherein is seen the Model of a Plain and Honest Policy for the Government of States and a Reformation of Manners.* Translated from the French of the judicious and learned Abbe FLEURY, by the Rev. CHARLES CORDELL. London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son, 1847.

MUCH valuable information is contained in this little work, which should be put into the hands of all young people capable of reading any portions of the Old Testament. The result of much learning and study is conveyed with simplicity and clearness, and throws light upon a very difficult subject.

XIII.—*Specimens from Schiller and Uhland.* By GEORGE CARLESS SWAYNE, M. A. Oxford : Macpherson, 1848.

THESE “ Specimens ” are for the most part very agreeable ; and we trust that their success will lead to a more serious and sustained effort on the part of the author.

XIV.—*The Dying Minstrel and other Poems.* By CATHARINE CARR HARPER. London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son.

VERY sweet and elegant lines, of no pretension, but which might fitly be prefaced by the pretty verses we have extracted as a specimen.

“ Though by our native mountain springs
Our feet no more may roam,
There are a thousand pleasant things
Entwin’d around our home.

“ The hand, though languid, yet may pull
The grape from off the vine,
Or from the open lattice cull
The clambering eglantine.

“ The eye, the drooping eye, may see
Soft April’s falling showers,
Or watch the rovings of the bee
Amongst delicious flowers.

“ The ear may list each tuneful vow
Warbled amongst the trees;
The fever’d lip, the burning brow,
May catch the wand’ring breeze.

“ Oh, there are comforts still, altho'
We may not wander forth ;
A host of gladd’ning things, which show
How beautiful is earth !”

XV.—*Scenes and Characters from the Comedy of Life.* By the author of “ Harry Layden,” &c. New York : Edward Dunigan, 1847.

THIS lively, clever, absurd little story is, as the author truly says, a story, and nothing more, having neither plot nor purpose, unless the very laudable one of quizzing the American field-preachers, temperance preachers, &c., of whom a motley and amusing group has been collected.

There are also some good steady farmers and their young people, and a sketch of the love affairs ensuing upon a visit to New York; all very amusing, and slight as it is, such spirit and drollery run through the work, as make us wish to meet the author again. We will extract a description of the "Demon of the Study," being a sort of bore our readers perchance have met with, and cleverly hit off:

"A stout old man, with a greasy hat,
Slouched heavily down to his dark red nose,
And two grey eyes enveloped in fat,
Looking through glasses with iron bows;
Read ye, and heed ye, and ye who can
Guard well your doors from that fat old man."

XVI.—1. *Father Felix, a Tale.* By the Author of "Mora Carmody,"
New York : Edward Dunigan, 1846.

2.—*Julia Ormond, or the New Settlement.* By the Authoress of the
"Two Schools." New York : Edward Dunigan, 1847.

3.—*Tears of the Diadem, or the Crown and the Cloister; a Tale of
the White and Red Roses.* By Mrs. ANNA H. DORSEY, Authoress of
the "Student of Blenheim Forest," &c., New York : Edward
Dunigan, 1846.

4.—*The Elder's House, or the Three Converts.* New York : Edward
Dunigan, 1846.

5.—*The Sister of Charity.* By Mrs. ANNA H. DORSEY, Authoress of
"Tears of the Diadem." New York : Edward Dunigan, 1846.

THESE little works form part of a series, which we hope to see continued, and which, under the name of the "Home Library," have been collected and given to the public by the well-known publisher, Mr. Dunigan of New York. Those works which we have seen all seek, more or less strenuously, the advancement of the Catholic faith, and are admirable for good sense and morality. In the preface to one of the stories there is a hope expressed, that by supplying "a strong, healthy current of pleasant reading, designed to instruct and win the heart while it amuses the fancy, the immoral influences may be checked of that kind of light literature which, stamped by the approval of fashion, finds its way daily into the boudoirs and parlours of 'Young America.'" It is not only in America that the want, the necessity for this style of reading is felt. In spite of all objections that may reasonably be entertained

for such a mixture of divine and worldly subjects, and such a mode of inculcating the most solemn truths, we nevertheless find an increasing demand for works of fiction, by which the attention of young people may be caught, and lured on by degrees to subjects of importance. We consider the present series as amongst the best of their class; they accept more frankly the character of entertaining stories than most of the English or French works of the kind which we have seen, and are consequently more likely to be read. Now and then, to our taste, the style may assume too florid and novel-like a character; but it never offends against the strictest propriety, and the incidents, which are various and pleasing, have a dash of something foreign about them which is amusing to the English reader. A sweet tone of Catholic feeling pervades them, and the truths of religion are well illustrated.

XVII.—*Lays of the Deer Forest, with Sketches of Olden and Modern Deer-hunting; Traits of Natural History in the Forest; Traditions of the Clans; and Miscellaneous Notes*, by JOHN SOBIESKI and CHARLES EDWARD STUART, 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1848.

It is little more than twelve months since we introduced to our readers a very interesting volume of Highland tales and sketches, by the accomplished brothers whose names stand at the head of this page. How well and honourably they use the leisure and the opportunities which it is their happiness to enjoy, is attested by the two goodly volumes which they have produced during this brief interval. The title is so full, and explains so well the nature and contents of the work, as almost to preclude the necessity of explanation upon our part; and it will be enough for us to say that the first volume alone is poetical, and that the varied and curious matter with which the second is crowded, is appended, for the most part, in the form of notes and anecdotes, illustrating the incidents or allusions of the several pieces comprised in the poetical collection. We cannot help thinking the arrangement a bad one, and calculated to interfere materially with the interest of the book. The first volume might have stood well by itself, or, at least, would have been sufficiently explained by a few brief illustrative notes; and it is unquestionably a great pity that the curious and most interesting matter with which the second volume is liter-

ally crammed, should have been thrown into a form so heavy and unattractive, instead of being left to stand as a separate and independent collection of essays and sketches, which could have been read and enjoyed for themselves.

The "Lays" are not all, as might be supposed from the title, peculiar to the Deer Forest. Their subjects are very miscellaneous,—romance, religion, friendship, patriotism, polities, as well as forest sports ; but in all alike there is a manly tone, a heartiness, and a spirit, which tell of the clear air of the mountain and the lake, and make us forget some occasional indications of carelessness or haste from which the versification is not exempt.

Our extracts must be exceedingly brief, and we are induced to select, as a specimen, a few lines from one of the longest of the "Lays"—"The Templar's Tomb."

It is a pleasing picture of a Highland sunset, and may perhaps remind the reader of the general character of Walter Scott's poetry. "Clara's Knight," we should say, is the hero of the piece.

"The setting sun was red and low
On Nevis top and ocean's flow,
And on the mighty mirror pale
Showed in white flakes each snowy sail,
While its last smile in parting play
A golden sheet on Findhorn lay,
Within the forest drear and deep
The closing flowers shut to sleep,
And on the old oak's ivy bough
The grey owl peeped and muttered now,
And 'mid that deep and sunless shade
Thought that 'twas twilight on the glade.
Far at the hunter's trysting thorn,
The woodman blow the gathering horn ;
And in the Rannoch lone and still
The red buck bellowed upon the hill.
All else was hushed by wood and vale,
Save haply the inconstant gale,
Which shook the dew-drop from the rose,
And lulled the even's fair repose.
That breeze which stirred the woodland flower
Waved the pale flag on Moray's tower,
And the dark plume of one who there
Walked by the lonely terrace stair ;
With folded arms and measure slow
He paced the smooth stone to and fro,

And mused and listed to the hum
 Which mingled with the evening drum,
 And oft toward the mountain dun,
 Gazed anxious on the setting sun.—
 He turned, and to the golden light
 Showed the dark face of Clara's knight."

Vol. I. p. 40, 41.

The following hunting incident, taken at random from the "notes and illustrations," will be more to the taste of "lovers of the noble sport."

"One dark cloudy day, in the depth of winter, we followed a buck, which was like the German leg or the Wandering Jew, and took us all over the forest, into all the burns, and round all the locks and heights, crossed through the middle of the castle park, down to the road of the east farm, between the houses and the square, across the garden, and into the burn at its foot, where of course we lost him for a time. "Wonderful buck, sir!" said Donald ; but "buck" only by conjecture : for whether buck, doe, or demon, we had never a glimpse of his head to say, and only judged his gender by the size of his slot and the wide spread of the dew-clees. With the burn he returned again into the forest, and only left the water, as we suppose, because he met an old woman's cow, which was standing up to her knees in the pool, where the long sweet grass grows down to the Glac-Lucrach. From thence he went away over the pots to St. John's Logie, treasoned all over the wet woody bog, and into the brae of the Tober-shith. I made for the Giuthas-mòr, where a famous run comes up from the hollow, but the deep toll of the hounds passed along the middle of the bank, and went away for the river. I examined the slot, to see that it really had *four* legs, though, it is true, that was little satisfaction, since we have no authority that the fiend does not sometimes go on all-fours, as, according to the Arabians, he occasionally does on one. As long as the dogs led, however, we should certainly have followed, though he had as many legs as a millepede, or no more than a Nim-Juse. Where he went, however, or how we followed, it would be too tedious to relate. Keeping under the wind, we continually checked him by the cry of the dogs, until only old Dreadnought was left on the track, and at last the roe turned short in the face of a pass where I was posted before him, and took wild away for the hamlet of Ceann-na-Coille. This utterly threw me out, as there was no understanding such a buck—who, like Napoleon in Italy, left fortified posts on his flank, and otherwise disregarded the old pig-tailed rules of war—besides which, from his last direction, it was probable that he was a Brodie buck, and was gone straight away for his own woods. However, I followed to hear what had become of him ; and though I lost the

cry of the hound, tracked the slot till it brought me out of the wood to a little cottage, where I found Dreadnought, very unlike himself, pottering about at the gravel of the house. I thought he was bewitched, till, as I traced the buck's foot, I also lost it near the same place, and neither he nor I, by nose or sight, could make any more of it than if, like one of Tasso's dragons, the buck had started into the air. While we were groping in the road, and Dreadnought taking a cast about the house, to the great discomfort of the old wife's cocks and hens, she brought out the usual cottage hospitality—the bowl of "set" milk; and as I was rewarding her with news of her cow, which she had lost for three days in the forest, and was the same "knock-kneed, how-backit, glaikit horned auld carline" which had turned the buck in the morning—there was a challenge from old Dreadnought in the kailyard! I threw the bowl into the barley-mow, and sprang upon the dike, where I saw the deep print of the buck's foot in the soft mould of the potato plot, into the middle of which he had bounded from the road, clearing the dike at a right angle, over which the dog had run, wondering where he had flown from his last slot. I had scarce time to observe the marks, when the hound opened at full cry, made a demi-tour into the wood, across the road, and into the thorn jungle on the burn, from which, as before mentioned, we had lost our buck of the three days' run. As, however, the roe was now tolerably fresh, I judged that, rather than follow the water into the open pines, he would return for the birken braes and thorny hollows behind him. To intercept him, therefore, I kept the flank of the stunted firs, which, straggling over the moss between the burn and the castle road, are the connecting cover between the jungle and the woods. I had just left the tall trees, and was making for the dike, when the cry of the dog turned towards me; in an instant after, and for the first time in the day, I saw the buck himself; he came bounding through the centre of the little scroggy firs, glanced over the road, and as he leaped upon the dike, the shot just caught him in the spring with which he topped the fail."

Vol. II. p. 102—4.

If there be any one who, after reading the extracts, still entertains a doubt as to the interest with which these volumes abound, we can only add our assurance that there is hardly a page which will not well repay the trouble of perusal. There is not a single ignoble thought, not an ungenerous sentiment from the beginning to the end; nor do we think it possible for any one to rise up from its simple and natural pages, without feeling his taste improved, his spirits lightened, his mind refreshed, and his heart invigorated.

XVIII.—*A Plea for Peasant Proprietors; with the Outlines of a Plan for their re-establishment in Ireland.* By WILLIAM THORNTON, author of “Over-population, and its Remedy.” London : John Murray, 1848.

WE should rejoice to see this “Plea” in the hands of every English legislator ; and yet, if Mr. Thornton could make converts of them all, of what avail would it be? The “rights of property,” and the “power of property,” lending to each other mutual assistance, are in England irresistible. If their influence is ever to be modified over that large class of the community who, having no property, have no power—none, at least, recognized by law—and few, if any rights, it must be by some manifestation of the will of God, at present unforeseen. Nevertheless, in this work there is much that will remove prejudice, and furnish grounds for a sound opinion upon this important subject. By various arguments drawn from statistics, from the admissions of travellers and historians, and from the obvious tendencies of human nature, our author proves that where peasant or yeoman farmers hold manageable small properties, either in possession or on long and secure tenures, there is the threefold advantage of better cultivation of the land, the maintenance of a greater number of people, and their improvement in comfort, independence, and morality. He proves how much this was the system of old Catholic times, and how invariably a departure from it has been followed by the pauperism and degradation of the people, unless where the providence of landlords has prevented this by extirpating them altogether. Mr. Thornton has made this a practical question, by applying it to the settlement of the waste lands of Ireland, for which he has drawn up a scheme, which would, we doubt not, prove extremely feasible, and which would tend more than anything to put an end to the race of rack-rented pauper tenantry, whose crimes and miseries have been so often and so foolishly urged against the small proprietor.

XIX.—*Notes of a Two Years' Residence in Italy.* By HAMILTON GEALE, Esq. Dublin : James McGlashan, 1848.

AN elegant and lively record of the first impressions produced upon the mind of a gentleman and a man of

education by the fairest scenes of Italy, cannot fail to be interesting. We agree with the author that, while the world endures, the various points of view in which Italy may be beheld, her endless charms, and the power they have of kindling fervour and love, will call forth new ideas in minds capable of experiencing any. The present work is slight, as its title expresses, but very agreeable in style and liberal in its spirit. This last encomium will need some explanation to those who will find in these pages an abundant repetition of the old protestant commonplaces—of “the senses being affected, the imagination excited, but the soul not being satisfied in the churches,” of “priestcraft and hypocrisy continuing their usual course, and debasing still further the minds and characters of the people;” of monks “hurrying to their houses laden with the rewards of divination or mendicity;” that “the Gospel, the glad tidings of great joy, is not freely or faithfully published from their pulpits,” &c., &c. We cannot expect travellers to lay aside the prejudices in which they have been brought up; perhaps it is not unnatural that, being only prejudices, they should be embraced with more tenacity, in proportion to the strong temptation to lay them aside which our author must have experienced in Italy. What we have a right to expect, is truth as to *facts*—a sure, though unintended antidote to the most violent outcries of bigotry. We find this truthfulness in Mr. Geale’s work, however erroneous in his own inferences and constructions; he does not shrink from admitting the excellent results produced by the teaching he complains of; he does justice to the morality of the Italians in their private lives, to the spirit of toleration by which, as he says, “the Italians have always been distinguished;” to the munificence with which the Roman Pontiffs, cardinals, and nobles have “embellished their country;” and to the courteous liberality with which they have invited others to share in their elegant pleasures; to the “gentleness and want of arrogance to inferiors, and love of popularity which have long distinguished the Italians;” to the delight and constancy with which the offices of religion are frequented, the affecting and soothing care which the Church of Rome everywhere manifests to recall to the mind of the traveller the hopes and consolations of his religion; and above all, in page after page, and almost in every city of Italy, we find the hospitals, the charitable institutions, the “untiring

zeal and self-sacrificing devotion" of the monks and clergy, and the charity of the laity, extolled, until our author exclaims: "Why is it, again I would ask, that we only witness these scenes in Roman Catholic countries? Cannot we strike out some machinery consistent with our Protestant principles, that would be equally effective in relieving the distressed, and inculcating our religion? or must we submit to the reproach, that our purer form of Christianity cannot induce Protestants to make the sacrifices which Roman Catholics are everywhere seen to make for the sake of their religion? It is idle to try to explain all this by saying that their religion is a religion of works, ours of faith, for we know that 'faith without works is dead.' " (p. 210.) We wish the effect of these admissions were as palpable to the writer, as we think it will be to all those who remember our Lord's own criterion of judgment.

XX.—*Claudia and Pudens; an attempt to show that Claudia, mentioned in St. Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy, was a British Princess.*
By JOHN WILLIAMS, A.M. Llandovery: Rees, 1848.

A DULL and uninteresting, though erudite, dissertation, on a subject utterly devoid of practical or theoretical utility.

XXI.—*The Month of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ; or a Series of Devotional Practices to honour and prepare for the Birth of the Holy Infant Saviour, with Pious Exercises for the Octaves of the Epiphany and Purification.* Translated from the French, and dedicated to the Holy Infant. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

THIS small and valuable book of devotion is in itself a proof that there is springing up and animating the entire of the Catholic community a new life, a fresh energy, and a great zeal, such as England has not experienced for centuries. It is an unmistakable demonstration that the period of persecution has passed away; that the struggle has ceased when Catholicity was placed on the defensive, and that the time has come when the christian, undisturbed by exterior assaults, can, without fear and as full of hope as of charity, pour forth his aspirations before the altar, rejoice in the presence of the holy Sacrament, and devise, as it were, new modes to express his love for Him who died for all, and his veneration for her who is the refuge and the most powerful intercessor for sinners.

The object of this book is to fix, during the holy season of Advent, the mind of the christian day after day (commencing with the Sixth of December, and ending with the Feast of the Epiphany) upon the mysteries of the Incarnation and Nativity of the Saviour. "The daily entertainment for each day," remarks the author, "which, besides a point of doctrine, includes *reflections, &c.*, is preceded by a *practice* and aspiration, both to render it more conformable to the devotions appointed for other months, as well as to gratify more fervent souls, who never think they can do enough to please their Divine Saviour." To aid this object, the mind is directed each day to the particular state of feeling with which its peculiar devotion should be begun, and persevered with;—thus, for instance, the first day is entitled "a day of confidence," the second "a day of suffering," the third "a day of purity," the fourth "a day of fear," the fifth "a day of zeal," and so on to Christmas Day, which is justly designated "a day of holy joy." The prayers contained in this little book are imbued with the true unction of piety, the practices suggested in it are excellent. It breathes from the commencement to its close an ardent devotion. Happy the souls who attend to its suggestions, and truly good must they be who in every particular can adhere to them. As a little book for Advent, we recommend this to the attention of Catholic families.

XXII.—*Self-destruction of the Protestant Church: or her Articles, Canons, and Book of Prayer giving a death-blow to each other.* Addressed to all those of her Clergy who presume to attack the Catholic Church. By the Rev. JOHN PERRY. London: C. Dolman.

HERE is a little book, containing not more than twenty-four pages, that may be read from beginning to end in about thirty minutes, and to which those to whom it is addressed will not be able in twice thirty years to give anything like a satisfactory answer. What scandal might be saved, and how much of uncharitableness left unwritten and unspoken, if the sanctimonious spouters at Exeter Hall would, instead of attacking the Roman Catholics, devote themselves to the study of this puny-sized pamphlet, and endeavour to give one reasonable, satisfactory, intelligible, and christian-like reply to it!

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

DECEMBER, 1848.

ART. I.—*The Court and Times of Charles the First; illustrated by Authentic and Confidential Letters, Including Memoirs of the Mission in England of the Capuchin Friars in the Service of Queen Henrietta Maria.* Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by the Author of “Memoirs of Sophia Dorothea,” &c. 2 vols. 8vo. London : Colburn, 1848.

EVERY now and then, in comparing the histories of two generations, we unexpectedly stumble upon some odd illustration of the familiar scriptural apothegm, that “there is nothing new under the sun.” Few, for example, except professed theological antiquarians, notwithstanding all we have heard of the Catholic revival in the English church under Laud, will suspect what these curious Memoirs, and especially the “Memoirs of the Capuchins” reveal,—that the remarkable religious movement which has occupied so much attention during the last fifteen years in England, is little more than a literal reproduction of the principles, the parties, and the events, which agitated the Anglican church during the very same years of the seventeenth century, and which arrayed bishops, clergy, and people against each other, with greater bitterness and infinitely more of violence than we ourselves have witnessed.

The mission of these good Capuchins forms an exceedingly curious episode in English history; not indeed of so vital importance and of so mysterious and deep-laid design, as the editor of these Memoirs would fain discover; but yet full of strange interest, and exhibiting

many most remarkable points of coincidence with the events of our own time.

It comes upon one, too, completely by surprise. Few of those who amuse themselves at the expense of the Passionists and Oratorians, recently introduced into England, will be prepared for the startling fact of a numerous community of Capuchin Friars residing openly in the centre of London, for many years of the reign of Charles I.; wearing their strange and striking religious habit without attempt at disguise; officiating publicly in their church; preaching fearlessly on the most exciting topics of popular controversy; and carrying on without reserve their most obvious and offensive devotional practices—at a period when the bloodiest enactments of the penal code were hardly dry upon the page of the statute-book; when, to use the words of one of the first constitutional authorities on English law, “it was treason for a priest to breathe within the land;” when the whole body of the bishops in Ireland declared in a formal protest, that “*to give the Papists a toleration, or to consent that they might freely exercise their religion, was a grievous sin and a matter of most dangerous consequence;*”* and the very walls of the city were placarded with proclamations “against one Smyth, a Popish priest, being a mountebank titular bishop of Chalcedon,” for having, “amongst a company of geese, appeared in his *pontificalibus*, with his horned mitre and crooked crozier.”†

The English historians scarcely allude to the Capuchin mission at all. Even Dr. Lingard, although, with his accustomed precision, he recites the clause of agreement between France and England, under which these friars were admitted to the court, gives us no details of their history; and, until the publication of Miss Strickland’s Life of Henrietta, the circumstances of their mission seem to have been almost entirely unknown. The authority from which she derives her information, is that of Father Cyprian de Gamache, a member of the mission, and its only known historian. The French original of his Narrative is still inedited; but the compiler of the “Memoirs of the Court of Charles I.,” which stand at the head of these

* Memoirs, i. page 230.

+ Ibid, 452,

pages, has appended to the collection of correspondence a translation of this curious and interesting relic. It is to this portion of his volumes alone we mean to address ourselves. The correspondence, in a historical point of view, is exceedingly important. It consists of an immense mass of letters,—some of them official, some familiar, some friendly, some gossiping, some serious,—written for the most part from the scenes of the most important of the events to which they refer, and abounding with minute and curious information regarding their details. At another time we should most gladly devote a portion of our space to this valuable correspondence; but Father Cyprian's Memoir is so much more attractive, that we are compelled to abandon the idea of entering at all into the subject of the Letters.

Father Cyprian's Memoir purports to have been written long after the close of his mission in England, when the author had reached the age of 74; and was undertaken solely as a duty of obedience to the will of his superiors. But lest this circumstance should detract from its credibility, he professes to confine himself chiefly to what fell within his own knowledge, and at all events, to "relate nothing of which he has not a perfect recollection."* He writes with exceeding simplicity and naiveté; and although there are occasional traces of that credulity which often characterises the simple-hearted and unsuspecting, and of that ardent partisanship which generally accompanies strong convictions, yet there is also abundant evidence of great

* We must say, in passing, that we have seldom had occasion to observe anything so narrow, unfair, and illiberal, as the spirit which pervades the editor's notes and observations on the text of the narrative. It is not alone that he starts with, and steadily pursues to the end, the principle of doubting or suspecting this author's veracity. He absolutely accuses him over and over again of deliberate and wilful falsehood, and this without a shadow of evidence, beyond the general impression under which he seems to write, that "these good fathers" did not stick at falsehood when it was necessary to advance the interests of their order. In truth, we have been repeatedly provoked beyond endurance by the cool insolence with which this principle is assumed, and by the silly and meaningless sneers against the writer's veracity, information, or good faith, which form the staple of the editor's running commentary.

good sense, of a kindly and generous disposition, and of no ordinary shrewdness and quick powers of observation.

The Mission of the Capuchins to England originated in the marriage of Charles I. with Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV., and sister of Louis XIII. of France. By the articles of her marriage, it was agreed that she should be permitted the full exercise of her religion in England; and upon her first arrival (1625) she was attended by the celebrated Père (afterwards Cardinal) de Berulle, the founder of the Oratory in France, and by several members of the congregation. On occasion of the unceremonious dismissal of the Queen's French attendants, (July, 1626,) the brethren of the Oratory, (with the exception of two who were retained for the Queen's service till some other provision should be made), shared the fortunes of their countrymen, and were compelled to return to France. This harsh and abrupt measure led to a serious misunderstanding between the courts;* but, after considerable discussion, a mutual compromise was effected, one of the conditions of which secured for the Queen the services of a bishop as almoner, a confessor and companion clergyman, and ten priests, provided they were neither Jesuits nor Oratorians. The exclusion of these orders opened the way for the Capuchins, for whom the Queen herself appears to have entertained a preference, and who were in high favour with the reigning Pontiff, Urban VIII.; and accordingly Father Leonard of Paris was chosen Superior of the Mission, eleven other French fathers being nominated to accompany him and live under his superintendence. The party sailed from Calais on the 24th of February, 1630, and, on their arrival, were installed in the temporary convent which was prepared for them in the immediate vicinity of Somerset House, to which palace the Queen's chapel was attached.†

Besides the Capuchins thus attached to the court,

* For several details of the negotiations regarding it, see vol. i. pp. 152, 162, 134, &c.

† The two Oratorians who had remained in England after the breaking up of the Queen's household, were retained in her service after the arrival of the Capuchins. Their presence at court, and the occasional clashing of their duties, gave rise to some little jealousies between them and the Capuchins, which are not unamusing.

Father Cyprian mentions that there were already in Great Britain five members of the order, three in England and two in Scotland;—all, however, not only unrecognised, but observing the most cautious secrecy. One of these, Father Epiphanius, deserves especial notice. He was of the noble house of Lindsay, being the son of the Earl of Maine, and was a pupil of that Scotch College of Louvain, to which in those days religion at home was so deeply indebted. The description of his missionary life is so interesting and characteristic, and presents so touching a picture of the sad times through which the faith has been kept for us, that we cannot pass it over. He had officiated in the first instance, it would appear, as chaplain in the house of a “gentleman of note;” but his zeal induced him to seek the more difficult and perilous, but in those times, far more important, duties of a wandering missionary:—

“ This request was too just and too charitable not to be granted. The gentleman acquiesced in it, but not without pain: so Father Epiphane departed with the regrets of every one. You will be surprised at the manner in which he equipped himself, and the character which he assumed. On leaving the house of this gentleman, he put on a dress similar to that worn by those among whom he was going to labour. He was going to assist the poor—he dressed himself as a poor man. He was going to give to souls a spiritual pasture—it was requisite to have a shepherd’s dress conformable to that office. He put on a shepherd’s dress, with knapsack, crook, and flageolet, on which he had purposely learned to play. In this humble garb he travelled on foot through all Scotland, visiting the poor Catholics, whom he confessed, said mass, administered the communion to them, exhorting them to perseverance, and bestowing alms on them out of the little that was given to him for his own subsistence. The Catholics of one quarter informed him of those in the neighbourhood to which he was going, and he was furnished with certain marks by those by whom he was sent; and, because the pursuivants were continually on the watch for the apprehension of priests, our shepherd missionary, having recourse to a holy deception, for the purpose of lulling all suspicion in regard to his person, in the evening, in sight of everybody, stopped with the shepherd who was tending his flock, not very far from some place where there was a Catholic house. He made friends with that man, got into conversation with him, played on his flageolet, and then, bidding him farewell, he went, in the darkness of night, to the Catholic house, where he performed all the functions of missionary, and then set out again in the dark to go to others. Is not this an ingenious stratagem? What eyes could

have been sharp enough to discover a priest in this disguise ! Thus it is that charity has these holy and subtle artifices, and that it knows perfectly well how to unite the prudence of the serpent with the simplicity of the dove, for the glory of God and the salvation of its neighbour.

" Having thus visited the poor Catholics dispersed through different provinces of Scotland, he tarried in a district where they were more numerous and more destitute of spiritual assistance. He was content to lodge with poor Catholics in a very mean house, which was offered him, recollecting these words, in which he took great delight,—I am sent to preach the gospel to the poor, and to converse with the lowly." His fare was not different from that of the poor. He lived with them in this northern kingdom, where wheat is rare ; and the table was covered with oatmeal bread only, cheese, skimmed milk, and a little beer, on which he subsisted for many long years, till he became the oldest missionary, having exercised that noble vocation till the age of 84 years."

—vol. ii. pp. 490-2.

Our more immediate concern, however, is with the Capuchins of the Queen's chapel. They applied themselves closely, for twelve months after their arrival, to the study of English ; and at the end of that time were enabled to hear confessions, to catechise, instruct, and even to preach, in that language. And next came a step of great importance in the eyes of these simple-hearted religious :—

" At that time they wore cassocks and long sleeves, like the secular priests, and were extremely desirous to have permission to resume their religious habit. The Reverend Father Leonard asked and obtained it of the Queen, and received orders, at the same time, to make all necessary preparations for public service in the chapel, and for preaching on the Sunday following, which was the third Sunday in Lent. On this agreeable news, they immediately relinquished their cassocks, resumed their Capuchin dress, appeared next day in the chapel, where they celebrated the sacrifice of the mass, and chanted vespers and complains. The Reverend Father Esmé of Beauvais preached with wonderful satisfaction to her majesty. The lesson was concerning a dumb man, which furnished the preacher with occasion to say to the Queen, that if, since the dismissal of the French and the war with France, the preachers were dumb to her majesty's ears, the master of all preachers, the Holy Ghost, had spoken to her heart.

" The rumour of this divine service held by the Capuchins spread over the whole city of London, and drew an innumerable multitude of people of both sexes and religions to the Queen's chapel. The

Catholics looked with joy upon the Capuchins as men sent by heaven to show, in the profession of their life, the truth of the faith which they had received from their ancestors, and who had always boldly maintained it, at the expense of their fortunes, their honour, and their blood. They could not turn their eyes from that dress in which they contemplated the poverty of Jesus Christ, in the humility of the gospel and the contempt of wealth. They compared this simplicity with the luxury of the ministers, and thanked God for having kept them in that religion of which their fathers were genuine professors."—vol. ii. pp. 301-2.

It is exceedingly amusing to read the good father's account of the effect produced upon the minds of those Protestant visitors whom curiosity brought into occasional intercourse with the brethren; how from looking at their strange dress, they came to speak with them, to enquire into their habits of life; how they "*were tamed by degrees,*" and led to enquire into their faith; how amazed they were to find that Catholics did not believe the Pope to be "a god, or some such divinity;" that they were taught "to adore none but God alone," to "flee from rebellion and sedition," and even "to pray for their princes." The effect thus gradually produced by a union of various causes, was very wonderful; and especially after the opening of a new church which the Queen had built in 1636:—

"To satisfy the devotion of the Catholics and the curiosity of the Protestants, who never ceased coming in crowds from all parts to behold this wonder, the report of which had spread in all quarters, from the 8th of December, the day consecrated to the immaculate conception of the most Blessed Virgin, the Queen, with great prudence, ordered the chapel to be left with all its decorations till Christmas.

"This religious and brilliant ceremony was followed by exercises of piety, which her Majesty's Capuchins continued ever afterwards in her chapel. From six o'clock in the morning there were successively masses, and in general communions, till noon. Not a day passed without bringing some penitents to the confessionals. On Sundays and festivals, the throng was so great that one could not get in without great difficulty. Persons were obliged to wait two or three hours before they could enter a confessional. On those days a controversial lecture was held from one o'clock till two, immediately before vespers, which the Capuchins and the musicians, placed in two galleries opposite to each other, sang alternately. When vespers were finished, the preacher mounted the

pulpit, and preached for the space of an hour or three-quarters on the gospel of the day, touching occasionally upon certain controversial points, to confirm the Catholics in their faith, and to draw Huguenots thither. Compline was then sung. Then followed various conferences, some of piety with Catholics, others of religion with the Sectaries, who came eagerly to be instructed in our creed, and to have their doubts resolved.

"The Christian doctrine was publicly taught in French and English on three different days in each week. Every Thursday there were expounded in French for the French all the symbols of the faith, the commandments of God and of the Church, the Sacrament, the Lord's Prayer, the way to confess and communicate properly, and to pass the day in a christian manner: and for the English the same things were taught in their language every Wednesday and Saturday. The Capuchin employed in this holy duty first catechised all the children, who were very numerous, and then held a short discourse, expatiating upon the great gratitude which they owed to God for all the benefits which they had received from him, and particularly for their vocation to the Catholic religion, as it was really true that there was no salvation for those who are separated from it, and die in that unhappy separation. This touched the Protestants who attended those lectures. Conceiving this proposition to be false, they wished to inform themselves more solidly and more at leisure of the reasons and grounds in private conferences, in which they were convinced of this truth, afterwards renounced their errors, and desired to be reconciled to the Catholic Church, which their forefathers had criminally forsaken."—vol. ii. pp. 314-15.

"The multitude of converted Huguenots was so great, that the number of the Catholics who came to the Queen's chapel was such, that they never entered or left it but in a crowd. While some were within, attending the august sacrifice, the others were waiting at the door. There was a continual ebb and flood of people from six in the morning till twelve at noon; and the King, looking at them from a window of the Queen's palace, and by his silence approving of their devotion, seemed to condemn the unjust laws of the Parliament against the Catholics, who are in fact the most faithful and the best subjects of kings, from the principles of their creed, which oblige them to pray for them, for their family, and for their State.

"Not a week passed but there were two or three conversions of Huguenots, who renounced heresy, and embraced the orthodox faith. The exercises of the Catholic religion, to which I have adverted, flourished with such success, both in and out of the Queen's chapel, that zealous persons could not behold them without transports of joy."—vol. ii. p. 343.

It is curious, too, to observe the various shades of

opinion and feeling with which they came into contact in their intercourse with Protestants. The position of parties in the Church, (we do not, of course, refer to the Independents and other motley dissenters, but to the professing members of the Church), was strikingly analogous to what it has been within our own experience. The Low-church, it is true, was infinitely lower than it is at present ; its views were more extreme, and urged with far more violence ; but in reading these Memoirs, and still more some of the letters comprised in the correspondence,—the debates on Arminianism, on ceremonies, on the rubric, &c.,—we can fancy ourselves engaged with the views of the modern Evangelicals. And the High-church men of that day, while they united, as now, in maintaining church authority against dissenters, were split up into the same sections which have appeared in our time. There was a “Catholic movement” then, as there has been now. Mr. Secretary Windebank told the nuncio, Panzani, that he “claimed to be a Catholic, and would bid adieu to all that was dear to him to purchase that title.”* The “Surplice controversy” was as fiercely debated as in our time, with this difference, that the use of it was far more rigidly enforced. Church-restoring and church-decoration were warmly and zealously carried on. Foreign works of devotion by Catholic authors, were translated into English, with some slight adaptation, and circulated even with authority ;† to such a length was the love of ceremonial carried, that one of the writers in the correspondence amuses himself at the expense of Cosin (afterwards bishop) of Durham, who not content, like modern ceremonialists, with placing candlesticks on the communion-table, “could not read even-song on Candlemas-Day with less than three hundred and forty candles, whereof sixty were placed on the high altar.”—(Vol. i. p. 555.)

* See “Memoirs of Panzani’s Nunciature in England in 1634-6,” translated by the well-known Rev. Joseph Berington, page 160.

- † Thus St. Francis De Sales’ *Devout Life*, with the words *Divine Service* substituted for *Mass*, was published with the license of the Primate Laud. But afterwards, to rid himself of the charge of popish leanings, he recalled this license. (Strafford Papers, ii. 174.) Is this the model on which the modern adaptations have been made ?

The Sermons and other publications, too, were of the same scope and character. There was a prototype for Dr. Pusey's Sermon on the Eucharist, (Vol. i. p. 95); and for his Sermon on Penance, (Vol. ii. p. 332); for Dr. Todd's Lectures on Antichrist, (*Ibid.*); for Mr. Christie's Tract on Virginity;* and a hundred similar publications. There were popular preachers, like Dr. Hook, who vehemently insisted on the use of ceremonies in the church; who openly advocated the doctrine of the Sacrifice, and declared that altars entered into the very essence of Christian worship, (p. 332). An attempt was made, as in the celebrated Tract 90. (though, unlike Tract 90, it emanated from the Catholic side), to prove the compatibility of the Anglican Articles with the definitions of the Council of Trent. "A bishop," (Goodman of Gloucester), "preached Transubstantiation, or near it, before the King."—(Vol. i. p. 95). And, as if to complete this curious parallel, the bigots of that day were startled out of all propriety, as our own have been, by the appearance of an Envoy from the Holy See in England; and, what is a still more strange coincidence, the office was held in the first instance by an ecclesiastic, though afterwards, as was done in the last Session of our own Parliament, it was transferred to a layman, Count Rossetti, as a less suspicious and unpalatable organ of papal interference.

On the subject of the Roman Church, too, there was the same diversity of opinion among Anglicans. There were Romanizers and Anti-Romans. The Anti-Romans of Land's day held precisely the views which have since been developed in Mr. Palmer's *Treatise of the Church*, or Dr. Wordsworth's *Destructive Character of the Church of Rome*; and the "Romanizers" split up into the very same divisions which we ourselves witnessed in 1842-3. Some, while they admitted the "privileges" of Rome, and agreed that salvation was attainable within her communion, yet clung to what we have heard explained as the "branch theory," and held that salvation was equally attainable in the Anglican Church, "which agreed with the Romish in all fundamental points," (p. 334.) Others, on the contrary, looked towards "unity" as the great deside-

* There is a most amusing criticism of a Sermon on Virginity preached by Dr. Dee, in vol. i. 230.

ratum in a Christian Church ; and while they professed their unchangeable allegiance to that in which they had been baptized, and perhaps ordained ministers, yet wished to bring it so near to the Roman Church that a union should ensue almost imperceptibly, (p. 317) ; and encouraged those who were unsettled in their belief of Anglicanism to remain in the English Church, by the assurance that they would soon see it united with Rome.* And unhappily, too, the good Capuchin suggests another more melancholy feature of the parallel to which we have already alluded : but which we would gladly abstain from carrying out to the full extent ; that they [the Capuchins] were “much visited by Protestant ministers, who conversed familiarly with them ; willingly listened to the reasons of their belief ; enquired concerning their ceremonies ; came to the Queen’s chapel to learn the practice of them ; admitted that the Catholic was the true Church ; but, withheld by the consideration of their benefices and their wives, imagined they could be saved in the Protestant Church, having, they said, the same fundamental points as the Church of Rome.” (page 333.)

But the “union”-party appears to have been more numerous, more influential, and much more active than in our day. Father Cyprian, though he refers to the existence of this party, and had been in communication with many of its members, (p. 317,) yet gives hardly any particulars of their proceedings ; but the reader will find abundant details in the rare and curious volume already referred to, “Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, Nuncio in England in the years 1634-6,” with whom the negotiations were chiefly conducted. They are so very curious, and so little known, that we cannot refrain from noticing the most important facts supplied by Panzani.

The leader of the movement on the Anglican side—or at least the person who appeared most active in the negotiation with Panzani—was Bishop Montague of Chichester. We may judge the lengths to which matters had proceeded, when we learn that, in his first interview with the Nuncio, he “expressed a strong desire that the breach between the churches should be repaired. and apprehend-

* Panzani’s Memoirs, page 244.

ed no danger from their publishing the scheme as things then stood." He said he had frequently made it the subject of his most serious thoughts, and had diligently considered all the requisites of a union; adding, that he was satisfied both the Archbishops, with the Bishop of London and several others of the episcopal order, besides a great number of the learned inferior clergy, were prepared to fall in with a union with the Church of Rome, as to a supremacy purely spiritual; and that there was no other method of ending controversies than by having recourse to some centre of ecclesiastical unity. That, for his part, he knew no tenet of the Church of Rome to which he was not willing to subscribe, unless it were the article of Transubstantiation, which word he had reason to think was invented by Pope Innocent III., after the Council of Lateran was risen. He observed, he had some scruples about communion under one kind; but, as for particular points, he thought the best method would be to choose moderate men deputies on both sides, to draw up the differences in as small a compass as possible, and confer about them."^{*} At the close of the conference Bishop Montague told Panzani, that he would take the earliest opportunity of speaking to the Primate [Laud] on the subject, but insinuated that "he was a cautious man, who would make no advances unless well protected." In a subsequent conference he assured him, that there were but three bishops who were violent against Rome.—Moreton of Durham, Davenant of Salisbury, and Hall of (another coincidence) Exeter. The rest he said were moderate.[†] He declared, too, that he had no objection that the world should know that they were going over to the Church of Rome; and that if the Nuncio had known what the state of affairs was ten years before, the change which had since taken place would make him believe the union perfectly practicable. He concluded by solemnly declaring, that "both he and many of his brethren were prepared to conform themselves to the method and discipline of the Gallican Church, where the civil rights are well guarded; and as to the aversion which is discovered in their sermons and printed books, they are only things of form, thrown in chiefly to humour the populace, and not much to be regarded."[‡]

^{*} pp. 237 8.[†] p. 246.[‡] p. 248.

In a word, so favourable did all the circumstances appear, that a report of these conferences was transmitted to Rome, and was there received with the utmost satisfaction. Panzani, in obedience to the instructions which he received, held more than one similar conference with the bishop; but like every project of the same character, from the days of the Council of Florence downwards, it eventually fell to the ground. Although there could be no doubt of Bishop Montague's own feelings—although he had declared his readiness to make public his views and opinions on the subject of union, and had assured the Nuncio of the favourable dispositions of the majority of the bishops and the more learned clergy, yet it does not appear ever to have been communicated, either in public or in private, to any considerable number in the Church, and at all events never was seriously entertained by any responsible body among them.

But happily also, besides these sanguine and speculative lovers of union, there were then, as there have been in our days, many for whom their own individual salvation was the first and most urgent consideration; and who, convinced of the hollowness or the impracticability of these aspirations after union, consulted for their own security by the only safe and certain course—reconciling themselves to the church through the ministry of the good Capuchins. The zealous Vincent of Beauvais may easily be taken as the “Father Dominic” of the movement of the seventeenth century; and the curious reader may amuse himself by finding parallels, among the converts of our own day, for the Doctor Vane and other converts, lay and clerical, to whom Father Cyprian refers. It would carry us far beyond our limits, however, to enter into a detail even of the most remarkable conversions enumerated by Father Cyprian. But we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of transcribing the following extract, which forcibly reminds us, in some particulars, of what is every day passing under our eyes.

“Prince William of Nassau, son of the Prince of Orange, having come to England to seek Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of King Charles I., in marriage, Dr. Vane, almoner, otherwise chaplain to his majesty, one of the ablest and most eminent of his divines, was appointed to preach before that young prince in a large apartment in Somerset House. The Queen's chapel was very near to it. Father Cyprien of Gamache was then preaching there, and saw the

minister familiarly, manifested great friendship for him, conversed with him mildly on the diversity of religions, one of which only was the true one ; proved, by strong reasons, that this true religion was that of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish Church. The minister admitted that one might certainly be saved in it, but that salvation was not excluded from the Protestant Church, which agreed with the Romish in all those fundamental points. He was told in reply that the Sacraments are fundamental points, and particularly the Lord's Supper, in which the two religions are opposed : and since it was admitted, that certain points were fundamental, and not others, all that God has revealed and that is proposed by the Holy Church belongs alike to the faith, and must be alike believed by true believers. These reasons, and several others, threw the minister into great agitation ; but worldly interests, the revenues of several benefices, which he must have lost on embracing the Catholic religion, induced him to continue in the Protestant.

"A few months afterwards he fell so sick that he expected to die. All the conferences which had passed on the subject of religion then recurred to his mind. He made serious reflections upon them ; weighed with great care the reasons adduced in favour of the Church of Rome ; and finally, being convinced that it was the only true one, he sent at night to beg Father Cyprien to come to see him. On his arrival, 'Father,' said he, 'our conferences, with the grace of God, have enlightened my mind. I doubt no longer that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church is the true one. I am resolved to live and die in it. I believe all that it believes, and reject and condemn all that it condemns. I will make, if you please, the profession to you.' After some instructions on so important a subject, he confessed with a strong feeling of grief, received absolution of his heresy and of his other sins ; and the following night, according to his desire, the Holy Communion and extreme unction were administered to him.

"Instead of dying in these holy dispositions, as it was wished, being so well prepared, he recovered his health, preached in his parish, with the permission of his confessor, a thoroughly Catholic sermon, which deprived him of all his temporal goods, and banished him from England. His wife, and his children, after several refusals, followed him in his conversion and banishment. They live with him in Paris, where he wrote an English book, intituled 'The Stray Sheep Returned to the Fold,' which has made a great number of Catholics in England. In order to subsist, theology being thenceforth useless to him, he applied with ardour to the study of medicine, took his doctor's degree, and, when he had begun to support himself by that profession, God purposing, as we may believe, to bestow upon him a happier life, sent a fever which consigned him to the grave, after receiving all the Sacraments of the Church, exhibiting many acts of contrition, rendering devout thanks to the Divine Majesty for having called him to the Catho-

lic, Apostolic, and Roman religion. He left a disconsolate wife and several children, of whom Providence took such care that they are all well provided for : some in honourable offices in certain religious orders ; others are employed in the court of England ; and his wife is married again to a gentleman of piety and condition, to whom she shows equal respect and love, and by whom she is reciprocally so fondly loved, that their union may serve for a perfect model to married people.

" Two other young ministers, who were not yet married, came frequently to walk in our garden. They usually addressed themselves to me, expressed pleasure with our conversations, which were frequently upon religion. After several very civil disputes, several altercations, several objections and replies, at length, grace operating within them, both acknowledged that the Roman was the true Church, in which salvation was to be sought ; and that, the Church being but one, the Protestant opposed to the Roman could be but a sect in reality, and a Church in appearance, from which salvation was shut out for all those who lived and died in its profession. These two ministers, therefore, renounced it, forsook its creed, embraced the faith of the Romish Church, and made a solemn profession of it, went to France, and, after some studies, and long exercises of piety, received holy orders, were both priests, celebrated the holy mass for the space of seven or eight years, laboured charitably for the conversion of souls, gained for the Church several of their countrymen who were in Paris, and then disease removed them both, one after the other, from this miserable life, to put them in possession of one infinitely happier in heaven, as we may reasonably judge."—vol. ii. pp. 334-6.

Yet another parallel.

" It was afterwards wonderful to see the fervour of all these new converts, who shamed the cowardice of ancient Catholics, and who strikingly proved, in their holy examples, the truth of those words of our Lord, *Erunt novissimi primi*—‘ The last shall be first ; ’ being gained last for the service of God, by their fervent exercises they shall, in a short time, make greater progress in virtue, and advance much further in perfection than the others have done in the course of many years. The minister, his wife, and his children, came separately with great assiduity, on Sundays and holidays, to the sacrifice of the mass, to vespers, to complies. We put the minister into a particular place, where he could see and hear the priest at the altar, without being himself seen by anybody ; his wife, who had her face masked and muffled up in a scarf, entered the Church with reverence, but freely, and took her place with the other women. Their devotion was great to the most Holy Eucharist, which they received every month, and on all high festivals, with an extraordinary sense of the awfulness of that august sacrament and

of their own unworthiness. After leading this praiseworthy life for four or five years, they ended it by a happy death. Of the whole family, two children only were left, who thanked God every day for the mercies which they had received from his goodness; and particularly for the favour of their vocation to the Catholic Church."—vol. ii. p. 443.

We have often heard of the following deception being employed for less pious purposes than those intended by the Capuchin Fathers. The author refers to one of the recent converts, who died soon after his being received into the Church.

" His funeral was accompanied with some remarkable circumstances. You must know that in London there are but two Catholic cemeteries belonging to the two churches of the Queen, wherein are interred none but their officers and servants, of both sexes, who die in the faith of the Church of Rome. The other Catholics are buried by the ministers in the cemeteries of the Protestants, after the priests who attend them at their death have blessed some mould, put it into the coffin with the body, said prayers, and performed secretly all the other usual ceremonies of the Church. The gentleman whom I am speaking of had a great desire to be buried in the cemetery of the Queen's Chapel. He begged of me to solicit this favour of her Majesty, who cheerfully assented. To prevent the notice which this action might excite, the body was conveyed at night in a carriage, we received it into our church, and did all that the Romish ritual prescribes for the burial of the dead. All this was to be kept quite secret; otherwise, the ministers would have made a great noise, the people would have been strongly excited, and great complaints, very prejudicial to the English Catholics, and especially to the family of the deceased gentleman, would have been made to the King.

" To prevent this mischief, his relations and friends resolved to have a coffin, to put into it stones and other things of the weight of a body, to make the ministers believe that the remains of their relation were enclosed in it. So this coffin was carried solemnly to the Protestant church, in a hearse, with pomp and magnificence, with flags and the sound of trumpets. All that is done at the most expensive funerals was observed at this;—several ministers, a large assembly, a great number of gentlemen and other persons of quality, a funeral discourse in praise of the deceased, by one of the most eminent preachers, who apostrophized the stones under the idea that he was addressing the body of the deceased."—vol. ii. p. 342.

The fortunes of the Capuchin Fathers were of course bound up in those of the Queen whom they served. On

her withdrawal to Holland, in 1640, their chapel was closed, and they themselves placed under restraint; and although, after her return, their condition was somewhat relieved, yet they shared in the persecution in which every thing bearing the name of catholic was involved; and on the Queen's final departure from England, in 1644, they were thrown into prison for a time, but in the end were banished from the kingdom.

We shall not pain our readers by any extracts from Father Cyprian's account of the horrors of that unhappy period. He himself survived his banishment from England for many years; and on the Queen (Mother's) visit to the court of Charles II., for the purpose of arranging the marriage of her daughter Henriette with the Duke of Orleans, he was one of her most trusted attendants. We can only find room for a single extract, which is not unamusing. We have ourselves more than once been witness of contentions not very dissimilar in their character.

"During the whole time that the Queen abode in London in the King's house, for the space of three months, there was but one table for the King, for the Queen, for the Duke and the Duchess of York, for the Princess of Orange before her death, for her sister, Madame Henriette, and for the Prince Palatine Robert [Rupert], son of the King of Bohemia. The dishes being placed on the table, one of the King's ministers [chaplain] said a short prayer in the English language: immediately afterwards I began the *benedicite*, which those royal personages heard standing and with reverence. This practice is not observed in the Queen's household, though the King, her son, and the Duke and Duchess of York, protestants, were at table: the minister [chaplain] was not there, and the Queen's priests alone pronounced the benediction. It happened one day, in the King's house, that the dishes were upon table and their Majesties ready for dinner: the minister and I, being at some distance, strove to get nearer in haste, but the people who filled the rooms prevented us from advancing. We were obliged to use some violence, in which the minister fell. The noblemen and gentlemen about the King then began to laugh and jeer, and say aloud that the minister was upset, knocked down, floored, and the priest victorious."—vol. ii. p. 420.

Having introduced the reader thus briefly to what we cannot help thinking an exceedingly interesting by-piece of polemical history, it will hardly be necessary to refer him to these simple Memoirs of Father Cyprian for any

additional particulars regarding it, which he may desire to learn. There is one practical lesson to be drawn from its pages. The total failure of the remarkable movement towards a union with Rome, commenced within the Anglican Church at that period, is a signal and warning example of the hopelessness of such negotiations. With the melancholy evidence of the short-lived union of the Greeks and Latins at the Council of Florence—of the conferences at Ratisbon under Paul III.—of the abortive efforts of Cassander and Wicelius, under the Emperor Ferdinand—of the conference at Thorn—the mission of Spinola—the correspondence of Bossuet with Leibnitz and Molanus, as so many monuments of the impracticability of general projects of union, it was but a dazzling self-deceit to hope for success in a negotiation undertaken at a time of such excitement, and under circumstances in every way so unfavourable; and those lovers of catholic unity, who were truly wise, chose rather then, as they have done now, to consult for the security of their own individual salvation, than to pursue the brilliant, but unsubstantial, phantom of theoretic union of the churches.

Art. II.—1. *The Irish Relief Measures, Past and Future.* By G. POULETT SCROPE, M. P. London : Ridgway, 1848.

2. *A Plea for the Rights of Industry in Ireland. Being the substance of Letters which recently appeared in the Morning Chronicle, with Additions.* By G. POULETT SCROPE, Esq. M. P. London : Ridgway, 1848.
3. *The Rights of Industry; or the Social Problem of the Day, as exemplified in France, Ireland, and Britain.* By G. POULETT SCROPE, M. P. Ridgway, 1848.
4. *A Plea for Peasant Proprietors; with the Outlines of a Plan for their establishment in Ireland.* By WILLIAM THOMAS THORNTON, Author of "Over-population, and its Remedy." London : Murray, 1848.
5. *Principles of Political Economy, with some of their Applications to Social Economy.* By JOHN STUART MILL. London : Parker, 1848.

6. *Copy of the Sixth Report of the Copyhold Commissioners to her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department. Pursuant to the Act of 3 & 4 Vict. c. 35, s. 3. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, 1848.*
7. *11 & 12 Vict. c. 48, An Act to facilitate the Sale of encumbered Estates in Ireland.*
8. *11 & 12 Vict. c. 153 (Local and Personal) An Act for the Establishment of the Farmers' Estate Society of Ireland.*
9. *Report from the Select Committee on the Farmers' Estate Society (Ireland) Bill ; together with the Minutes of Evidence taken before them. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 25th of July, 1848.*
10. *11 & 12 Vict. c. 120, An Act to facilitate the Transfer of Landed Property in Ireland.*
11. *11 & 12 Vict. c. 132, An Act for the Appointment of Additional Taxing Masters for the High Court of Chancery in Ireland, and to regulate the Appointment of the Principal Assistants to the Masters in the Superior Courts of Law in Ireland.*

PRETENSIONS to profound philosophical and statesmanlike views, at variance with the received notions of plain ordinary mortals, have been the curse of the empire, and especially of this island. For years past, every heartless noodle who aimed at attaining the character of a profound philosophical and statesmanlike writer or speaker on our affairs, has so uniformly expatiated on the superabundance of our numbers, that by force of constant and uncontradicted repetition, the notion that we are too many by millions has become part of the popular faith of Great Britain, is at the root of every legislative expedient proposed for our relief, and acts as one of the direct causes of the clearance system. The excuse for these pretenders is to be found in the fact, that for the last half-century any one who made a parade of the terms of political economy, pointed out the inscrutable ethnological distinctions between Celts and Saxons, collocated mysterious algebraical formulæ and columnæ of statistics, and deduced therefrom some proposition as to the necessity of extirpating some millions of "surplus," at once established his reputation amongst the *philosophers* of England. Not the least sympathy did the scribblers and prattlers express for the unhappy beings who were the objects of their ruthless proscription. They regarded them as mere brutes, who might be disposed of in the same manner as any other

part of the animal kingdom'; and if it could be proved that the landlords, who, it is only fair to presume, from their great pre-eminence over their victims, are a special creation of Providence, would be enriched or accommodated by their removal or extirpation, there seemed to be no other light in which the question was susceptible of argument. Let us not be misunderstood as expressly dissenting from the philosophical correctness of these views. Celts may possibly have no title to better treatment than the brute creation. Negroes have for centuries, with the approbation of many wise, learned, and pious men, been so treated; and what essential difference can be supposed to arise from the accident that our complexions are a little lighter? So long as we, like the Negroes, submit to the treatment, statesmen, philosophers, and, may we add, divines, cannot be expected to disturb the settled order of things, by pointing out to our owners the moral, political, or religious impropriety of their conduct. Some of our countrymen fancy that they discover in the lucubrations of philosophical speculators upon this subject, a slight tinge of national antipathy. But that is a mistake. The pretenders to deep thinking are above all human prejudices. The weal or woe of millions—Celt or Saxon—"Tros Tyriusve"—is to them a matter of indifference; and, in fact, they rise to the culminating point of self-admiration only when they so completely divest themselves of all the vulgar notions about humanity, christian charity, &c., &c., as, in the language of Burke, "to look on a generation of human beings as on a frog in an air-pump."

As it would be a waste of time and space to discuss speculative abstractions with such people, upon assumptions of what might, could, should, would, or ought to have resulted, if so and so and so and so had been the case, we think it best to dispose of them by calling attention to plain matters of fact, about which there can be no controversy. Now, if the superabundance of our numbers be the cause of our misery, it follows that if we were fewer we should be happier. But what does history say? At the close of the last war in the reign of Elizabeth, the total number of souls did not, according to Moryson, exceed 700,000. Sir William Petty estimated them previous to 1641 at 1,466,000, and in 1672 at 1,100,000. After the Revolution of 1688 they were found, according to Captain

South's estimate, taken in 1695, to have fallen to 1,034,102. They have been estimated since then as follows:

in 1712 at 2,099,094	in 1726 at 2,309,106
in 1731 at 2,010,221	in 1754 at 2,372,634
in 1777 at 2,690,556	in 1788 at 4,040,000
in 1792 at 4,088,226	in 1805 at 5,395,456
in 1814 at 5,937,056	in 1821 at 6,801,827

in 1831 at 7,767,401,* and three years ago they were said to be over 8,000,000.

Now, what was the condition of the population when its numbers were only an eighth or a fourth of what they are at present? As the miseries endured by it up to the Restoration may be considered as the necessary results of a state of warfare, we shall notice its condition only since that period. From the Restoration to the Revolution it was declared to be the most improved and improving spot of ground in Europe. But in William's time, when the population had fallen off nearly 100,000, so wretched was it, that thousands died annually of famine. In the three subsequent reigns, the people continued equally wretched. Swift's works are full of lamentations on the subject. He says the country was then, not an island of saints, but of beggars; that "at least five children in six who are born lie a dead weight for want of employment;" and that "above one-half of the souls in this kingdom supported themselves by beggary and thievery, two-thirds whereof would be able to get their bread in any other country upon earth."† In 1729 he says there were "a round million of creatures in human figure, whose whole subsistence, put into a common stock, would leave them in debt £2,000,000 sterling, adding those who are beggars by profession to the bulk of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, with the wives and children, who are beggars in effect." "In the list of beggars," he again says, "I reckon all cottagers, labourers, and four-fifths of the farmers." The hideous wretchedness of the people at that time may be conceived from the circumstance of his suggesting as a "remedy for this one individual kingdom of Ireland, and for no other that ever was, is, or, I think, can be upon earth"—and

* See *Monthly Chronicle* for November, 1839, p. 442, Article on "Ireland—Emigration—Employment."

† *Maxims Controled in Ireland.*

foreigners believing the suggestion serious,—that, of the 120,000 children which he computed to be annually born of poor parents, 20,000 should be reserved for breeding, and the remaining 100,000 be sold at a year old for food “to the persons of quality and fortune through the kingdom,” as it was utterly impossible otherwise to provide for them.* Then, as to the grown-up persons, he states: “Some persons of a desponding spirit are in great concern about that vast number of poor people who are aged, diseased, or maimed; and I have been desired to employ my thoughts upon what course may be taken to ease the nation of so grievous an encumbrance. But I am not in the least pain about that matter, because it is very well known that they are every day dying and rotting by cold, and famine, and filth, and vermin, as fast as can be reasonably expected. And as for the young labourers, they are now in almost as hopeful a condition; they cannot get work, and consequently pine away for want of nourishment to a degree that if at any time they are accidentally put to common labour, they have not strength to perform it; and thus the country and themselves are happily delivered from the evils to come;” and winds up with a query which is too applicable to the present time to be omitted: “I desire those politicians who dislike my overture, that they will ask the parents of those mortals whether they would not at this day think it a great happiness to have been sold for food at a year old in the manner I prescribe, and thereby have avoided such a perpetual scene of misfortunes as they have since gone through by the oppression of landlords, the impossibility of paying rent without money or trade, the want of common sustenance, with neither house nor clothes to cover them from the inclemencies of the weather, and the most inevitable prospect of entailing the like or greater miseries upon their breed for ever?” In a Sermon on the “Causes of the wretched condition of Ireland,” he remarks: “Another cause of this nation’s misery, is that Egyptian bondage of cruel, oppressing, covetous landlords, expecting all who live under them should make bricks without straw;

* “A Modest Proposal for preventing the children of poor people in Ireland from being a burden to their parents or country, and for making them beneficial to the public.”

who grieve and envy when they see a tenant of their own in a whole coat, or able to afford one comfortable meal in a month ; by which the spirits of the people are broken and made fit for slavery ; the farmers and cottagers being almost through the whole kingdom, to all intents and purposes, as real beggars as any of those to whom we give our charity in the street. And these cruel landlords are every day unpeopling the kingdom, by forbidding their miserable tenants to till the earth, against common reason and justice, and contrary to the practice and prudence of all other nations ; by which numberless families have been forced either to leave the kingdom, or stroll about and increase the numbers of our thieves and beggars.” In the “Miserable State of Ireland,” he complains that large tracts of land were kept in pasture, while there were “thousands of poor wretches who think themselves happy if they can obtain a hut worse than the squire’s dog-kennel, and an acre of ground for a potato-plantation, on condition of being as very slaves as any in America. What can be more deplorable than to see wretches starving in the midst of plenty !”

In 1729, when the “Modest Proposal” was published, the scarcity of food was so great, that an Act of Parliament was proposed to stop the distilleries. The importation of corn for the eighteen months ending on the 29th of September in that year, amounted to £274,000 — “an amazing sum, compared with the circumstances of the kingdom at that period.”* In one year 17,000 persons died in Dublin of famine, or the diseases arising from the want of proper food. From the Revolution to 1762, a great portion of the people lived on imported corn. In that year the importation first ceased. A few years later we began, and have since continued, to export ; the famines gradually became less frequent and severe ; and since the commencement of this century till 1845, the people were infinitely more comfortable, and more secure of the means of subsistence, than at any previous period since the Revolution. How can these facts be reconciled with the theory, that our numbers are the cause of our misery ?

* See “The Commercial Restraints of Ireland considered, in a series of Letters to a Noble Lord ;” (Dublin, 1779), supposed to have been written by the celebrated John Heley Hutchinson, p. 45.

The idea of the necessity of emigration is by no means so novel as the pretenders to philosophical views fancy. From the reign of Elizabeth, the voluntary or compulsory emigration of the people has been going on. Sir John Davies, the Attorney-general of James I. in this country, complains that one of the consequences of coynage and livery was the “ depopulation, banishment, and extirpation of the better sort of subjects ; and that the vulgar sort have chosen to be beggars in forraign countries, rather than to manure their fertile fields at home.” In Cromwell’s time, thousands were deported to the colonies ; and the tradition of “ Connaught or hell” suggests ideas of emigration on a most extensive scale. The laws passed in the reign of William, putting an end to our woollen manufactures, forced the manufacturers to emigrate in great numbers. Twenty thousand left the country at once. When the manufacturers were thrown out of employment, and forced to emigrate, the demand for agricultural produce diminished ; and this, with other circumstances to which we shall presently allude, compelled the farmers to convert their tillage land to pasture. The agricultural labourers were thus thrown out of employment, and there was consequently, in modern cant, “ a redundancy of labourers in proportion to the cultivated land.” They, too, had to emigrate. From the commencement of the last century up to the breaking out of the American war, so great was the tide of emigration, that the government were frequently engaged in devising measures to stop it, lest the country might be entirely depopulated ;* and so great was it even during the war, that some English public men feared that the consequence of continued misgovernment would be, that the nation would emigrate en masse.† After the war, however, the opposite idea became the ruling principle of the upper classes, and thinning the numbers of the people was looked upon as so easy and ready a measure for relieving the anxiety of their masters, that every opportunity was taken for carrying it into practice ; and when praedial outrages were committed in a district, the legislature, as

* See Primate Boulter’s Correspondence, *passim*.

† See the Speech of Lord Viscount Townshend on the Marquis of Rockingham’s Motion, May 11th, 1779.

ready with repressive, and as dilatory with remedial, measures then as now, did not hesitate to authorize the government officers to transport all whom they suspected, without any form of trial. Since then emigration has been increasing year after year, but it is found, in fact, to be not of the slightest possible advantage to those who remain behind.* How, then, can any one, with these facts before him, venture to say that the depopulation of the country is the cure for its evils? Surely it was more feasible, and apparently more necessary, when we were importing, than it can be now, when we are exporting, provisions, yet is there a Malthusian so rabid as to contend that a population of a million is excessive for this island?

The observations of the Poor Law Inquiry Commissioners had a great effect for a time in maintaining the delusion as to the necessity of emigration. They said that, comparing the cultivated land in this country with the cultivated land in England, and the number of agricultural labourers in each, the labourers here were as five to two to those in England, and therefore even if the most improved system of cultivation were adopted, there would still be a superabundance of labourers in relation to the means of employment, and that consequently emigration was the only resource for the surplus. This theory was founded on the fallacy, that the large farm system of England was the best possible system of agriculture, and upon the gross and unpardonable ignorance of the relative effect of tillage and pasture on the labour market. Soon after the appearance of this theory, we found the following commentary upon it in an English periodical publication. The writer, after showing from the reports of the commissioners that the average number of men employed throughout the country was one man to every seven acres ploughed, and to every thirty in grass, says: "Hence it follows, that if there be 200 acres of land this year in tillage, there will be more than twenty-eight men required to cultivate them, and if they be changed next year to pasture, there will not be seven men required; or, if they should belong to one proprietor, one man may be sufficient for the 200 acres,

* See the proofs of this in De Beaumont's work, "Ireland, Political, Social, and Religious." London, 1839.

and the remaining twenty-seven be cast off as superabundant. There lies the whole art and mystery of the relations of labour and employment in Ireland." "And again," he observes, "according to this theory, if the landlords were universally to eject all their tenantry, to convert all their lands to pasture, and not to leave an inhabitant to the square league, there would be still a superabundant population; i. e., '*an excess of labourers above the means of employment.*'"^{*} The folly of such a notion which must have prevailed a century back, is so admirably exposed by Swift, in his own imitable way, carrying out the absurdity to its ultimate consequences, that we cannot refrain from quoting:

"The profitable land of this kingdom is, I think, usually computed at 17,000,000 of acres, all of which I propose to be wholly turned to grazing. Now it is found by experience, that one grazier and his family can manage 2,000 acres. Thus, 16,800,000 acres may be managed by 8,400 families; and the fraction of 200,000 acres will be more than sufficient for cabins, outhouses, and potato-gardens; because, it is to be understood that corn of all sorts must be sent to us from England. These 8,400 families may be divided among the four provinces according to the number of houses in each province; and making the usual allowance of eight to a family, the number of inhabitants will amount to 67,200 souls. To these we are to add a standing army of 20,000 English, which, together with their trulls, their bastards, and their horse-boys, will, by a gross computation, very nearly double the count, and be very sufficient for the defence and grazing of the kingdom, as well as to enrich our neighbours, expel popery, and keep out the pretender. And lest the army should be at a loss for business, I think it would be very prudent to employ them in collecting the public taxes, for paying themselves and the civil list. I advise that all our owners of these lands should live constantly in England in order to learn politeness, and qualify themselves for employments; but for fear of increasing the natives in this island, an annual draught according to the number born every year be exported to whatever place will bear the carriage, or transplanted to the English dominions of the American continent, as a screen between his majesty's English subjects and the savage Indians."[†]

What a commentary is this upon the speculations upon clearance and colonization now afloat!

* Monthly Chronicle, November 1839, Art. 6.

† Answer to the craftsman.

In fact, the surplus theory is advocated only by the landlords, who fancy that they have an interest in clearing, by knaves, who think they can attain some remote object by supporting it, and by noodles who are thankful for any idea that smacks of an acquaintance with the elements of social institutions, and take their politics, religion, and every thing else that requires an exercise of the reasoning faculties, on trust. It was denounced by Cobbett, refuted by Revans and Blacker, and repudiated by the able authors of the Digest of the reports of the Devon Commission. Commissary-General Heurtson, when employed last year on the relief commission, notwithstanding the mass of misery which he witnessed in every direction, could not avoid telling the government that “if industrious habits be established, and the waste lands taken into cultivation, it is very doubtful whether there be any surplus population, or even whether it be equal to the demand.”* Thornton shows that the population of the Channel Islands, which is one of the happiest in the world, is four times more dense in proportion to the available land than that of this island.† The present French ambassador says, “every body knows that this fertile country can easily support twenty-five millions of inhabitants.”† Poulett Scrope states, that our “soil is notoriously capable of sustaining in comfort four times the present population.” In short, the notion is repudiated by all the disinterested sense and intellect of the country; but the landlords, the knaves, and the noodles, are a powerful and influential portion of the community; the landlords especially, as they compose exclusively the legislature and the government. They think that the population ought to be cleared off and ‘sent out of the way, no matter how or where.’”§ Lord Fitz-William, the owner of extensive estates in the county of Wicklow, which stand more in need of reclamation than any of the prairies of America, says, that “seven millions

* Quoted in the Relief Measures, p. 62.

† A Plea.

‡ Ireland, Social, Political, and Religious, by Gustave De Beaumont.

§ Irish Measures, p. 93.

of the cottier population must be removed off the land."** As the landlords are thus bent on exterminating, and are getting up an agitation in favour of their proceedings under the specious pretext of colonization, we may add a word on this question.

To all speculations as to the advantages to be derived by England from relieving the kingdom of a surplus population and establishing colonies which would take her manufactures, and supply her armies and navies with soldiers and sailors, we reply by a brief reference to facts. Some of the "surplus" caused by the revolution and the confiscations consequent upon it, went into foreign service, and the repulse at Cremona of the allied army under Prince Eugene by the two regiments of O'Mahony and Bourke, was declared in the English House of Commons to be a greater loss to the allies than the whole fee simple of the forfeited estates was worth. † The greater portion of the manufacturers who were made surplus by William's legislation went to France and secured the success of her woollen trade, which soon became so prosperous, as not only to rival that of England, but to undersell it in every market in Europe. ‡ So the "surplus" farmers and labourers of the early part of the last century who went to America, on the breaking out of the war at once joined the insurgents; and British statesmen were obliged to confess that "America was lost by Irish emigrants."§ To what candidate is "the Irish vote" now offered in the States?

But it will be said, these people went away without the aid or protection of the government. Can any one be so

* Letter to the Rev. John Sargant, quoted in *Irish Measures*, p. 91.

† O'Halloran's *Introduction to the Study of the History and Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 296.

‡ See on this subject, the *Commercial Restraints of Ireland considered*, p. 116, and the speech of Mr. Gardiner, afterwards created Lord Mountjoy, on *Irish Commerce*, delivered in the Irish House of Commons, on the 2nd April, 1784.

§ Mr. Gardiner's speech, *sopra*. See also the Speech of Lord Viscount Townshend on the *American Conciliatory Bills*; and again, on the Marquis of Rockingham's Motion on the 11th May, 1779.

weak as to fancy that human beings, all whose traditions and experiences are of grinding oppression, persecution and famine, and who themselves are torn from their homes in order to gratify the caprice of merciless landlords, will forget all in admiration of the calculating benevolence that finds it cheaper to give them a passage across the Atlantic than to feed them for life on Indian meal in a workhouse?

From the mode in which the advocates of the surplus theory speak, one unacquainted with the state of this country would fancy that it was like China, cultivated to the highest possible state of perfection, and without a square inch waste in any corner; that, in fact, for some two or three thousand years a large population had been steadily, earnestly, and without the slightest interruption, engaged in reclaiming and tilling the land, till at length they had spread to every point, converted the whole surface of the soil into a beautiful garden, and even like the inhabitants of Cashmere, raised floating gardens on the surface of the lakes, that, notwithstanding all their efforts, the area of the island was incapable of supplying food enough for them all; and that, consequently, after the example of bees, some of them should form new swarms and settle elsewhere. The total inapplicability of such a theory to our condition is obvious to any one who has ever been amongst us, or is at all acquainted with our history. Let us take a glance at the course of events for the last thousand years, as they bear on the neglect or culture of the soil.

We are inclined to the opinion, that this country, like ancient Greece and Italy, was in very early times densely inhabited and highly cultivated. The traces of cultivation found at the bottom of bogs and on the tops of mountains, and the traditional explanation of the name of the Firbolgs—and the Irish words supposed to compose it are still in common use—the race found here by the Milesians, namely, that they were men who used to carry clay from the low grounds up the sides of hills in leathern aprons, hung in front of their persons, in order to raise a soil upon them, are the most familiar proofs of this position. O'Driscol, in his valuable history, supplies several, which he says “prove beyond a doubt a high degree of national prosperity, and a population greatly exceeding what we

consider to be an excess at the present day.”* All our historians agree that the Danes found the country in a most happy condition; but it is easy to fancy what it was after their depredations. After it had barely a century’s repose from these, the Normans came, and the consequence of the perpetual state of warfare in which they kept the country, and “the most wicked and mischievous custom of coyne and livery,” by which they maintained their troops, and “which consisted in taking of man’s meate, and horsemeat, and money of all the inhabitants of the country, at the will and pleasure of the soldier,” was, that “the land was made waste, and the people made *idle*.” “This system,” Sir John Davies says, “drew greater plagues on Ireland than the oppressions of the Israelites did on Egypt; lasted 400 years together, and was the most heavy oppression that was ever used in a christian or a heathen kingdom.” He seems to agree with a preceding writer in thinking, “though it were first invented in hell; yet, if it had been used and practised there, as it hath been in Ireland, it had long since destroyed the very kingdom of Beelzebub.”† Under the schemes of wholesale plunder pursued by Mary, Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., and Cromwell, on various pretexts, political and religious, agriculture could not progress. Indeed, one of the schemes of Elizabeth’s reign was, to create famines by preventing the cultivation of the land, and destroying its produce; so that, as the mild and gentle—the poet—Spencer, who highly approved of the system, and recommended its re-adoption, says, the wretches “being kept from manurance, and their cattle from running abroad by this hard restraint, they would quietly consume themselves and devour one another.” The consequence of this system, he says, was, “that in a short space there were no inhabitants almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left voyde of man and beast.”‡ So Hollingshead says, the consequence of Elizabeth’s system of warfare was, that the land was “become waste and barren,” and that from one end of

* Vol. i. p. 28; see also O’Halloran’s Introduction, c. iii.

† Discovery of the True Cause, &c., &c., by Sir John Davies, pp. 33.—174.

‡ View of Ireland, p. 165.

Munster to the other, from Waterford to Swerwick, a traveller “*would not meet anie man, woman, or child,* saving in towns and cities, nor yet see anie beast but the very wolves, foxes, and other like ravening beasts.”* After the Restoration, the country was rapidly recovering from its desolate and miserable condition till the Revolution flung it back into a state of *utter desolation*, † from which it has never since recovered. The confiscation of three millions of acres consequent on that event, the destruction of the woollen manufactures in William’s reign, the enactment of the Penal Laws, the resolution of the House of Commons in 1736, giving a bonus to pasturage, by relieving grass lands from tithes, under the pretence, that the collection of such tithes would “impair the Protestant interest, and occasion popery and infidelity to gain ground,” (4 Com. Jour., p. 219), and the rapacity and extortion of the landlords, completely succeeded in preventing the progress of improvement. The effects of the Penal Laws are thus stated in a work published in 1766 by Lord Viscount Taafe :

“No sooner were the Catholics excluded from durable and profitable tenures, than they commenced graziers, and laid aside agriculture; they ceased from draining or enclosing their farms, and building good houses, as occupations unsuited to the new post assigned them in our national economy. They fell to wasting the land they were virtually forbid to cultivate, the business of pasturage being compatible with such a conduct, and requiring also little industry and still less labour in the management. This business, moreover, brings quick returns in money; and though its profits be smaller than those arising from agriculture, yet they are more immediate, and much better adapted to the condition of men who are confined to a fugitive property, which can be so readily transferred from one country to another. This pastoral occupation, also, eludes the vigilance of our present race of informers, as the difficulty of ascertaining a grazier’s profits is considerable, and as the proofs of his enjoying more than a third penny profit can not so easily be made clear in our courts of law. The keeping the lands waste, also, prevents in a great degree leases in reversions, what Protestants only are qualified to take, and what, (by the small temptations to such reversions), gives the present occupant

* vi. 459.

† Lord Sidney’s words in his speech from the throne in 1692, 2 Com. Jour. p. 576.

the best title to a future renewal. This sort of self-defence in keeping the lands uncultivated, had the further consequence of expelling that most useful body of people called Yeomaury in England, and which we denominated Sculoags in Ireland. Communities of industrious housekeepers, who, in my own time, herded together in large villages, and cultivated the lands everywhere, till, as leases expired, some rich grazier, negotiating privately with a sum of ready money, took these lands over their heads. This is a fact well-known, the Sculoag race, that great nursery of labourers and manufacturers, has been broke and dispersed in every quarter, and we have nothing in lieu but those most miserable wretches on earth, the cottagers; naked slaves, who labour without food, and live while they can without houses or covering, under the lash of merciless and relentless masters. The Catholics, as we have seen, keep their farms in a bad plight, as they are excluded by law from durable and profitable tenures, and they derive some advantage from a source which brings infinite mischief to the nation. Agriculture, the mother of population, the nurse of every useful art, the support of commerce, is exchanged in Ireland for pasturage, the parent of inconsequence, and the purveyor of national indigence; an occupation (if we may call it one) which occasions frequent returns of famine, drains the kingdom of its specie, and occasions the emigration of numbers, who, for want of employment at home, are yearly on the wing."*

With such vigilance were these "great bulwarks of the constitution" regarded, that, even in 1770, a bill for allowing Catholics to take long leases of bogland on condition of paying a fair rent, and reclaiming and cultivating it, was rejected by the House of Commons, and the government were unable to induce them to adopt it, till after they had provided, the following year, an equivalent to its probable effect in promoting "the growth of popery," by an Act adding £10 a-year to the previous premium for apostacy from the priesthood. This measure (the 11 & 12 Geo. III. c. 21.) allowed a Catholic to take a lease of fifty acres of unprofitable bog, and half-an-acre of arable land adjoining, as a site for a house, or to delve for gravel or limestone; no bog to be deemed unprofitable, unless the depth from the surface, when reclaimed, should be at least four feet. While the sacro-sanct barrenness of our bogs had been thus guarded by the Saxon dragons

* Observations on Affairs in Ireland from the Settlement in 1691, to the present time, by Nicholas Lord Viscount Taaffe. Dublin, printed—London, reprinted, 1766.

of fanaticism, surely philosophers need not inquire into our ethnological characteristics in order to account for the slow progress of reclamation. It was only in 1773 that Catholics were allowed to take beneficial leases of upland farms, and only in 1792 to hold in fee simple.

The effect of the rapacity and wickedness of the landlords in preventing improvement, was first noticed as a national calamity about the beginning of the last century. From that time to the present, the affliction has continued not only without abatement, but with an annually increasing virulence, till it now threatens the extinction of the nation. The unphilosophic portion of the people are apt to account for it and the retributive ruin, which slow but sure is now following it, by the application of two very vulgar maxims—that “blood cannot be got out of turnips,” and “what is got over the devil’s back must be spent under his belly.” Without stopping to point out on the most recently discovered principles of philosophy, the incorrectness of these notions, we can easily see how, in the early part of the last century, the Cromwellian and Williamite settlers—for it is to these the people apply those maxims, and, as a general rule, it is their properties that were the rack-rented, and are the embarrassed, estates—were almost all of necessity bad landlords. Whilst the Pretender had a chance of success, their titles were insecure; and consequently they thought only of turning a ready penny as quickly as possible by their adventure, without regard to remote consequences. Hence they rack-rented, ejected, clutched ready money for leases in reversion; and, in short, devised, introduced, and perpetrated all the iniquities under which the agricultural classes have been since groaning. What might have been at first excused on this ground in low-bred, unprincipled, buccaneering adventurers, soon became a precedent and a rule of conduct; and from that time to the present that class of landlords have been in a most anomalous position, combining, as happily expressed by a London paper, the rank and fortune of gentlemen with the feelings of bum-bailiffs, and pursuing a career of cold-blooded, heartless rapacity and extortion, to which history affords no parallel. That this plague first appeared at the time and in the manner we have just stated, appears from various authorities. Swift, writing in 1729, says: “The exaction of landlords has indeed been a grievance of above

20 years standing."* "Another great calamity is the exorbitant raising of the rents of land. Upon the determination of all leases made before the year 1690, a gentleman thinks he has but indifferently improved his estate, if he has only doubled his rent-roll. Farms are screwed up to a rack-rent—leases granted but for a small term of years—tenants tied down to hard conditions, and discouraged from cultivating the land they occupy to the best advantage, by the certainty they have of the rent being raised on the expiration of their lease, proportionably to the improvements they shall make. Thus it is that honest industry is restrained; the farmer is a slave to his landlord; it is well if he can cover his family with a coarse homespun frieze." Their greediness, unpopularity, and readiness to avail themselves of their legislative powers for their own purposes, are exposed in his "Modest Proposal," where he suggests that the flesh of the young children will be very "proper for the landlords, who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to the children;" and that by buying such infants from their parents they will become popular among their tenantry; and further, that "the poorer tenants will have thus something valuable of their own, which by law may be made liable to distress, and help to pay their landlords' rent, their corn and cattle being already seized, and money a thing unknown." One of the consequences of their rapacity was, that it gave "birth to that abominable race of graziers," who, in precisely the same manner as they act at the present day, upon the expiration of the leases of small farmers, "too easily tempted," the landlord to give them all the land, and "thus a vast tract of land where twenty or thirty farmers lived together with their cottagers and labourers in their several cabins, became all desolate and easily managed by one or two herdsmen and their boys; whereby the master grazier, with little trouble, seized to himself the livelihood of a hundred people.† This was the course, which, as we pointed out in a former number,‡ was adopted in England to root out those yeomen, on account of whose

* Letters to Messrs. Trueman and Layfield.

† Answer to a Memorial.

‡ No. XXVI., Art. 8.

disappearance there is now so much affected, as there will be real, regret, if ever an enemy land in force on her soil. It would seem from Swift's language, that this system of converting the whole surface of the country to pasture, had already in his time driven out half the population. The folly and wickedness of it he denounces in the bitterest manner; he says, it was "so sottish as to want a name in our language." "To bestow," he says, "the whole kingdom on beef and mutton, and thereby drive out half the people who should eat their share, and force the rest to send sometimes as far as Egypt for bread to eat with it, is a most peculiar and distinguished piece of public economy, of which I have no comprehension."

We may notice, as a curious coincidence, that Tacitus should use nearly similar language, and refer to the same country as the supplier of corn, in describing the want of food in Italy in the time of Tiberius, arising from precisely the same cause, the conversion of the soil into wastes or pastures, and relying on importations of corn from Egypt and Africa. "At olim ex Italia legionibus longinquas in provincias commeatus portabantur: nec infecunditate laboratur, sed Africam potius et Aegyptum exercemus, navibusque et casibus vita populi permissa est."^{*} The system survived Swift; Dr. Campbell, after him, attributed the misery of the country to the same cause, in his words, "Suffering avarice to turn the tillage to pasture."[†] The peasantry themselves were so conscious of it, that from 1762, when agrarian outrages commenced, down to the last Whiteboy insurrection, the first act of the poor creatures was invariably to dig up the pasture lands. When these outrages first appeared, the Duke of Northumberland recommended from the throne industrial employment as the remedy; but the House of Commons replied by promising to pay attention to the Protestant charter schools and the linen manufacture.[‡] The exemption of pasturage from tithes, which continued till the passing of the Tithe Commutation Act in 1825, and the absolute protection of it by the prohibition of foreign beef, mutton, cheese, butter, &c., which continued from 1815

* Annal. lib. 12, c. 43.

† Philos. Survey of the South of Ireland, p. 299.

‡ 13 Com. Jour., pp. 21—23.

till 1842, when the present high duties were substituted, acted as a bounty on this national affliction. Up to 1762, tillage, by any religionist however orthodox, was discouraged as a promoter of infidelity and popery. It was then first tolerated, and even so much did the legislature change their view of its ungodly character, that they encouraged it that year by bounties on the inland carriage of corn. So wretched was the country then, that this law is said to have “ saved it from utter destruction.”* In 1783, bounties were granted on the export of corn, and in 1784, the importation of foreign provisions was prohibited. The high price of corn in England during the last war, and the removal of the duties on the importation of our corn into that country, gave a further stimulus to tillage, but the quantity of land thus forced into cultivation was quite inconsiderable, as the contemporary agrarian outrages indicate, and as Thornton proves by a reference to the actual amount of our exports. (See *A Plea, &c.*, pp. 197-8.) In 1815, pasturage resumed its ascendancy ; the process of converting tillage lands to pasture recommenced with fresh vigour, and, like cause and effect, the very next year, the first act was passed for facilitating extermination through the instrumentality of the Quarter Sessions. In 1829, the disfranchisement of the forty shilling freeholders gave another impulse in the same direction, and two years afterwards, another act was passed to make the process of extermination still quicker and cheaper. We need not refer to the Gregory clause and other recent enactments ; it is enough to say, that since 1815, a parliament of landlords—indeed, we might with strict truth say a parliament of graziers—have been doing their worst to “ clear” the agricultural population off the face of the country, and to convert it all into vast wastes or sheepwalks. Since 1841, 170,000 farms of less than five acres each, have been “ consolidated ;”† that is to say, so many thousand small farmers have been “ cleared off.” Can we wonder, then, if this island, instead of being like Belgium, France, Tuscany, or any other civilized country, with all its fields highly cultivated, and all its available resources fully developed, should be what it is—(we have not words to describe it)—should have

* *Commercial Restraints of Ireland*, p. 67.

† *The last Report of the Board of Works*.

"one-third of its area still in a state of waste, and the remaining two-thirds undrained and not half cultivated,"* and one-half of its most densely inhabited and best cultivated county "nominally in pasture; but in reality, producing nothing,"† and should suggest to a benevolent stranger, led by curiosity and humanity to visit it, a comparison with the unreclaimed wilds of America? "If," says Mr. Tuke, "lands in Mayo were made as secure to the farmer as they are on the banks of the Mississippi, I see no reason why they should not be '*settled*' and cultivated by the men who are now crossing the Atlantic (and some carrying their capital with them) to extend the cultivation and increase the resources of the United States."‡

Before we leave this part of the subject, we may further observe, that the whole face of the country is year by year becoming more desolate—that the effect of every "clearance" is not to improve the agriculture of the country, but to destroy it—to make a wild waste where there had been happy homesteads and good cultivation. We feel strongly on this subject, because we have known as honest and industrious people as ever lived cleared off—their houses levelled to the ground—their kitchen-gardens and orchards destroyed—their fences, and every other vestige of proper cultivation, removed, in consequence solely of this wicked delusion about large farms; and then all their land, which was to be so well cultivated, reduced to a comparative waste, whole acres of it not affording grass enough for a sheep. In a former number we pointed out the mischievous effects of this system, and showed how it was precisely by the same process "the noble yeomanry" of England were exterminated. We shall now show that it was the cause of the ruin of the Roman empire, the surplus peasantry having been cleared off to make way for pastures, wastes, and pleasure-grounds. Thornton, in order to prove that the tendency of peasant properties is to accumulate and not to subdivide, refers to the history of Judaea, Italy, and Greece. Of the two latter, he says:

"One hundred and forty years before the birth of Christ, as

* *The Irish Measures*, p, 66.

† *Mr. Blacker's Description of Armagh.*

‡ "Visit to Connaught, 1847," quoted by Mr. Scrope.

Tiberius Groechus returned from a campaign in Spain, he found remaining in Italy neither peasant properties nor even a native peasantry ; both had utterly disappeared. The scene which presented itself to him, was that of a country whose only cultivators were foreign slaves. Landed property was engrossed by a small number of rich men, and the labourers employed upon it were captives taken in wars, who were shut up at night in dungeons, and who worked by day in gangs under task-masters, like negroes in the West Indies. The Campagne, which, while tenanted by men working for themselves, those "most intelligent, most industrious, and most successful" of all employers, had resembled Flanders in fertility and in garden-like cultivation, with much more variety and picturesqueness, had been left to slaves working listlessly for a rich and careless absentee, and had already begun to wear its present bleak and dreary aspect. Houses had been thrown down, and fruit-trees rooted up, the decay of agriculture had been followed by the generation of malaria, which rendered the climate unfit for human residence. Tillage was ultimately superseded entirely by pasturage, and cattle browsed on the site of many a happy home-stead, and many a town renowned in story.

"A very brief reference to Greece will suffice to show, that her small proprietors of the heroic and republican periods never multiplied into a swarm of paupers. Polybius remarked, that in his time, although one of concord and comparative prosperity, afflicted neither by wars nor by epidemic diseases, population was fast diminishing, so that houses were left empty, and cities resembled abandoned hives. Strabo, who visited Greece about a century after its incorporation with the Roman Empire, was surprised by nothing so much as the scarcity of inhabitants. Messenia was for the most part deserted ; Laconia contained but thirty of the hundred small towns for which it had once been celebrated ; Arcadia, Ætolia, and Acarnania, were solitudes. Of the towns of Doris and of the Aenianes, scarcely a trace was left. Of all, save three of the Bœotian cities, nothing remained but ruins and names. In the reign of Trajan, according to Plutarch, the whole of Greece could not furnish more than three thousand heavy armed men, the number raised by Megara alone for the Persian wars.* Bishop Thirlwall, adopting in part the opinion of Polybius, attributes this remarkable depopulation to universal luxury and depravity of morals ; but these are plagues whose contagion seldom extends beyond the wealthy class and inhabitants of cities. A better explanation is afforded by what Strabo says of the accumulation of property in few hands.— 'The whole island of Cephalonia formed but a single estate, and in Continental Greece scarcely any land was in tillage, almost the whole being occupied by vast sheepwalks, or by pastures for cattle

* "Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece, vol. viii. pp. 460-7."

and horses. Desolation had evidently run the same course in Greece as in Italy; many small farms had been united to form a few enormous estates. The new landlords had expelled the remains of the ancient peasantry, and having cleared their domains of men, had supplied their places with herds of beasts.' Modern Highland lairds may perhaps be glad to learn that their own clearances can be justified by such illustrious precedents."—A Plea, pp. 169-74.

That the "cleared estates," or the *latifundia*, were the causes of this depopulation, is admitted on all hands. The system of clearing is inveighed against by all the writers of eminence in prose or verse. Lucan thus notices it:

"Tum longos jungere fines
Agrorum et quondam duro sulcata Camilli
Vomere et antiquos Curiorum passa ligones
Longa sub ignotis extendere rura colonis."*

Pliny and Tacitus are full of it, and repeatedly notice its sad effects in depriving Italy of men and provisions. The former says, "To confess the truth, large farms have ruined Italy, and even now the provinces. Six lords had half Africa when Nero slew them."† So Seneca says, that "tracts of country which formerly belonged to whole nations were then managed by a single workhouse of slaves, and that modern bailiffs had more extensive dominions than the kings of former times."‡ Columella denounces the conduct of the nobles in acquiring the possession of what "were formerly the lands of entire nations, which they are never able even to go around, but abandon to be trampled by cattle and devastated by wild beasts, or occupy with workhouse slaves and citizens reduced by debt to bondage."§ This description of a

* Phars. Lib. i.

† Verumque confitentibus latifundia perdidere Italiam: jam vero et Provincias sex domini semissem Africæ possidebant cum interfecit eos princeps Nero. Nat. Hist. Lib. xviii. c. 7.

‡ Arata quondam populis rura singulorum ergastulorum sunt: latiusque nunc villici quam olim reges imperant. Controversia v. Lib. 5.

§ More præpotentium qui possident fines gentium quos ne circumire quoque valent sed proculcandos pecudibus et vastandos feris derelinquent aut occupatos nexus civium et ergastulis tenent. De Re Rustica Proem.

clearance and large farm would suit Mayo to all intents and purposes, were it not that its wretched paupers are nominally freemen. Sismondi, whose researches on this question are as great as those of any modern writer, thus exposes the effects of the system. After observing that it was during the period of peace and prosperity that the colossal growth of a few fortunes was favoured, he says :

" A single proprietor gradually became possessed of provinces which had furnished the republic with the occasion of decreeing more than one triumph to its generals ; while he amassed wealth so disproportionate to the wants of a single man, he CLEARED all the country he got within his grasp of that numerous and respectable class of independent cultivators hitherto so happy in their mediocrity. Where thousands of free citizens had formerly been found ready to defend the soil they tilled with their own hands, nothing was to be seen but slaves. Even this miserable population rapidly diminished, because its labour was too expensive, and the proprietor found it answer better to turn his land into pasture. The fertile fields of Italy ceased to supply food for their inhabitants. The provisioning of Rome depended on fleets which brought corn from Sicily, from Egypt, and from Africa ; from the capital to the uttermost provinces depopulation followed in the train of overgrown wealth, and it was in the midst of this universal prosperity, before a single barbarian had crossed the frontiers of the empire, that the difficulty of recruiting the legions began to be felt. In the war against the Quadi and Marcomanni, which was preceded by so long a peace, Marcus Aurelius was reduced to the necessity of enrolling the slaves and the robbers of Rome. The frontier provinces, those most exposed to the attacks of the barbarians, those which suffered the most from the presence and military vexations of the legions, did not suffer so much from the rapid decline of population and of the warlike virtues as the more wealthy provinces of the interior. The levies of troops were no longer made in Rome ; they were raised almost exclusively in Northern Gaul, and along the right bank of the Danube. This long Illyrian frontier in particular, for more than two centuries, preserved the reputation of furnishing more soldiers to the empire than all the rest of the provinces combined. This border country had offered little temptation to the cupidity of Roman senators. They cared not to have their property in a province constantly harassed by the enemy. The land which the senators would not buy remained in the possession of the old proprietors ; there, consequently, a population numerous, free, and hardy, still maintained itself. It long furnished the army with soldiers ; it soon supplied it with chiefs." *

* Vol. i. p. 345. See further on this subject of Roman clearances, the article in the Monthly Chronicle before referred to.

Such were the effects of clearances in Greece and Rome ; the men who conquered the world exterminated by a few landsharks, as the yeomen have been who won Cressy, and Poictiers, and Agincourt, as our Scottish Highland brethren have partly been ; and as we most certainly shall be, unless, warned by their fate, we make an effort to save ourselves.

It being clear that our population is not excessive for the available land, and that the greater part of the land is either actually and avowedly waste, or really waste though nominally in pasture, and that the small portion which is in tillage is very badly cultivated, it follows that the obvious remedy for the misery of our millions is, to discourage waste and pasture and to promote tillage. “The directions for Ireland,” said Swift, “are short and plain, to encourage agriculture and home consumption.” Our difficulties turn entirely upon the relative proportions of pasture and tillage which the owners of the soil choose to maintain. A thousand acres of land, which, if tilled with the spade as in Belgium, would give profitable employment to one hundred families ; or, with the plough, according to the existing system here, as pointed out by the Poor Law Inquiry Commissioners, to upwards of 142 men, can, if “cleared” and converted into a sheepwalk, be managed by a few herdsmen ; and ninety-nine of the hundred families, or 140 of the men, will at once become “superabundant.” Spademen and ploughmen would be “surplus” even in America, if a legislature of graziers protected prairies and buffaloes ; and so they will be here till we prefer to have the land dug and ploughed, to having it grazed on by sheep and bullocks. Never was there a truer observation than Swift’s : “ Ajax was mad when he mistook the flock of sheep for his enemies ; but we shall never be sober till we have the same way of thinking.” The following are a few of the means for encouraging tillage and discouraging pasturage, which are obvious to every plain and sober mind practically acquainted with the subject.

The bounty on pasturage, in the shape of the present heavy duties on foreign beef, mutton, pork, cheese, butter, and live stock, ought to be at once repealed. Now, that the corn laws are abolished, there is no pretence for maintaining them. Why should English artisans pay for the encouragement of Irish clearances by duties amounting to a third or a fourth part of the market prices of their butter,

cheese, beef, and mutton? The law in this respect should obviously be uniform, and present no longer a bounty to clearers and graziers. So the laws should be repealed which prohibit the culture of tobacco. When it was cultivated here, it was found to give employment to great numbers, to habituate the people to a scientific treatment of the soil, and to produce a profit of £50 or £60 per acre. Its cultivation is prohibited in consequence of the difficulty of collecting the duty. But why should not the Government do here with regard to it what they do in England with regard to hops—employ excisemen to watch the produce and collect the duty? When the owners of the land are deprived of protection, they ought to be freed from all restrictions, and to be left at liberty, like the other members of the community, to turn their property to the best advantage. Why should land alone be made the scapegoat of free trade? So also the laws prohibiting the manufacture of sugar from beet-root ought to be abolished. While England was protecting the West Indies, she might be excused for preventing us from making our own sugar; but that prohibition ought not to be continued for the benefit of foreign slave dealers. Clearances should be at once and rigorously repressed, by the enforcement of the common law against depopulation, and the revival and extension to this country of the English Husbandry Statutes,* by the repeal of the several acts recently passed for facilitating the process of ejectment through the medium of the Assistant Barristers' Courts, by the abolition of the Gregory clause, and the adoption of the English law of parish settlement in its entirety. Our present system is an outrage on every principle of humanity and justice, encouraging the extermination of the people, and making distant districts pay for the relief of the poor who are cleared off by merciless landlords. Strict justice requires that every country and every parish should maintain its own poor. That principle would have been adopted when the Poor Law was originally proposed, but that the landlords persuaded the Legislature that there was some "peculiarity" in Celtic paupers which rendered its application unsuitable to them. It is on the ground of some such mysterious and indescribable peculiarity that we are

* See an Account in No. xxvi. Art. 8.

denied the protection of every wise and benevolent principle of the common or statute law of England. Had the system of parish settlement been adopted, then the country would be spared the frightful scenes of depopulation which have been since spreading ruin and desolation through the island, as the landlords would have known, that by "clearing" they would be increasing instead of diminishing the burthens on their property, and injuring themselves as well as the industrious people whom they were driving to beggary, exile, and death. There was a modification of this peculiarity proposed last Session, by a Bill regulating the relief and removal of our paupers in and from England. That measure, however, proposed to introduce other peculiarities in practice, all which are decidedly objectionable. In the legislation on this subject, there should be no pedling peculiarities tolerated. We should be treated precisely as if we were Cockneys, or "Men of Kent;" each of our parishes should be made to support its own poor, and pay for their support wherever relieved, and the officers of English parishes and unions should deal with the officers of our unions just as if this island were the Isle of Wight, or the Isle of Thanet, or the Isle of Dogs.

An alteration is also absolutely required in the mode of levying and collecting the rates, in order to guarantee the permanent existence of the people, and save the whole community from pauperism. The operation of the present law is this: certain proportions of the rate are by law due from the landlord, and certain proportions from the occupying tenant, but all are levied in the first instance off the latter, he being entitled to deduct the landlord's share from his rent; but as few tenants can now pay their rents in full, the entire rate falls virtually on him. The effect of this arrangement is most ruinous. Suppose the tenant has by the first of November paid his Michaelmas rent; he has then between that and the next harvest, to meet three or four rates of five, or ten, or possibly (as happens in many unions) eighteen shillings in the pound. If he have no ready money to fall back upon, his stock and everything else he has on earth are seized and sold, and long before the next Michaelmas comes round he is a workhouse pauper, or an exile, or a corpse. The same thing happens in towns. The accounts in the provincial papers of the seizure of the bedding, and pots, and pans,

and fire-irons of the poor, who have struggled to keep out of the workhouse, are quite shocking and disheartening.

We think that the occupying tenant should be liable only for his own share of the rates, and that on the same principles on which the common law forbid the seizure of a workman's tools or beasts of the plough for rent, the cattle and instruments necessary for tilling the land, implements of trade, and all articles of absolute domestic necessity, should be exempt from seizure even for his share, and that the landlord's share should be recoverable in the manner we are about to suggest. By the present system, the rate is levied off such lands and houses only as have some distrainable goods upon or in them. Off others it cannot be levied at all, except by going to law with the owners; and where they have "cleared" and made the devastation complete, so that they need not identify themselves with the land by any act of ownership, it is doubtful whether it can be recovered even by an action at law. We wrote lately to one of the ablest Vice-Guardians in Connaught, asking simply how they recovered rates off lands that had been "cleared?" and his answer was, "We are endeavouring to get the rates of such premises from the landlords. Where any act of ownership has been exercised, such as making up fences, taking away the remains of cabins, or appointing care-takers, we do not anticipate much difficulty; but where nothing of this nature has been done by the landlord, we fear payment will be resisted, and I do not think that any court of competent jurisdiction has yet given a decision as to whether or not he is liable." Take, as an instance, the conduct of one J. Walsh, an esquire and justice of the peace, who, according to Mr. Serope and Mr. Tuke, razed in 1845, near Belmullet, in the county of Mayo, an entire village, (with the exception of six houses)—

"In two neighbouring villages, 50 houses were levelled. All this in *mid winter!* 40 miles from the nearest workhouse! And no less than 140 families out of those thus dispossessed are now receiving relief from the Union, while the proprietor who evicted them has not paid the rates due from him, though sued at law for them."^{*}

* *A Plea for the Rights, &c., p. 78.*

The consequence of all this is, that so much of the rate as cannot be recovered is lost to the Union, and must be added to the next new rate, and those who can and must pay, are obliged to pay for those who can and will not ; and thus the process goes on doubling and trebling the rates on those who live on the land, and assist, by giving employment, in preventing and relieving distress, while those who clear their estates and create the distress, pay nothing and cast the burthen of supporting those whom they have evicted on the rest of the community. The operation of this system is to narrow continually the circle of those who pay the rate and increase the number of those dependant upon it, till at last the poor-house will be the only habitation in a Union, and even that must then let loose its inmates upon the surrounding waste, in order to raise them food off its surface ; for as each clearance takes place, the number of inhabitants off whose goods and chattels the rate is leviable is diminished, while that of those who want relief is proportionably increased. Those who were able to pay in 1846, were paupers in 1847 ; and those who were able to pay in 1847, are paupers now ; and those who are not so now, must soon be so if the system be not checked. It always reminds us of the fire encircling Byron's "scorpion." Even if the clearance atrocities were not practised, and the country were not in such peril, common justice requires that the proprietor of each acre should bear the rate imposed upon it ; that A should not be compelled to pay because he has stock that may be seized and sold, and B allowed to escape scot-free because he has converted his property into a waste ; while humanity and public policy demand that rates, on the collection of which the existence of thousands depends, should be leviable off every acre on which they are imposed with ease, promptitude, and certainty. We should therefore recommend the adoption of a principle that has long prevailed in Montserrat and other West Indian Colonies, of selling the soil for non-payment of the public taxes. An act might be passed, providing that if a rate were not paid within 15 days (that is the interval required by law between the service and the trial of an ejectment process, and the periods with which the people are familiar had better be observed) from the time it was imposed and proclaimed, the fee simple of so much of the several lands on which it might be in arrear, should be

forthwith sold by public auction, as would be required to pay the arrears and expenses, and that a conveyance under the seal of the Commissioners should be an absolute title against the world, vesting in the purchaser the fee simple free of all claims and demands whatsoever. This measure, in addition to securing the quick collection of every shilling of every rate, and causing the sale in very minute portions of considerable quantities of lands now waste, and the consequent employment of numbers who are now supported by the rates or starving in idleness, would have this further advantage, that it would dispense to a great extent with the necessity of calling on England for assistance. It is a monstrous wrong on the overtaxed people of Great Britain, to call upon them to pay the poor rates of Ireland; for that is the true title of all the loans, grants, and advances, with which the Legislature supplements the short-comings of the Irish gentry in the relief of the misery which they themselves have created. The same principle ought to be adopted with regard to the recovery of every other sum due to England. If it be the intention of the Government really to insist on the repayment of these sums, or even the interest of them, the drain of so much money year by year from the country, will be a millstone round its neck which will ever keep it in wretchedness; and it would be a thousand times better for it that it was made to pay down at once the money required for its aid by such compulsory sales as we suggest, than to be for ever sending to England all its superfluities, and even necessaries, in discharge of such obligations. If once the landlords were to find that they could never relieve their lands from these claims except by a revolution, those who know them and the hollowness of their pretensions about devotion to British connexion, &c., &c., have no hesitation in saying, that they would be the first to encourage an outbreak. Indeed, some of their organs have already thrown out hints of the danger of such an event, if landlord property should be further endangered by the increase of poor rates. We cannot see any objection whatever to the adoption of such a measure, if the Government are sincere in their professions of a desire to save the lives of the people; if they are not, they can of course receive deputations of English money-lenders, and discover that it is opposed to the genius and spirit of the Constitution, inconsistent with the vested rights of landlords, mortga-

gees, judgment creditors, and tenants—inadequate to the exigency, unsuited to the crisis, at the least premature for adoption *just yet*, &c., &c., &c., &c.

Another measure which would tend to give food and employment, would be a repeal of the fishery laws, passed within the last six years. There is no principle to justify the Legislature in robbing the body of the people of the use of their own shores, harbours, tidal rivers, and other public waters, and conferring it on a few landlords. In addition to the enactments of former Sessions,* there was an Act passed last Session by which no man can use a rod for catching "salmon trout or fish of that kind," or a basket for catching eels, without actually paying a license of a pound and two pounds a-year respectively. Measures like these, depriving the people of every honest and legitimate means of seeking food, employment, or amusement, are outrages that no nation can long tolerate. Englishmen wonder that we do not respect, and reverence, and obey the law. It would be a greater wonder if we did. These fishery acts are fair samples of the whole system of our law, now consisting almost exclusively of statutes, which, from beginning to end, are a continued series of contrivances by Landlord Parliaments to deprive the people of the rights which the common law, in truth, the perfection of reason, equity, and justice, conferred upon them; and while that iniquitous system continues, we must, of necessity, hate law, as we love justice.

We may notice another mode of securing employment and food without requiring any advance from England. Mr. Mill, reasoning from first principles, doubts whether upon any social principles dukes or others can rightfully keep large tracts of land in a state of waste for their own mere amusement. Mr. Scrope expresses a very strong opinion upon the same subject, adduces the authority of Blackstone for the purpose of showing that the right of property is coexistent only with beneficial occupation, and adds that by the institutes of Menu, which are of great antiquity and of authority throughout the east, any one who reclaims a waste, and registers the fact, thereby secures to himself the ownership of it, and that this is the law of

* See an account of these in Dublin Review, April, 1848.

China to the present day. A somewhat similar law prevails universally with regard to mining wastes in France, Spain, Germany, and almost every other country of Europe except the British Isles, and as an immemorial custom even in all the old mining districts of England, as Cornwall, Devonshire, Derbyshire, Durham, the Forest of Dean, &c., &c., allowing any one to enter on a waste, and to retain exclusive possession of it so long as he works the mine, giving the landowner in most counties a certain share in the adventure, or a certain rate of compensation, fixed by custom, but in some, as in Devonshire, nothing whatever.* This custom has repeatedly come before the English courts, and has been enlarged in some particulars in the Forest of Dean by an Act of the present reign, 1 & 2 Vict. c. 43. In the very last published part of the "Reports of the Proceedings of the English Court of Queen's Bench," (10, Adolphus and Ellis, New Series, pp. 26-68.) there is a case of Rogers v. Brenton, in which a person who had under this custom entered on a waste, and obtained possession of it, and worked the mine, but had afterwards neglected for eighteen years to work it, sought to exclude another adventurer from working within his bounds, and attempted to show that by the custom the first "bounder" and his representatives might retain exclusive possession for an indefinite period, as well by annually renewing the boundary marks as by continually working. But the court held that continual bona fide working was essential to the retention of the right: and that, even if the company had proved a custom to retain it by the mere ceremony of renewing the boundary marks, such a custom would be unreasonable and bad in law. The custom upheld by the court, and happily termed by Baron Parke in a former case, "the common law of Cornwall," is thus described in the marginal note of the above case, the three parentheses being interpolated by us:

"Any person may enter on the waste land of another in Cornwall, and mark out, by four corner boundaries, a certain area: a written description of the plot of land so marked with metes and bounds, and the name of the person for whose use the proceeding is

* See Rogers v. Brenton, *infra*, and Notes, Appendix, and References; and Appendix to Mr. Smirke's Report of the Case of Vice v. Thomas, heard on appeal before Prince Albert, pp. 80-86.

taken, is recorded in an immemorial local court, called the Stannary Court, and proclaimed at three successive courts held at stated intervals, and this in order, as Lord Denman said, that the land-owner may still interfere and preserve his rights, so as he will exercise them for the benefit of the public. If no objection is successfully made by any other person, (there is no record of opposition by a landowner,) the court awards a writ to the bailiff of the court, to deliver possession of the said ‘bounds or tin work’ to the bounder, who thereupon has the exclusive right to search for, dig, and take for his own use, all tin and tin ore within the prescribed limits, paying to the landowner a certain customary proportion (one fifteenth) of the ore raised, under the name of toll tin. The right descends to executors, and may be preserved for an indefinite time by actually working and paying toll.”

The language of Lord Denman, in delivering the judgment of the Court of Queen’s Bench upon the reasonableness and validity of this custom, is well deserving of attention :

“ Up to the extent to which both sides are agreed to admit it, (the custom,) in fact, there can be no doubt that it is most reasonable, fulfilling every requisite of a good custom. In substance it is this : the mine is parcel of the soil ; the ownership is in the owner of the soil ; but it is a parcel which, to discover and bring to the surface, may ordinarily require capital, skill, enterprise, and combination ; which, while in the bowels of the earth, is wholly useless to the owner, as well as to the public ; and the bringing of which into the market, is eminently for the benefit of the public. *If therefore the owner of the soil cannot or will not do this for himself, he shall not be allowed to lock it up from the public ;* and, therefore, in such case, (unless when by enclosure he may seem to have devoted the land to other important purposes inconsistent with mining operations, such as agriculture or building,) any tinner, i. e., any man employing himself in tin-mining, may secure to himself the right to dig the mines under the land, rendering a certain portion of the produce to the owner of the soil.”

There is not a principle in this admirable judgment that would not apply equally to raising food from the surface of the soil, and to sanctioning an Act of Parliament to allow any one to enter on a waste, mark out ten or twenty acres, register, reclaim, and hold them for ever, paying a reasonable rent to the owner. If this were done, we can see no reason why our wastes should not be *settled* on by the crowds of farmers and labourers now flying to the wilds and swamps of America.

Why, too, should not the law of Cornwall and of Europe be extended to our mining wastes? This island presents in every quarter traces of mining operations of a very remote date, while for the last 700 years mining adventure has been comparatively unknown. Mr. Griffith, the eminent government engineer, says that the surface workings of our early mines have the same appearance as the ancient Phœnician mines of Cornwall.* There can be no doubt that it was under the same law as that of Cornwall, that our fathers exhibited such diligence in mining operations. Why should not the Parliament assimilate the law of this island to that of the rest of the world, and give us the same motive for industry supplied in the remotest ages here, and in all ages elsewhere? Why should our polity be always an illustration of the effects of reversing every universally recognized maxim of public policy? Can any one fancy that if we had the common law of Cornwall, we could not find some more useful occupation than breaking stones and pounding oakum? But what else can we ever hope to do, while landlord parliaments, for their own special benefit, prevent us from tilling the surface of this island, searching for the minerals in its bowels, or fishing in the waters that wash its shores, and then explain our want of employment and our poverty by the fact that we are Celts, and make it felony to doubt the benevolence and wisdom of their legislation?

We fear, however, that in consequence of the failure of the potato-crop, and the want of food for the mass of the population, an advance of money by the Government is necessary. The question then arises, as to the best mode of applying it. There is a general outcry against a repetition of the proceedings of the last three years; and for the expenditure of the money in arterial drainage, railway making, and other works of an analogous character. There can be no doubt that arterial drainage might be of some use to the landlords, and perhaps to the country. Common sense points out, and experience has already proved, that the highways of a country ought not to be left in the bands of private speculators, to gamble, cheat, and overcharge the public. Though therefore drainage and railway making might be preferable to the works hitherto

* See Moore's History of Ireland, v. i. c. 7.

executed, yet on the permanent happiness of the labouring classes they are equally devoid of beneficial effect. So little of the elements of abiding prosperity have such works in them, that the fact is, that all the finest public works in the world have been executed by populations who either were at the moment, or soon became the most miserable on earth, or disappeared altogether from its surface. Witness the magnificent cities and public works of Asia and Africa, and those recently discovered in America. When the Roman emperors were constructing those palaces, theatres, temples, baths, harbours, aqueducts, &c., that now excite the admiration of travellers, the mass of the people were, like ourselves, living on government rations, and were soon cleared off altogether by their own fellow-countrymen operating by the due forms of law and large farms; who were in their turn, by way of retribution, cleared off by those northern small farmers, the Huns, and Goths, and Vandals, through a more manly and not more criminal process. In all probability the Jews, who were reproved just as if they were Celts, for not being able to make bricks without straw, contributed to the building of the Pyramids. During the present century Egypt has been executing great public works, while the Fellahs have continued as wretched as ourselves. In Scotland, Thornton observes, canals, harbours, and other public works, have been progressing for a century, while the condition of the masses has been steadily deteriorating. Look at our own public works of the last century, and our squalid and famine-stricken population. On the permanent prosperity of the labouring classes, such works have no effect. While they afford bread by way of compensation for employment, they are so far useful; but when they are completed and no longer afford employment, it is of no earthly consequence to those who have been employed, in what way their labour has been expended; whether in making canals or custom houses, or reclaiming bogs, or cutting up the country upon the gridiron model for roads or railways, or damming up the Shannon, so as to facilitate the transfer by steamers of pigs, potatoes, and poultry, between Portumna, Shannon Harbour, and Athlone, but to convert the lands on its banks from Limerick to Lough Allen into morasses, or breaking stones, or pounding oakum. In short, we think, however paradoxical it may seem, that the more Quixotically wild and absurd is the present mode of

public employment adopted, provided it gives the poor their daily bread, and clothes, and shelter, the better it will be for their ultimate prosperity; for if millions be expended in draining and railway making, and we still, as we necessarily must, continue as miserable as ever, the pure-blooded Saxon tax-payers will be confirmed in the fancy that our wretchedness is attributable to our Celtic constitutions, and will perpetuate the present system; whereas if the course pursued be so outrageous that its absurdity must be obvious to all rational human beings, except the enlightened statesmen and ethnological *philosophes* of Britain, and our own benevolent landlords and patriotic repeal members, the tax payers of the realm will at last get tired of paying dearly for paltry hand-to-mouth expedients, and will insist upon the adoption of the right course; that, namely, which will enable the mass of the population not only to secure their own bread by their own labour during the course of their own lives, but to transmit to their posterity for ever the same certain means of existence. The only way by which this can be done, is by employing them in the cultivation of the soil, and giving them a permanent interest in it.

The most feasible and least objectionable mode of partially effecting this object, is by employing them in the reclamation of the waste lands, and distributing these lands, when reclaimed, amongst the reclaimers. This was suggested some years ago by Mr. Blacker. In the Digest of the Evidence taken before Lord Devon's Commission, it was shown that an extensive system of emigration would cost four times more than the employment and location of the presumed surplus on the waste lands; and that 192,368 families could get allotments of eight acres each, (the size of the Belgian small farms), on the first class of improvable wastes, or 20 acres on the first and second class of wastes taken together. The utility of employing the people on the waste lands was obvious to the bluntest understanding; but the propriety of conferring the allotments so reclaimed upon the reclaimers and their heirs for ever at a quit rent, never struck the Commissioners. This idea was first urged after the publication of that Report, by Mr. Thornton, in a work published in 1845, and "honourably distinguished," as Mr. Mill truly says, "from most others which have been recently published, by its rational treatment of the great questions affecting the

economical condition of the country.” Mr. Thornton put forth his views in such a convincing, temperate, and satisfactory manner, that they have been quoted and adopted by Mr. Mill, who conceives that there can be no second question upon them.* So, too, they are quoted by Mr. Poulett Scrope, who has been for some time, with unparalleled zeal and ability, urging the same measure upon the attention of the legislature and the public, by speeches in Parliament, articles in reviews and pamphlets, and letters in the London newspapers; and proving by elaborate details, that “the employment of the waste labour of Ireland on her waste lands,” is the best and cheapest remedy for her distress, and that therefore the waste lands should be purchased and reclaimed, and that as fast as they became fitted for cultivation, “they should be divided into moderate-sized farms, houses built on them, and either sold outright, or leased for perpetuity at a quit rent, with the option to the occupier of purchase at any time, or by instalments.”†

Mr. Thornton is, after three years consideration, so satisfied of the propriety of his suggestion, that he has written “The Plea” expressly with a view to prove the great social and moral advantages of peasant proprietorships, to expose the “vulgar errors” respecting small and large farms, and refute the common slanders respecting the laziness, folly, extravagance, &c., &c., of small farmers in general, and of Irish peasants in particular. It is one of the most interesting and readable volumes we have seen for years, forming a complete handbook upon the subject of peasant proprietaries, and comprising within a small compass the result of a long course of reading, observation, and correspondence, which might well have been swelled into half a dozen octavos in the hands of one less conscious of the truth of the maxim, that a big book is a great evil. He examines the history of all countries, ancient and modern, and points out the beneficial influence of small holdings, and the baneful consequences of clearances and large farms; and shows that in Norway, Germany, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Tuscany, and the Channel Islands, the greatest happiness is enjoyed by

* *Principles of Political Economy*, Vol. i. pp. 391—96.

† *The Irish Measures*, p. 28.

peasant proprietors; that they are models of every prudential virtue; and that the establishment of similar small proprietorships is absolutely necessary for Ireland. After observing that the most extensive wastes are in the districts where the destitution is greatest, he enters into a calculation of the cost of locating 200,000 families on allotments of eight acres each, and sums it as follows:—

"Purchase of 1,600,000 acres, at £2 per acre	£3,200,000
Expense of draining and subsoiling, at £5 10s. ...	8,800,000
Construction of 200,000 cottages, at £40 each ...	8,000,000
Advances to 200,000 Cotters of £20 each	4,000,000

	£24,000,000

From which must be deducted the cost of maintaining 200,000 families, or 1,000,000 individuals, for the two years during which the operations might be expected to last. This at £5 per head would be £5,000,000 annually, or for two years, £10,000,000, which subtracted from £24,000,000, would leave £14,000,000. At this low price, less than three years' purchase, the public would be relieved from the necessity of an annual payment of £5,000,000.

..... Besides, the expenditure on the waste lands is not to be regarded as money irrecoverably sunk, but rather as a loan to the settlers, who should be required to pay interest upon it. Five per cent upon 14 millions sterling, payable by 1,600,000 acres, would be something less than nine shillings an acre—a very moderate rent to be paid by the perpetual lessee of a farm with a substantial dwelling upon it."—pp. 221-3.

On this calculation we would only observe, that we think the object may be effected for half the money, and that not a penny need be lost by it in any way. Good cottages might be built for £20. each; advances of £10. each would be sufficient; and the draining and subsoiling might be done for six millions. Many of the waste lands require no draining, and many no subsoiling. If the allotments were made, in the first instance, before the work of reclamation was commenced, and every allottee were told that the interest of the money laid out in reclamation would be required to the end of time in the shape of quit-rent, we know our countrymen well enough to be certain that the work of reclamation would be quick and cheap; that they would prove themselves genuine and undegenerate descendants of the Firbolgs; that before the lapse of five years they would have paid off both principal and interest, and be as industrious and thriving a peasantry as any

in Europe, thus offering another illustration of Arthur Young's observation, "The magic of property turns sand to gold. Give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock, and he will turn it into a garden ; give him a nine years' lease of a garden, and he will turn it into a desert."

The idea of conferring not only on our pauper labourers, but on the whole mass of the nation itself, a permanent interest in the soil, is making rapid progress amongst even Englishmen. We have heard repeatedly from English lips, that the cause of our misery is, that we are living on land that does not belong to us. We hire of a few landlords from year to year the use of so much of our own soil as they choose to lend us, and on such terms as they choose to exact, and we are consequently in the same state as all the rest of our species who borrow and beg. Nothing can be plainer, than that we and our breed for ever must be hopeless paupers whilst we are the tenants at will of a foreigner's farm, dependant for garden ground, and even for standing room on our own island, on the caprice of a few thousand rack-renters. The law that authorizes them to refuse us the use of our own soil, and to scour us off as vermin, is not an institution of peace, but the consequence and the evidence of a state of warfare ; and we can in reason and conscience be no more expected to obey it when resistance becomes feasible, than we can be supposed to have enacted it ; and hence, since its introduction, we have been pining in unutterable misery, ever ready for revolt, and looking forward to the ruin of England as the means of our redemption ; whereas, whenever previously we had an interval of repose from English invasion and persecution, notwithstanding coyne and livery and our own perpetual petty dissensions, we were happy and loyal ; our kerns and gallowglasses served England faithfully in her foreign wars ; our "giants"—we were able to feed "giants" then—swam across rivers to take up the gauntlet flung down by the giants of France to the host of England ; our material prosperity excited as much respect and admiration as our beggary has wonder and pity and contempt ; and as the earlier Romans raised greater crops amidst the fire and sword of hostile incursions, than were afterwards raised amid the continuous peace and large farm system of the empire,* so English writers could

* Isque mos dum servatus est ex perseverantissimo colendorum

say then of this country, what they cannot say now, that it "was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle;" "a most populous and plentiful country;" "populous, well inhabited, and rich in all the good blessings of God, being plenteous of corne, full of cattell, well stored with fish and sundrie other good commodities." †

Such was the description of Munster before Elizabeth's wars. So, when peace was established in James's reign, we learn that "the strings of the Irish harp were all in tune;" ‡ that all the people "*sit under their own vines*, and the whole realm reapeth the happy fruits of peace;" § and that it so progressed in prosperity up to the arrival of the Earl of Strafford, being then "in a flourishing, wealthy, and happy estate." The following is the description of the whole island during the last short interval of peace that any considerable portion of the people were owners of the soil:

"After the restoration, from the time that the acts of settlement and explanation had been fully carried into execution, to the year 1688, Ireland made great advances, and continued for several years in a most prosperous condition. Lands were every where improved; rents were doubled; the kingdom abounded; trade flourished to the envy of our neighbours; cities increased exceedingly. Many places of the kingdom equalled the improvements of England. The king's revenue increased proportionably to the advance of the kingdom, which was every day growing, and was well established *in plenty and wealth.*" ¶ Manufactures were set on foot in divers parts, the meanest inhabitants were at once enrich-

agrorum studio veteres illi sabini quirites atavique Romani quamquam inter ferrum et ignes hosticis incursionibus vastatas fruges largius condidere, quam nos quibus diuturna permittente pace prolatare licuit rem rusticam.—Colum. De Re Rustic. Proem.

* Spencer's View of Ireland, p. 165.

† Hollingshead, b. vi. p. 459.

‡ Davis, p. 194.

§ 1 Com. J. 92.

"Archbishop King, in his *State of the Protestants of Ireland*, pp. 52, 53, 445-6. Lord Chief Justice Keating's Address to James II., and his Letter to Sir John Temple."

¶ "Lord Sidney's words in his speech from the throne in 1692, from his former knowledge of this country.—Irish Com. Jour. vol. ii. p. 577."

ed and civilized ; and this kingdom is then represented to be ‘the most improved and improving spot of ground in Europe.’”

This prosperous condition, compared with its subsequent state after a long interval of peace, would, the writer says, “prove this melancholy truth, *that a country will sooner recover from the miseries and devastations occasioned by war, invasion, rebellion, and massacre, than from laws restraining the commerce, discouraging the manufactures, fettering the industry, and above all, breaking the spirits of a people.*”*

In those eighteen years our progress was greater than it has been in the 150 which have since elapsed. So Prussia is said to have recently made, in the ten years subsequent to her conversion of her peasantry into fee-simple owners of the soil, “more progress than in the previous century.”†

The utility of scattering the soil amongst a numerous body of small proprietors, who would reside upon and cultivate it, has been recognized even by our landlord government and parliament. It was so forced upon the attention of the Devon commissioners by what they witnessed through the country, that they recommended it, and suggested, as the means of carrying it into effect, that facilities should be given for the sale of estates in smaller divisions than they had been usually brought to market. In the last session of parliament the legislature sanctioned the idea by passing the acts enumerated at the head of this article, purporting to facilitate the sale of encumbered estates, and the transfer of real property, and for the establishment of the Farmers’ Estate Society. The second of the above enactments merely directs some alteration in the entries to be made in the Register Office ; and the first will not be felt in the country for the next ten years, except by increasing litigation, for which provision is made by the last act at the head of this article for the appointment of additional taxing masters in the high court of chancery. The Farmers’ Estate Society Act would be a most useful and invaluable measure, were it not for one great defect, namely,—

* *The Commercial Restraints of Ireland considered*, pp. 18, 19. 32.

† MacGregor’s “*Commercial Tariffs, &c.—German States,*” i. p. 97.

provisions allowing no allotments of less than thirty acres, and providing that if any of those purchased from the society should ever be so divided that any part should be less than thirty acres, the part below that standard should be chargeable to the poor law for half its annual value, to be recovered in the same manner as any other part of the rates. These provisions will totally neutralize this measure. They were intended to guard against the creation of small estates and excessive subdivision. But if the promoters of the Bill, or the members of the legislature whose attention was called to it, had thought seriously on the matter for a few minutes, they could not have regarded the condition of an Irish rack-rented tenant at will of a thirty-acre farm as the normal state of a small peasant proprietor, and overlooked the contrast between a tenancy in fee-simple and a tenancy at will, and framed a measure with regard to the former on data applying only to the latter. We are particularly surprised that the select committee of the house of commons should have raised the standard from twenty, as proposed in the bill originally, to thirty acres, as it was proved before them that in Ulster, the best cultivated, most densely inhabited, and happiest province, there is a larger per centage of the population holding small farms than in any other province; that in Down, the model county, the number of small farms is greatest; and that the holdings from less than one to thirty acres, in the four provinces generally, were about the following: "Under one acre, in Leinster, 133,220; in Munster, 162,386; in Ulster, 234,499; in Connaught, 155,204; making the total 685,309: above one acre to five acres,—Leinster, 49,152; Munster, 57,028; Ulster, 100,817; Connaught, 99,918; making altogether 306,915: above five to fifteen acres,—Leinster, 45,595; Munster, 61,320; Ulster, 98,992; Connaught, 45,221; making altogether, 251,128: above fifteen to thirty acres, —Leinster, 20,584; Munster, 27,481; Ulster, 25,099; Connaught, 5,790; making the total, 78,954."

On reading the evidence before the committee, we wondered that neither Lord Devon nor Mr. Mousell, M.P. for the county of Limerick, alluded to the existence of most happy illustrations of the small farm system with fixity of tenure, in the immediate neighbourhood of their own properties. So long back as the commencement of the last century, a number of refugees from the Palati-

nate were located in various parts of this country. Near the Earl of Devon's property in the county of Limerick, there were two locations close to Rathkeale—one at Ballingrane, the other at Killahleen. The farms at the former place were limited to eight acres each ; those at the latter varied from eight to fifteen acres, and had, in addition, a common for pasture. The rents were 5s. an acre ; and there was some understanding with the landlord as to perpetuity of tenure. These people lived as happy and independent as possible. The lands were well-tilled ; they had large kitchen-gardens and orchards, which supplied them with fruit and vegetables, the rest of the land supplying them with other necessaries. They put the younger children to trades and professions, and never subdivided their allotments. On the contrary, the tendency has been to consolidate. There is a similar settlement at Adare, near Mr. Monsell's property, except that the allotments are somewhat larger. The characteristic of all is neatness, industry, comfort, and independence.* These settlements stand as oases in the desert—as broad landmarks amidst the desolation around, to prove what might be done by small farms and perpetuity of tenure. One of them, too, begins to illustrate the system which has been pursued with respect to all the surrounding property. The people of Ballingrane some twenty years back began to entertain doubts as to the security of their tenure ; we know not exactly why, except that we believe the landlord increased the rent on a few of them. Some began to emigrate, and sell their allotments to their fellow settlers. Such of the purchasers as were farmers thus consolidated two or more allotments ; while others, who were engaged in town pursuits, re-let at rack rents. The consequence is, that the settlement has been since decaying, and assimilating to the farms of the surrounding rack-rented tenants at will ; and that, in all probability, in a few years it will be reduced to the same uniformity of desolation. There is in the county of Tippe-

* Arthur Young, commenting upon the favourable terms conceded by the landlords to the German settlers, says : "The poor Irish are very rarely treated in this manner ; but when they are, they work much greater improvements than these Germans."—Cited in Thornton's 'Plea,' p. 235.

rary an instance of a body of native peasant proprietors which we are surprised Sir Matthew Barrington, the originator of the bill, did not bring under the notice of the committee. Between Keeper Hill and the road leading from Nenagh to Newport, there are about fifty families of Kennedies, Bryans, Glissanes, and Lamies, occupying allotments varying from fifteen to forty acres each, with which their forefathers were respectively presented by Cromwell, in return for assistance in carrying his baggage over that part of the country. Each family has preserved its original allotment, which is well drained and cultivated; and all have an air of comfort and independence, to which the large farmers—aye, and many of the large landowners around—are strangers. Mr. Thackeray describes the happy condition of a large body of peasants in Kildare, who within a few years created their property by their own labour out of a marsh, that had, as he says, never fed anything but snipes.* But if the committee were not satisfied with the evidence of what has happened here, they could, by referring to Thornton's '*Plea*,' or '*Overpopulation*,' or Mill's '*Political Economy*,' have learned that in France, Belgium, Switzerland, the Tyrol, and the Channel Islands, a numerous, happy, and independent peasantry are now living, and have for generations lived, and without any tendency to excessive subdivision, on farms averaging from six to ten acres; and, by referring to their classics, that in ancient Italy they lived upon still less; and that the evil which Roman economists had to complain of was excessive consolidation, not excessive subdivision. Even the lucubrations of Niebuhr do not throw a doubt on the fact that, until after the expulsion of Tarquin, the size of each farm was two jugera—something less than two acres. After that event it was raised by the law of Licinius to seven jugera,† and so continued for some ages; and while it was so limited, the republic had a numerous population, and plenty of provisions: whereas, when the nobles began to "clear" out the small proprietors, and the large farm system was introduced, the country was depopulated, and was no longer able to sup-

* Cited in '*Overpopulation*,' p. 430.

† Mr. Thornton ('*Plea*,' p. 66) says, that seven jugera were between four and five acres.

ply food for the few landlords and the degenerate paupers who remained, and who insisted, congregated in towns, on being fed and amused (*panem et circenses*) at the expense of the state, which was soon obliged to depend on remote provinces for corn, and finally to hire barbarians to defend it. The question of large and small farms was fully canvassed by Roman writers; all, however, concurred in eulogizing the ancient small farms, and denouncing the modern large ones. Columella says, that there is no doubt that a large farm not well cultivated produces less than a small one beautifully cultivated, and that the seven acres of early times produced greater profits than the largest *fallows* of his time; (the word *fallows* he seems to use by way of contemptuous contrast with the ancient system in which they were unknown;) and regrets that a country, in which the gods once taught their offspring agriculture, should be dependant for food on provinces beyond the seas.* So ingrained does he think was the preference of small farms in the minds of the ancients, that he says the *Μετρον αριστον* of the Greek sage referred to it; and Virgil, in his

“—————Laudato ingentia rura,
Exiguum colito,”

only reduced to verse a time-honoured proverb. So Pliny says, that in early times home-raised provisions were exceedingly abundant in Italy, and the price incredibly low, “*annonæ vilitas incredibilis erat*,” and that these were not supplied from the large farms of those who drove away their neighbours, “*nec e latifundiis singulorum contingebat arcentium vicinos.*”† He observes, that the rule of early times was to sow less and till better;‡ that no-

* *Nec dubium quin minus reddat laxus ager non recte cultus quam angustus eximie.....ideoque post exactos reges Liciniana illa septena jugera.....majores quæstus antiquas attulere quam nunc præbent nobis amplissima veterata..... ubi Dii cultus agrorum progeniem suam docuerunt, ibi nunc ad hastam locamus, ut nobis ex transmarinis provinciis advehatur frumentum ne fame laboremus.—De Re Rustica, Proem.*

† *Natur. Hist. l. xviii. c. iv.*

‡ *Modum agri imprimis servandum putavere antiqui, quippe ita censebant satius esse minus serere et melius arare.—Nat. Hist. lib. xviii. c. 7.*

thing can be worse than the system of cultivating by slaves or other desperate wretches :* and that the contrast between the ancient fertility and modern barrenness was to be explained by the fact, that formerly "the lands were tilled by the hands of generals themselves: whether it was that the earth, as we may well believe, was proud of a laurelled plough, and a ploughman who had triumphed; or that they managed their seeds with the same care as their wars, and laid out their fields with the same diligence as their camps, or that all things thrive better with honourable hands, even as they are done with more attention.....but now chained feet, condemned hands, and branded faces till the same lands.....and yet we wonder that they are not as productive in the hands of slaves as they were in those of generals."†

As some persons may be indisposed to place implicit faith in the traditions of the heroic ages, we may observe that the most learned writers on agriculture state that the system of rotation of crops, green crops, &c., &c., which has been for centuries practised amongst the small farmers of the continent, but which the large farmers of England and our enlightened exterminators fancy to be the latest result of a Saxon combination of clearances, chemistry, capital, and civilization, was pursued by the Celts of Greece and Italy 2000 years back; and we may therefore take the following statement as to the mode in which a modern Flemish family derives a comfortable subsistence from the cultivation of six acres, as a solution of the mode in which an ancient Roman family derived it

* *Coli rura ab ergastulis, et quicquid agitur a desperandibus.*—*Ibid.*

† *Quænam ergo tante ubertatis causa erat? Ipsorum tunc manibus imperatorum colebantur agri, ut fas est credere gaudente terra vomero laureato et triumpali aratore; sive illi eadem cura semina tractabant qua bella, eademque diligentia arva disponerant qua castra; sive honestis manibus omnia latius proveniunt, quoniam et curiosius fiunt. Seruentem invenerunt dati honores Seranum, unde cognomen At nunc eadem illa vincti pedes, damnatae manus, inscriptique vultus exercent: non tamen surda tellure, qua pars appellatur, colique dicitur ipsa: Lonore his assumpto, ut non invita ea et indiguata credatur id fieri; sed nos miramur ergastulorum non eadem emolumenta esse, qua fuerint imperatorum.*—*Ib. c. 2.*

from the Licinian allotment. The writer of the volume on "Flemish Husbandry," in the "Library of Useful Knowledge," thus from actual observation shows how it is done. After explaining how on such a farm all the work is performed by the members of the family, and what sort of crops they adopt, he says :

"If a man with his wife and three young children are considered as equal to three and a half grown-up men, the family will require thirty-nine bushels of grain, forty-nine bushels of potatoes, a fat hog, and the butter and milk of one cow ; an acre and a half of land will produce the grain and potatoes, and allow some corn to finish the fattening of the hog, which has the extra buttermilk ; another acre in clover, turnips, carrots and potatoes, together with the stubble, will more than feed the cow : consequently, *two and a half acres* are sufficient to feed this family, and the produce of the other three and a half may be sold to pay the rent or the interest of purchase money, wear and tear of implements, extra manure, and clothes for the family. But these acres are the most profitable on the farm, for the hemp, flax, and colza are included ; and by having another acre in clover and roots, a second cow may be kept, and its produce sold. *We have, therefore, a solution of the problem how a family can live and thrive on six acres of moderate land.*"*

If then daily experience proves that a Belgian peasant family can raise sufficient food off $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres, why should we not believe that a Roman family raised enough off less than two acres, especially when we recollect that in the early period of the Republic, good cultivation was rewarded with public honours, and bad cultivation punished with public censure,† and that their senate returned public thanks for, and ordered to be translated for the use of the people, a foreign treatise on agriculture,‡ extending to twenty-eight books, a number which shows conclusively that their system of cultivation was not limited to wheat, rye, turnips, hemp, flax, clover, carrots, and colza ; but extended to many articles and modes of culture of which our large farmers and exterminators have as much know-

* Quoted by Mill, vol. i. p. 319.

† *Agrum male colere censorium probrum dicebatur.* M. Cato Priscus De Re Rust. proem. See there, and in Pliny, and Columella, the honours paid to good cultivators.

‡ By Mago, the Carthaginian.

ledge as they have appreciation of the virtue that was content with so little.

For these and other reasons, we think that the introduction of such provisions into the above act was a great mistake. As half the purchase money must be paid down, and the remainder by instalments within ten years, and the company may eject for any half-yearly instalment, as a landlord may for nonpayment of rent, it is clear that no one, be he ever so venturesome, can attempt to purchase an estate who has not at least a thousand pounds to commence with. This is too high a standard in a poor country like ours, where, above all others, land should be offered for sale freed from all artificial restrictions, and in the smallest possible quantities, to suit the means, and wants, and wishes, of every struggler after independence, who may think, like the honest Roman,—

“*Est aliquid quocunque loco, quocunque recessu,
Unius sess⁹ dominum fecisse lacertæ.*”

Indeed, we think that if legislation ought to set a restriction on the purchase of land more than of any other commodity, it ought to be directed against excessive accumulation, and that the ancient Roman rule was the right one—to buy only what you can cultivate, “so that we may seem to purchase in order to enjoy, and not to be overburthened ourselves, and to wrest the means of enjoyment from others,”[•] and that encouragement ought not to be given to purchases for mere speculative purposes. If the laws against forestalling, regrating, and engrossing provisions[†] were founded in wisdom, would it not be wise to prevent the forestalling, regrating, and engrossing of

[•] *Modus ergo in omnibus rebus et in parandis agris habebitur. Tantum enim obtinendum est quanto est opus ut emisse videamus quo potremur non quo oneraremur ipsi atque aliis fruendum eriperamus more præpotentium.....Modus erit unicuique moderata voluntas facultasque nequo eum satis est ut jam prius dixi possidore vello si colere non possis Colum. De Re Rust. Proem. So Pliny mentions it as an instance of Pompey's magnanimity, that he never bought a neighbour's land, and lays it down as a rule, Prædium ne cupide emas.—N. II. Lib. xviii c. 7.*

[†] See 4 Bla. Com. 158. These laws have been recently repealed by the 7 and 8 Vict. c. 24, in conformity with modern, and we believe mistaken, notions of political economy.

the land on which provisions are raised? The economic principles which condemn subletting, must equally condemn the purchase of large tracts for the purpose of reselling or even letting parts at a profit.

These measures, however, are useful, more as recognitions of the necessity of scattering the land amongst the people in absolute ownership, than as practically calculated to effect that object. However, it is clear that all parties are conscious of the impropriety and impolicy of the present system, and that the obvious remedy is a measure making the occupants of the soil tenants in fee simple, their rents being commuted into fixed payments; in other words, fixity of tenure. When we first saw this topic propounded in 1832 by Mr. Connor, who has since continued to advocate it, "not wisely, but too well," and subsequently by others of our countrymen, we confess that we looked upon it with suspicion, as an unprecedented and unwarrantable interference with the rights of property. Nor were these views much modified, though we saw it afterwards suggested as the obvious remedy for our condition by the present French ambassador, in a work which exhibited such a knowledge of our grievances, and the proper means of redressing them, as would establish the reputation of a dozen generations of "shave beggar" secretaries, and by Kohl and Raumer, and almost all enlightened foreigners who have visited our shores. But the circumstances of the country have lately become so deplorable, as to strike every one with the necessity of some great and fundamental alteration. Even now such of our conservative countrymen as have an opportunity of witnessing the state of the continent, are becoming converts to the idea. Thus Mr. Whiteside, in his recent work on Italy, expresses frequently a desire that our landlords would establish some such system as he witnessed producing such happy effects in the vale of the Arno. It was, however, only a study of the writings of Scrope, Thornton, and Mill, which removed all doubt from our minds. They were not enthusiasts or visionaries, or foreigners, not knowing or despising our laws or surplus natives, the witnesses of the oppression which, as the Scripture says, drives wise men mad, but cool and unimpassioned Englishmen, proficients in the only science which exterminating landlords affect to value, and who regarded their own suggestions for our relief, as a means of promoting the

best interests of England. We will take the writings of the three in succession.

Mr. Thornton, in his "Overpopulation and its Remedies," a work eminently deserving of the reputation it enjoys, examines the condition of the people of the three kingdoms, and particularly of England. In that work we saw, that wherever the agricultural labourers are reduced to the normal condition of labourers for hire, they are poor and wretched, and every day becoming worse, and degenerating into the rank of confirmed paupers, while the poor rates are increasing in a ratio that soon threatens a revolution; that in the western counties of England so stunted have the labourers become, that recruiting officers declare that men cannot be got there who come up to the standard; that the only counties in England where the poor rates are not increasing, and the people are comfortable, are those where the labourers have some land annexed to their dwellings; and that, in short, the masses enjoy nothing like comfort, or security, or independence, where they have not some ground from which they raise some of the necessaries of life; and, further, that all over the continent, where the land is scattered amongst the people in small quantities, there is a degree of happiness and comfort and independence to which Englishmen have been strangers since the system of clearance and large farms commenced amongst them in the fifteenth century. In the "Plea," the superiority of small estates to large ones is demonstrated with a force of reasoning and an amount of illustration which leave no room for doubt; but the author hesitates to recommend the universal adoption of his theory in this country by a statute enacting fixity of tenure, and merely suggests the withdrawal of the masses of pauper labourers from the field of competition to the locations on the wastes, as already mentioned. Mr. Mill coincides with Thornton as to the superiority of small farms to large ones, and examines in detail the condition of the cultivator in every possible phase of relation to the ownership of the soil;—where he is an actual slave, as in America and the West Indies; where he is a serf, as in Russia; where a free labourer for daily money wages, as in England; where he hires the land, as in Tuscany, giving a share of the proceeds, which is fixed by long custom, to the landlord, the latter supplying all or part of the capital necessary for the purchase of seed,

stock, &c.—where he hires it at a money rent, but with a perpetual tenure, as in the Channel Islands; where he hires it, as here, from year to year, paying a money rack-rent, dependant not on custom, but competition, to a landlord who shares in no way in his expenses or hazards; and, finally, where, as in the greater part of the continent, he is the owner in fee. The last he shows to be the best, and the second last to be the worst possible, condition for the cultivator. In another particular, too, he shows that our tenure is the worst in creation. In no other part of the globe but here does the rent of the land depend on competition. In all other parts of the world the rent is fixed by custom; and so long as it is paid, the tiller has a right to remain in possession. We therefore stand distinguished from the rest of the species,—first, by being compelled to pay a rent raised to an excess by perpetual competition; and, secondly, by being liable to be ejected at the caprice of the legal owner of the soil. The consequence is, that, as he says, the Irish farmer and cottier is “almost alone among mankind in this condition, that he can be scarcely better off or worse off by any act of his own. If he was industrious or prudent, nobody but his landlord would gain: if he is lazy or intemperate, it is at his landlord’s expense.”* A change from this state, he, says is imperatively called for; and to show that it might be effected, without any violent outrage on the established principles of property, he goes into an examination of the original reasons on which the right of property in land is founded, and lays down positions which, though perfectly true, and well known to all enquirers into the elements of social institutions, must startle those who fancy that the sole object of all law and government is to enable landlords to grind tenants to powder. He shows that there is a great difference between property in land and property in moveable goods, and that the soil of a country is by natural law the inheritance of the whole community, and though the public good requires that it should be appropriated to individuals, yet it is only for the public good it is so appropriated, and those to whom it is appropriated are only trustees for the public, and are fulfilling their trust only so long as they are improvers; whereas, with a few honoura-

ble exceptions, "the owners of Irish estates do nothing for the land but drain it of its produce. What has been epigrammatically said in the discussion on 'peculiar burthens,' is literally true when applied to them,—that the greatest 'burthen on land' is the landlords. Returning nothing to the soil, they consume its whole produce, minus the potatoes strictly necessary to keep the inhabitants from dying of famine; and when they have any notion of improvement, it consists of not even leaving this pittance, but turning out the people to beggary, if not to starvation. When landed property has placed itself upon this footing, it ceases to be defensible, and the time has come for making some new arrangement of the matter." That fixity of tenure ought to be the new arrangement, is the only logical conclusion to be drawn from his premisses; but he is scared off from it by the consideration that it would be "a complete expropriation of the higher classes;" that "it is far from desirable that there should be none but peasant proprietors;" that "a large proportion of the present holdings are too small to try the proprietary system under the greatest advantages, nor are the present tenants always the persons one would desire to select as the first occupants of peasant properties."^{*} He therefore contents himself with recommending Thornton's suggestion as to waste lands, and the scattering of the soil in fixity of tenure amongst the mass of the population, through the agency of companies buying up large tracts of land, and reselling them in small allotments. Selden says of an overscrupulous man, that he "is like a horse not well weighed, he shies at trifles." We have no doubt that a little more training and exercise will cure Mr. Mill of this weakness. Mr. Scrope alone has the boldness to follow his premisses to their conclusion, and as he denounces the legal arrangements in this island, "by which the entire soil of a country containing millions of inhabitants is made the absolute and unconditional property of a few hundred or thousand individuals, with full power to waste, neglect, or misuse it to any extent, and, indeed, to sweep at their will the entire population off its surface, placing the people—the nation itself—at their mercy for the means of existence—nay, even for

* Vol. i. p. 390.

standing-room upon the native soil!" (p. 16.) as a violation of the first and elemental conditions of human society—"an unjustifiable usurpation of natural and heaven-intended rights.....capable of transforming paradise itself into a desert," the sanction of which by public law is to be compared only to the sanction given "to slavery and monopoly in our own country, and to tyranny and despotism in other states;" and thinks, with Sismondi, that "an earl (or other large landowner) has no more right to drive from their homes the inhabitants of his county, than a king to drive out the inhabitants of his kingdom;" and that the "landlords of England (and still more of Ireland) should beware," lest, if once "they appear to believe they have no need of the people, the people may in their turn think that they have no need of them,"* he considers an uprooting of such a system necessary for the safety and well-being of the empire, and declares fixity of tenure to be the only remedy, and so far from its being a revolutionary novelty, shows that it is now the rule all over the world, and rack-rented tenancy at will the exception, and known only in these islands. He points attention to the fact, that the exactions of the landlords throughout the greater part of Europe "created so much general poverty, misery, and discontent," that the sovereign authority was obliged to interpose; that for the last century legislation on the continent has been directed to reducing the pretensions of landowners to limits consistent with the welfare of the community; and that fixity of tenure has been adopted by almost every continental state except France, without tumult or violence, through the interpositions of the sovereigns granting new rights to the tenantry, and securing the landlords in their just rights—that is to say, "so much of their former privileges as was not inconsistent with the welfare of the people." In France alone the landlords would not submit to a just and equitable arrangement, and the first Revolution was the consequence, which made the peasantry the owners in fee of nearly the entire soil.

"In almost every other state of Europe the peasant-occupier was, by the decree of the sovereign, released from his servile de-

* "A Plea," &c.

pendance on the will of the legal lord of the soil, and *made the owner of his farm at a fixed quit rent*. Queen Sophia of Denmark led the way in this salutary reform, in the year 1761. The 'Urbarium' decree of Maria Theresa effected the same change throughout Hungary in 1765. Between 1770 and 1790 the Margrave of Baden and several other of the minor German sovereigns followed the example; and in 1781 Joseph II. of Austria throughout his entire dominions. Hanover and Mecklenburg were not long behind; and between 1810 and 1820 the edicts of Stein and Hardenburg extended the principle throughout Prussia and its provinces. In 1804 the peasants of Livonia and Estonia had obtained the same happy position by favour of the Emperor Alexander. In Russian Poland a very similar state of things exists. In Russia proper, through all the crown estates, containing a population of ten millions, serfship is abolished, and the peasantry enjoy 'fixity of tenure.' Even on the estates of the nobles the Russian serf *cannot be evicted* by his landlord; *his rent, in labour, is fixed*; and the landlord must maintain him if destitute.....The latest change of this kind took place in 1838, when, by royal edict of the reigning sovereign, the rents of the peasantry of Sardinia and Piedmont were fixed, and their farms secured to them."*

Fixity of tenure, so far from being an outrage on the constitution, is in strict conformity with it. Thus the common law, as Mr. Scrope observes, fixed the rents of villeins and copyholders, which originally were really, and still are nominally, dependant on the will of the lord, at what had been settled by custom, and would "not suffer the lord to extend his power so far as to disinherit the tenant."[†] So the "exile or destruction of villeins or tenants at will, or making them poore where they were rich when the tenant came in, whereby they depart from their tenures, is waste."[‡] So at common law a landlord could not eject a tenant for arrears of rent. This object is effected entirely through the intervention of statutes; the earliest of which, the 6 Ed. I. c. iv., allowed an ejectment where the rent was two years in arrear; the latest, the 11 & 12 Vict. c. xxviii. where it is only one month. Altogether, the present relations of landlord and tenant, and the laws of real property generally, are entirely the result of centuries of landlord legislation, directed to two

* Irish Relief Measures, pp. 89, 90, 91.

† 2 Bla. Com. 99, cited in A Plea for the Rights of Industry, p. 70.

‡ Co. Litt. 53 b.

objects: to raise the landlords to the best possible position, and to reduce the tenants to serfdom. Blackstone details the various steps by which the landowners, from having a mere estate for life, subject to arbitrary exactions, have acquired a perpetuity of tenure, with a limitation of liability; and points to the wars of the kings and the barons as the means employed by them for extending their rights and limiting the exactions of the head landlord of the realm. Their present fixity of tenure was not secured till after, and by (perhaps) the Great Rebellion. In a matter of this kind we like to quote the landlords' text-book of the constitution. Blackstone, after detailing the various impositions and exactions lopped off by successive outbreaks and statutes, proceeds thus:

" For the present, I have only to observe, that by degenerating of knight service, or personal military duty, into escuage or pecuniary assessments, all the advantages, (either promised or real,) of the feudal constitution were destroyed, and nothing but the hardships remained. Instead of forming a national militia, composed of barons, knights, and gentlemen, bound by their interest, their honour, and their oaths, to defend their king and country, the whole of this system of tenures now tended to nothing else but a wretched means of raising money to pay an army of occasional mercenaries. In the mean time, the families of all our nobility and gentry groaned under intolerable burthens.....For, besides the scutages to which they were liable in defect of personal attendance, which, however, were assessed by themselves in parliament, they might be called upon by the king or lord paramount for aids whenever his eldest son was to be knighted, or his eldest daughter married, not to forget the ransom of his own person. The heir, on the death of his ancestor, if of full age, was plundered of the first emoluments arising from his inheritance, by way of *relief* and *primer seisin*; and if under age of the whole of his estate during infancy, and then, as Sir Thomas Smith very feelingly complains, " when he came to his own, after he was out of wardship, his woods decayed, houses fallen down, stock wasted and gone, land let forth and ploughed to be barren;" to reduce him still farther, he was yet to pay half a year's profits as a fine for sueing out his *livery*; and also the price or value of his *marriage*, if he refused such wife as his lord and guardian had bartered for and imposed upon him, or twice that value if he married another woman. Add to this the untimely and expensive honour of *knighthood*, to make his poverty more completely splendid. And when by these deductions his fortune was so shattered and ruined, that perhaps he was obliged to sell his patrimony, he had not even that poor privilege allowed him, without paying an exorbitant fine for a licence of alienation.

"A slavery so complicated and so extensive as this, called aloud for a remedy in a nation that boasted of its freedom. Palliatives were from time to time applied by successive acts of parliament, which assuaged some temporary grievances, till at last the humanity of king James I. consented, in consideration of a proper equivalent, to abolish them all. Though the plan succeeded not to effect; in like manner as he had formed a scheme and began to put it in execution for removing the feudal grievances of heritable jurisdictions in Scotland, which has since been pursued and effected by the 20 Geo. II. c. 43. King James's plan for exchanging our military tenures seems to have been nearly the same as that which has been since pursued; only with this difference, that by way of compensation for the loss which the crown and other lords would sustain, an annual fee-farm rent was to have been settled, and inseparably annexed to the crown, and assured to the inferior lords, payable out of every knight's fee within their respective seignories. An expedient seemingly much better than the hereditary excise, which was afterwards made the principal equivalent for these concessions. For at length the military tenures with all their heavy appendages, (having during the usurpation been discontinued), were destroyed at one blow by the Statute, 12 Car. II. c 24, which enacts, 'that the court of ward and liveries, and all wardships, liveries, primer seisins, and ousterle mains, values and forfeitures of marriages, by reason of any tenure of the king or others, be totally taken away. And that all fines for alienations, tenures by homage, knight's service, and escuage, and also aids for marrying the daughter, or knighting the son, and all tenures of the king *in capite* be likewise taken away. And that all sorts of tenures held of the king or others be turned into free and common socage, save only tenures in frankalmoign, copyholds, and the honorary services (without the slavish part, of grand serjeantry.)' A statute which was a greater acquisition to the civil property of this kingdom than even *magna charta* itself, since that only pruned the luxuriances that had grown out of the military tenures, and thereby preserved them in vigour; but the statute of King Charles extirpated the whole, and demolished both root and branches."*

By this statute the crown got £7000. a-year charged on the excise, in lieu of its old rights of exaction; and other landlords got no equivalent whatever. Now, we only propose that the present rents or—if the landlords should prefer it in any instance—the present value of the land, to be estimated by a jury, should be commuted into fixed quit-rents on the same principle as was adopted in the Tithe

* 2 Com. pp. 75-7.

Commutation Act, that is, to vary with the average price of corn: so that landlords should not lose by any future alteration in the value of money. This really is only a corollary from the act of Charles II., but with such alterations as a nicer sense of justice suggests. That converted tenures in villeinage and other base tenures into the highest estates known to the law, and released all freehold tenures from the unsettled and unlimited exactions, to which they were before liable, without securing any equivalent to the landlords. Why, then, should not a modern parliament enact and declare that the holdings of all occupying tenants, whether at will, for years, or lives, &c., should be turned into free and common soccage, the present rents or values being commuted into quit-rents, thus giving full, and no more than the full, effect to the words in the above statute, "that all sorts of tenures held of the king or others be turned into free and common soccage?" The Devon commissioners had no hesitation in recommending that tenancies for lives renewable for ever should be converted into tenures in fee simple. The Established Church had a right (some said a divine right) to the tenth part of each year's produce; yet a simple resolution of the Irish House of Commons deprived it of small tithes in this country from 1736 up to 1800, when the principle of the resolution was embodied in the Act of Union, and all tithes have been since commuted in both countries, the preamble to the first of the statutes passed for this purpose, the 4 Geo. IV. c. 99, being such exactly as would answer very well for the enactment we suggest. So statutes have been recently passed in England for the voluntary, and one was on the point of passing last year for the compulsory, enfranchisement of copyholds, and commuting the liabilities of the tenants into fixed payments; and the Sixth Report of the Copyhold Commissioners contains details of principles of arrangement which show that those gentlemen would have no difficulty whatever in dealing practically with this question here. It is admitted that the Established Church has gained by the change. That the lords of manors have gained, too, is clear from the fact, that the bill of last year was lost not through their opposition, but that of their stewards. That the nobles of the continent have gained by the commutation of their rights is beyond dispute. What higher evidence can our landlords want than that of Lord Brougham, who, speaking of the com-

mutations in Prussia, observes, that "the rights of the lord were far more burthensome to the vassal than beneficial to himself;" and says: "It is remarkable that the nobles, who had of course complained much of so violent an interference with their property, felt so soon the benefits resulting from the new arrangement, and especially in the improvement which it effected in the condition of their tenants, that they represented it as '*advancing them a century.*'"^{*} To such an arrangement there can be no objection on the score of equity and justice, as the landlords can have no pretension to anything beyond the present value of the soil, all future increase in the value being the result of the occupier's labour. A landlord should seek to gratify any wants and wishes beyond those which could be satisfied by the present value of the soil, by the exercise of his own industry in some honest calling, and not by watching over the toil of others, and pouncing on its proceeds. This is not an honest, any more than it is a gentlemanly, occupation; and that, in the long run, honesty is the best policy even amongst landlords is proved by the fact, that the Milesian and Norman landlords, who allowed fixity of tenure, and in modern times introduced leases for lives renewable for ever, and other long tenures, have maintained their position through centuries; whereas the Cromwellian and Williamite rack-renters have lost, or soon will have lost, the last vestige of the properties, in the management of which they proved themselves to be as devoid of common honesty, as of charity and forethought.

Some immediate change is absolutely necessary, and if it be not adopted, the country must be irremediably ruined. As Tacitus said truly of precisely the same state of things in Rome: "Other disorders may be cured by a change of feeling, but this neglected must altogether ruin the republic."[†] Thus the government may extend muni-

* "Political Philosophy," vol. ii. 526. This is cited in an excellent little pamphlet very recently published by Mr. Alcock, M.P., for Surrey—another convert to the necessity of controlling landlord pretensions.

† "At, Hercule, nemo refert quod Italia externe opis indiget, quod vita populi Romani per incerta maris et tempestatum quotidie volvitur, ac nisi provinciarum copiae et dominis et servitiis et agris

cipal reform, modify the system of education in schools and colleges, pension the clergy, patronize "practical instructors," talk of duties to landlords, or even, according to the wisdom of *their* ancestors in 1763, pay attention to Protestant charter schools; but if they do not give the people some permanent interest in the soil, and enable them to live on its produce, instead of begging rations of Indian meal, the country must soon be a desert. There are only 8000 landlords here, as nearly as the Devon commissioners could ascertain. Why should seven millions be kept in misery for them? Their annual rental is estimated at six millions. England paid twenty millions for the redemption of some thousands of negroes: three times that sum (just twenty years' purchase) would redeem millions of Celts from a worse bondage, and with the certainty of every farthing of the ransom being repaid in ten years.

Though in the present constitution of parliament we can conceive it difficult to carry fixity of tenure universally, in consequence of landlord opposition, we see no reason why the government should not imitate the Emperor of Russia, and adopt it at once on the crown lands; or why they could not easily carry an act establishing it on all church, college, and corporation lands. Such a

subvenerint, nostra nos scilicet nemora nostræque villæ tuebuntur?
Hanc P. C. curam sustinet princeps: hæc omissa funditus
republicam trahat: reliquias intra animum medendum est: nos
pudor, pauperes necessitas, divites satias, in melius mutet."—
Annal. Lib. iii. c. 53.

See in Dr. Arnold's "History of the Later Roman Commonwealth," vol. i. p. 72, vol. ii, p. 357, and *passim*, the extraordinary similarity between the present condition of this country and that of ancient Italy, in the accumulation of large tracts of land in a few hands, the clearing out of the rural population, and their congregation in towns and cities; the conversion of their lands to waste or pasture, and management by paupers and slaves; the reliance on foreign corn as the staple food, and on public doles of it as the sole means of subsistence for the majority of the nation; the great predominance and influence of landowners and money-lenders; the gradual and progressive impoverishment of the whole mass of the community, their inability to pay their debts or taxes, their want of public spirit and inaptitude for public business, their entire dependance on the central authority for aid and guidance in everything, and almost every other symptom of our debasement, misery, and ruin.

change would be an absolute benefit to the permanent interests of the bodies owning those lands. Some may suppose that there would not be great opposition to a bill enforcing it on all lands let under the courts of equity. Heretofore lands have been let in the court of chancery on leases for seven years. The lord chancellor has recently extended the limit to twenty-one years. How easy for the legislature to make it a thousand ! But here we fear that landlord influence will interfere. In all the countries of the continent where fixity of tenure was peaceably adopted, it was imposed upon the landlords by the arbitrary will of the sovereign ; but in France, where the power of the legislation was in some degree in their hands, a revolution was necessary. We fear that it will never be conceded here by a government and parliament of landlords ; and therefore those who do not approve of revolutions, and believe with us in the truth and wisdom of the moral force theory, and that it is better, rather than that a drop of blood should be shed, that thousands—nay, millions—should be starved or strangled, ought to exert themselves to procure a repeal of the laws which vest the power of legislation exclusively in landlords. The mark of the landlord is on all imperial legislation, whether relating to this island or any other part of the United Kingdom or its dependencies. Thus, in this country, landlord legislation presented the head of each clan with the entire landed property of the clan, so that he might dispose as he liked of their possessions, and on his misde-meaning himself the entire might be forfeited to the crown. Thus when McMahon of Monaghan was convicted of constructive treason—for having, before the introduction of the English law into his territory, attempted to levy a distress for his rent by a strong hand—by a highly respectable, impartial, and intelligent jury, selected unindifferently and in due form of law from the panel of a troop of enlightened British soldiers, and under the direction of a judge who found the law so very clear that he would entertain no doubts, and reserve no questions, the property of the entire clan was forfeited, and distributed amongst the judge and jury and other impartial and disinterested individuals who assisted in bringing the traitor to justice,*

* See the effect of this first instance of trial by jury and

So in Scotland, landlord parliaments treated the chieftains as the absolute owners of all the lands of their clans, and their clans as mere tenants at sufferance; whereas, in truth and in fact, the several clansmen held their lands in absolute ownership, subject to rendering to the chief, so long as they allowed him to be chief, their accustomed services, and he was entitled only to those services and his own immediate lands; and the consequence is, that the descendants of the clansmen, who by their blood and valour won and preserved those lands for ages, and thus earned and had as good a title to them as their chiefs, are now cleared off, in order to make room for grouse and deer, by dukes and lairds and pedlars. So in our vast East Indian possessions. The Mogul conquerors of India, who had no law excluding from the councils of the nation and the sovereign all who were not extensive landowners, gave the soil to the peasantry in perpetuity at certain fixed rents, and appointed certain functionaries called zemindars to collect them; but the English geocracy,* when they arrived in India, could not understand such arrangements, and converted the zemindars into the absolute owners of the tracts (some as large as Leinster) over which their jurisdiction as rent collectors had extended, and the peasantry into their serfs or tenants at will, but fortunately with this condition, that the rent to be first imposed could never afterwards be altered.† So at the Cape of Good Hope an attempt was made to force the Boors to resign their titles for terms of forty years; but they rebelled, and the consequence was, that the forty years' lease crotchet was abandoned, and they were restored to their old tenures in perpetuity.‡ The same evil influence is to be found producing similar results in all the dependencies of the empire; and therefore it is clear that,

English tenures in the north, in 1 Plow. Hist. Rev. 84, and Mitchell's Life of Hugh O'Neill, 81-82.

* Land-power. We coin this word, and hope it will be found useful as a substitute for aristocracy.

† Mill, vol. i. pp. 375-380.

‡ See this alluded to in Sir H. Smith's proclamation on the late outbreak headed by Pretorius, in the Morning Herald of the 2nd of October last.

till the anomaly of confiding to landlords exclusively the power of legislating for the whole community is abolished, there can be no hope of prosperity for the country. A parliament of landlords* is an anomaly in the history of the human species. In Sweden there is a chamber of peasants; in Denmark there was, till the liberties of the country were overthrown in 1660; of the national assembly of France peasants form a large proportion; and of those of Germany, Prussia, and Austria, they form the majority; and it somehow happens that in those countries peasants are not treated exactly as vermin, and that the first acts of the Prussian and Austrian assemblies were to abolish the few remaining vestiges of serfdom. There are people who fancy that some immediate good might be done by a little attention to our existing representation, though they confess that from our present patriotic repeal members we cannot expect the advocacy of any measure not previously sanctioned by the ministry. We believe we are expressing the universal opinion of the country when we say, that no one expects them to throw away the chance of a place, or even a nod of recognition from a minister, for the best and wisest legislative project that ever yet was devised by the wit of man. Most of them, in denouncing the wrongs of the country, remind us only of mendicant impostors borrowing diseased children, and hawking their sores in order to get a few halfpence for themselves. It is a disgrace to the nation to allow itself to be so treated, and to be indebted to strangers for every rational effort to improve its material condition. Mr. Poulett Serope has done more for it in this respect than all its own representatives together; and we sincerely believe that, if it could make an effort to send to his aid a dozen honest men, its physical wretchedness would soon be in some degree redressed.

We have now laid before our readers an imperfect outline of the policy which we think ought to be pursued, departing in no instance from the form and spirit of the constitution, asking no alms, and, with one exception, no loans from the already over-taxed people of England, and desiring only freedom from artificial restraints on our

* We say of landlords, as, in fact, the 1 & 2 Vict. c. 48, allowing personal estates to qualify, makes no substantial difference from the act of Anne.

energies to work out our redemption by our own resources. We are not disposed to be dogmatical, but we believe that all other contrivances for securing the peace and prosperity of the country will be futile, that in vain will the legislature be engaged year after year with the class of paltry, peddling, trumpery, and impracticable "remedial measures," about which they have been debating for the last five years, and of cruel and exasperating "coercive measures," which they have been passing without debate and enforcing without mercy for the last century, and that to the end of time their labours in remodelling, altering, and amending each new experiment in the scheme of policy so well characterized by Grattan as having only for its object to "refer the poor to the hangman for regulation, and to Providence for relief," will know neither success nor cessation—

"Redit labor actus in orbem,
Atque in se sua per vestigia volvitur error."

ART. III.—*Geschichte der Ost—und westfränkischen Carlinger Vom Tode Ludwigs des Frommen bis zum Ende Conrads I.* Von A. Fr. Gfrörer. [History of the Eastern and Western Frankish Carolingian Monarchs, from the Death of Louis-le-Debonnaire, to the end of the Reign of Conrad I. By A. Fr. Gfrörer.] Two volumes. Freiburg, 1848.

THE author of this work claims for himself a merit, which we are not disposed to deny he possesses—that is, of giving to his fellow citizens in their own language, a more full account than they ever before could command, of an early period in the annals of their country. He begins at the time when Germany may be said to have had a distinct existence as a monarchy, and when the combined follies and vices of the Carolingian race had effected the dissolution of that mighty empire, which the genius, the virtues, and the valour of Charlemagne—the pupil of the Anglo Saxon Alcuin—had established. To a German who is ignorant of Latin, Herr Gfrörer's volumes must be interesting; but to one who can read with equal facility Latin and German,

we recommend the study of the original authors in the pages of Bouquet and Pertz, as more instructive, more amusing, and more trust-worthy than the versions that are given of them by Herr Gfrörer. His book is a piece of patchwork, in the execution of which we can discover neither taste in the arrangement, nor skill in the disposition of details; for the author has not the power of entering into the spirit of the times to which his studies have been devoted, but his mind has not been engaged. There is great expansion and little substance—there is the garrulity of antiquity conveyed in such a dull modern strain, that we are deprived by it, and by Herr Gfrörer's fault alone, of that feeling of respect, and that sentiment of veneration which age always inspires. In undertaking to give to the world a copious version of the ancient annalists of his country, the author had a plain course open before him—to have connected them together in such a manner as that each fact should be placed in chronological order, so that the reader might peruse in a consecutive statement the works of Nithard, and Thegan, and Prudentius, &c., with the various chronicles, letters, charters, &c., which require insertion: and to these he might have added, wherever he deemed it to be necessary, notes illustrative of his text. By this means the reader could know at once, and without the slightest chance of mistake or misapprehension, what was really ancient, and what the modern explanation or annotation upon it. Or, if the author conceived that such a plan was as troublesome as it is candid, he might, without pretending to quote the *ipsissima verba* of the ancient authorities, have given his own version of them, and by a strict attention to references, have bestowed upon the scholar who perused his pages, the power of testing at every step his exactness and his trustworthiness. In the former case we might have had, even though marred by many defects, an authentic narrative; and in the latter, a work that would not be without its value, if for nothing more than as an index to the original sources, in which the ancient history of Germany might be found. Herr Gfrörer adopts neither the one plan, nor the other. He has opened the annals of his country, studied them, mastered their contents as if they were a brief, and from that brief sought to *make out a case*, citing in its support only such portions of the evidence as strengthen his statement, or tend to corroborate his views. He is a pleader and not

a historian ; and his struggle is not to give full information to the reader, but to obtain a verdict ; and, in doing so, if it cannot be said of him that he falsifies what is true, or asserts what is unfounded, it may be affirmed that he amplifies every point that tells in his favour, and slurs over whatever is opposed to his theory ; for Herr Gfrörer has—like most modern Anti-Catholic writers on history—a theory to establish.

What the nature of that theory is we shall hereafter show ; but first of all we wish to exhibit the author's want of capacity for the work he has undertaken to perform.

We take it for granted, that it is impossible for any man to be fitted for giving, in a modern form, a suitable version of the writings of the ancient chroniclers, who cannot interest himself in the times in which they wrote, who cannot feel *with* them, and *for* them, and *respecting* the various periods which they described—who will not, as it were, transport himself back to the state of society in which they lived—be in imagination, not merely in the *Scriptorium* where the events are recorded, but also abroad in the world, and have a hearty sympathy with the *free*, and a generous regard for the *unfree*, as if they were both still his contemporaries, and he saw himself yet surrounded by those whom century after century have helped to conceal in long forgotten graves. No effort of the will can give this impulse to the imagination. The poetic genius of a Homer cannot truly portray foreign countries, nor accurately depict strange but long established customs. In such a case as this, a strong and vigorous fancy can alone spring from the rich and cultivated mould of learning. That learning itself will appear but dull, flat, and unprofitable, if there be not the poetic power in the antiquarian or the historian of illustrating it, or of presenting it in such an aspect as may render it attractive to the modern, and, mayhap, uninstructed reader. Without ripe knowledge there cannot be this poetic power, and without this poetic power, the version in modern language of an ancient chronicler must be as dry, trite, and bald as the literal translation by a school-boy of the first book of Livy. The words of one language may be found in those of another, but the spirit will have evaporated.

We do not desire to be understood as throwing an imputation upon the learning of Herr Gfrörer, or his capability to translate the various works he has read. What we find

sault with him is, that he has not the capacity of entering into the spirit of the times of which he writes, and hence he fails in interesting the reader with regard to them; because, if he have the learning which would enable him to illustrate those times, that learning lies as lumber on his hands, and he does not know how to turn it to account.

We have not far to seek for proof of what we conceive to be the justness and truth of the objection we make to Herr Gfrörer. In the first chapter of the first book, reference is made by him to "the *Stellinga*." Now who were, or what was *the Stellinga*? For the sake of ancient Germany itself, a German author might be supposed to tell us all that could be stated respecting a *name* which rises up in the history of his country, and is a memento alike of great sufferings, and of great crimes.

Let us see how Herr Gfrörer deals with it. In translating his account of *the Stellinga*, we give at the same time a specimen of the manner in which his book is written. The reader will observe, that whatever is marked with a double colon, is the author's version of an ancient annalist or chronicler. The point of time at which the succeeding extract commences, is that period in the year 841, when the Emperor Lothair had been completely defeated at Fontenay (departement de l'Yonne) by the united forces of Charles the Bald and Louis the Germanic.

Lothair fled from Fontenay to Aix-la-Chapelle. (Prudent. Annal. ad a. 841. Pertz, i. 437.) Meanwhile, a portion of the Saxon nobility, who had hitherto adhered to the cause of the Emperor, abandoned him. I now leave it to Nithard (Hist. iv. 2. Pertz, ii. 668) to be the narrator: "The population of Saxony is divided into three classes: the Edelinge, Frilinge," (the mass of the population that is free,) "and the Lazze," (the unfree, alias Lote) "Upon the breaking out of hostilities between Lothair and his brother, the nobility were divided into two parties, one of which supported Lothair, and the other Louis. As soon, however, as the Emperor perceived that the consequence of the victory of his allied brethren had disposed the party of the nobility, which had hitherto been true to himself, to abandon him, he sought by any and by every means he could devise to sustain himself." And now, in order to make what follows the more comprehensible, I must state a few facts. It is well known that Charles the Great had waged war for thirty years against the Saxons. Despite, however, of all his power, the

only means by which he was at last able to subject this valiant people, was by separating the nobility from the people, by bestowing upon the former riches, feudal tenures, and an absolutely despotic power over those who, from the condition of the freeholders (*freibauern*) and independent tenants, were reduced to a state of servitude. (Gfrörer *Kirchenge Schichte*, iii. 689.) The nobility were seduced by these offers, and the people, who were betrayed, were trampled upon by those who had been their former leaders. Charles went so far as to deprive the oppressed people even of their right of *inheritance*, so that the son or sons of a serf were under the necessity, upon the death of a father, of being compelled to go before the officers of the Emperor—before the very nobles who had been detached by Charles from the national cause, and to *beg* from these previous to their being permitted to succeed as heirs to their parent. Louis the Pious had, immediately upon his succession to the throne, put an end to this inhuman ordinance. It may however be easily supposed, that the oppressions and spoliations by the nobles, as well as a strong detestation of the former freeholders and tonantry against the instruments of Frankish tyranny, were alike perpetuated. Although the same violent means were not employed against the other Germanic races as against the Saxons, still there were amongst them all who were subjected to the Franks, sufficient causes to excite dissatisfaction and discontent. The wars of conquest, in which Charles, during the entire course of his long reign, was almost continually engaged, had led to the destruction of an immense number of soldiery. The necessary troops were brought together either by the war-ban (*heerban*) or by the annual array in this manner: that every person from whom military service was required, should, for three months, discharge it at his own cost, and at his own expense alone march against the enemy. It frequently happened that the Bavarians and the Alamanni had to serve in Spain, the Saxons in lower Italy, and the Goths of Languedoc on the Eyder; and that in accordance with the law which prescribed their enrolment in obedience to the war-ban, they had to take with them from their own homes provisions necessary for their own subsistence. They had no pay. It can then be easily surmised, how such an institution must have been a curse and a cause of destruction to the people. Different expedients were resorted to for the purpose of evading and escaping the intolerable yoke imposed by the war-ban. The most common method resorted to by the persons subject to this imposition was, to place the lands liable to such demands under the protection and care of counts, or of the wardership of the church; and this it may be supposed led to so many irregular practices, that the owners were at last ousted of their property. The oppressions which resulted from these improper practices, as well as the extent of them, may be gleaned from some of the capitularies of Charles the Great (Gfrörer, *Kirchengesch*, iii. 616); and the result of them the constantly dimin-

ishing number of freeholders, until at last the population consisted of a mob of wretched peasants, overburthened with compulsory services and rents, or those who were purely bondmen.—The proposal of Lothair proves, however, that in the middle of the ninth century the memory of the good old times was not completely extinguished. The young emperor sought to turn the thoughts of the past to his present profit. Nithard thus continues after the words above cited:—"For the purpose of obtaining new adherents, Lothair bestowed upon the nobles crown lands, and on the unfree freedom; and he promised to others, when he had won the victory, the same advantage, if they would then assist him." Here then again I must make a break in the narration. In the succeeding passage Nithard speaks of Lothair's attempts to seduce the Saxons. The passage cited must, however, refer to such unfree persons who were not Saxons, although they were Germans, for it can be to the latter solely that his observations are applicable. There can be no doubt that those who are alluded to, are the Franks of the Rhine and the Maine, as well as the Alamanni, who, as it has been previously observed, did, in the harvest of 841, that is, some months after the propositions of Lothair were carried into effect, form a portion of the Imperial army. (Pertz, ii. 661.) It is further to be observed, that the servitude which was thus assailed by Lothair, consisted principally in the necessity of rendering certain personal services; the words of Nithard must be understood as saying, that Lothair had emancipated, in fact, one set of persons from exactions and forced labour, and held out a hope that, certain circumstances occurring, the same benefits should be conferred upon others. The conclusion of Nithard's statement on this matter is to this effect: "Lothair also sent out negotiators from Aix la-Chapello to the Saxons, and directed them to offer to the Frilingi and Lazze, whose number was very great, that he would, if they took up arms in his defence, consent to their restoration to their former condition in the heathenish times," (and before the domination of the Franks.) "This proposal delighted the Saxons beyond measure. They formed a confederation entitled the Stellinga, assailed those in authority over them," (the noble holders of office,) "hunted them nearly all out of the land, and then each person lived as he pleased after the old" (heathen) "fashion." The German Chronicler, Rudolf, is altogether silent as to Lothair's ordinances respecting the Saxons. He manifestly did not wish to touch the still gaping wound. The French Prudentius, on the other hand, fully bears out the testimony of Nithard. "Lothair," he says (ad a. 841, Pertz, i. 437,) "fled from Fontanay to Aix-la-Chapelle, and from thence invoked, for the purpose of increasing his strength, the Saxons and the neighbouring tribes, in such a manner that he left it to their choice whether they would live in accordance with christian or the heathen customs. The Saxons, always inclined to evil, determined in favour of heathendom, and rejected the

"christian faith."* Nithard only gently hints, that the insurrection of the Saxons, which had been excited by Lothair, was alike directed against the Church and the nobility. Prudentius speaks the frightful word boldly out, that the nobility were, with the clergy, driven from the country; for the Saxons felt a like hatred against the one class as the other, because both had served as the instruments of Charles the Great in the enslavement of the country. Heathenism, restored by a grandson of the great Charles, prolonged its existence for a brief period in Saxony. This monstrous deed brought to the aid of the Emperor a peasant army. Rudolf, the Chronicler of Fulda, (Pertz, i. 363,) speaks of a crowd of Saxons, who, in the harvest of the year 841, joined the Emperor at Spire; Nithard, of corps of Saxons, East Franks, and Alamanni, who, in the month of October, marched with Lothair against Charles the Bald at Paris. He at the same time mentions (Pertz, ii. 664) that the Emperor mainly relied upon these persons. They were the sons of the former free yeomen of the East Franks, Alamanni, and Saxons, whom the laws of Charles the Great had forced into servitude, and who

* Such is the manner in which Herr Gfrörer translates the following passage:

"Lothair retreated, and arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle; and for the sake of renewing hostilities, he endeavoured to gain the good will of the Saxons, and others, their neighbours. To such lengths did he go in this respect, that *he conceded to the Saxons, who are called the Stellinga, and of whom there is an immense multitude in that nation,* the option, if they preferred it, of living in accordance with the law and customs of the ancient Saxons, who being persons who were always inclined to evil, preferred imitating the rites of the Pagans, to adhering to the sacraments of the christian faith." Prudentius, Trecens, aunal. ad a. 841. Pertz, Vol. i. pp. 437, 438.

We subjoin the original, and Herr Gfrörer's translation, in his own words. His omission will be found of importance.

"*Lotharius terga vertens et Aquasgrani perveniens, Saxones ceterosque confines restaurandi proelii gratia sibi conciliare studet, in tantum, ut Saxonibus qui Stellinga appellantur, quorum multiplicior numerus in eorum gente habetur, optionem cujuscumque legis vel antiquorum Saxonum consuetudinis, utram earum malent, concesserit; qui semper ad mala proclives, magis ritum paganorum imitari, quam christianaæ fidei sacramenta tenere delegerunt.*"

"Lothar floh von Fontanet nach Aachen und wiegelte von dort aus, zu Verstärkung seiner Macht, die Sachsen und die benachbarten Stämme in der Art auf, dass er ihnen die Wahl liess, ob sie nach christlicher oder heidnischer Weise fürder leben wollten. Stets zum Bösen geneigt, entschieden die Sachsen für das heidenthum und verschmähten die Sakamente des christlichen Glaubens."

were now incited by the siron tones of freedom, to take up arms in defence of Lothair."—(Vol. I. p. 27-30.)

This extract may suffice to show the reader what is the style, what the manner, what the spirit, and what *the modesty* of Herr Gfrörer as a historian; for as to the latter quality it may be perceived that he twice quotes a former work of his own, because it is, we suppose, the best of all possible authorities with which *he* is acquainted! As to the *Stellinga*, nothing more is said of it, or them, unless in page 45, vol. i., where they are referred to, and perhaps unconsciously, by the author, as amongst the peasantry who were cruelly punished for having dared to revolt against their oppressors, the nobles.

This strange name, *the Stellinga*, seems to have excited no curiosity in the mind of the author; he mentions it incidentally when quoting one ancient writer, and steps over it when it lies in his way, even when purporting to give the very words of a second chronicler, even though that chronicler, Prudentius, makes use of the very remarkable words, demonstrative that the *Stellinga* was something distinct from the nation amongst whom it was established: "Ut Saxonibus qui *Stellinga* appellantur, quorum multiplicior numerus in corum gente habetur." Herr Gfrörer sees nothing particular in these words, he passes them as not even worthy of translation, and yet a little research on the subject might have enabled him to open up an interesting chapter in the history of the human race, and to have thrown, at least, some light upon the ancient annals of his country. He omits a fitting reference to the *Stellinga*—he gives no proper or lucid explanation on the subject, and acts as a writer of Irish history would do, who, describing the events in Ireland during the latter part of the eighteenth century, should mention as words of course such names as those of "*the Whiteboys*," or "*Orangemen*," and should afford no explanation either as to who they were, or what objects they had in view.

Let us see if by following the precise words of the ancient authors, we may not discover something more respecting the *Stellinga*, than Herr Gfrörer has been able to apprehend.

"There are," says Nithard, "amongst them (the Saxons) those who, in their language, are designated the *Edhilingi*, the *Frilingi*, and the *Lazzi*; but in the Latin language are named, *nobiles* (nobles,) .

ingenuiles (freemen,) and *serviles* (slaves). But a portion of these—the persons regarded as the nobility—were, in the quarrel between Lothair and his brothers, divided into two parties, one of which adhered to Lothair, and the other attached itself to Louis. Affairs were in this position, when Lothair, perceiving that after the victory that had been gained over him by his brothers, the people, who had hitherto supported, were disposed to desert him, he, under the urgency of his manifold embarrassments, sought for sustaintment whithersoever, and in whatsoever manner it could be procured. Hence it was, that he converted to his own private purposes, that which was for the general good. Hence it was that he bestowed upon some their liberty, and that he promised enfranchisement to others, as soon as he gained a victory. Hence it was too that he sent into Saxony, to the Frilingi (freemen) and Lazzi (serfs) and of which classes there is an immense multitude there, promising that if they would become his adherents, he would concede to them the same law, which their ancestors had at the time they were worshippers of idols, and they should be permitted to retain that law. Immoderately desirous of this, *they imposed upon themselves a new name, that is, the name STELLINGA*; and congregating together, they drove nearly all those who were masters (dominis) out of the kingdom; and then, as in the ancient manner, each lived in accordance with the law that he preferred. Lothair, moreover, brought in as his allies, the Northmen, and rendered a portion of the Christians subject to them; and even gave to them permission to collect spoil from others who were Christians. Louis therefore became apprehensive that these Northmen, as well as the Sclavi, *on account of their affinity to the Saxons, who called themselves Stellinga*, might unite together, invade the kingdom, and utterly annihilate the christian religion in these parts.” *

* Nithard, Hist. Lib. iv. c. 2. in Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script. Vol. vii. p. 29. In the text we give a close translation of the original. We annex the passage as copied from Bouquet.

“Sunt enim enter illos qui Edhilingi, sunt qui Frilingi, sunt qui Lazzi illorum lingua dicuntur: Latina vero lingua hoc sunt, Nobiles, Ingenuiles, atque Serviles. Sed pars illorum, quæ nobilis inter illos habetur, in duabus partibus in dissensione Lodharii ac fratrum suorum divisa, unaque eorum Lodharium, altera vero Lodhuicum secuta, est. His ita se habentibus, cernens Lodarius quod post victoriam fratrum populus qui cum illo fuerat deficere vellet, variis necessitatibus astrictus, quocumque et quomodumque poterat, subsidium quærebat. Hinc rem publicam in propriis usibus tribuebat, hiuc quibusdam libertatem dabat quibusdam autem post victoriam se daturum promittebat. Hinc etiam in Saxoniam misit, Frilingis Lazzibusque, quorum infinita multitudo est, promittens si secum sentirent, ut legem, quam antecessores sui tempore quo ido-

The reader will perceive that the passage here translated from Nithard, as well as from Prudentius, which is copied in a preceding note, convey ideas somewhat more distinct, as well as different, from those which are to be gleaned from Herr Gfrörer. We know by these two authorities, that the *Stellinga* was a name given by the Saxons themselves to those amongst them who were anxious for the attainment of certain objects; that the Saxons having those objects, were like to the Northmen and the *Sclavi*; that all Saxons were not members of the *Stellinga*, although a great number of them were; and that the *Stellinga* included not merely serfs, but freemen—*frilingi*, as well as *lazzi*. In order that they might the better attain their objects, the members of the *Stellinga* became the adherents of the emperor Lothair. Their hopes and their fears were involved in his success or his failure.

The objects which the *Stellinga* had in view, may be surmised from the derivation of their name. In Ducange it is suggested as being composed of the two words *stel* and *ling*, the first as synonymous with “ancient,” and the other with “son,” the latter like to the termination *ling* in our Anglo-Saxon *Atheling*, and the name being adopted by them because they affected the manners of their forefathers—a disposition that, it may be observed, still clings to the Germanic as well as Selavonic nations, and of which the most remarkable instance was to be found in the recent revolutions in Germany, when numbers of the young *Bohemians* adopted as their *patriotic!* costume the same fashion of clothing which had formerly been worn by

lorum cultores erant, habuerant, eamdem illis deinceps habendam concederet. Qua supra modum cupidi, nomen novum sibi, id est *Stellinga*, imposuerunt: et in unum congregati, dominis & regno pene pulsis, more antiquo, qua quisque volebat lege vivebat. Insuper autem Lodharius Nortmannos causa subsidii introduxit parlemque Christianorum illis subdiderat: quibus etiam, ut ceteros Christianos doprædarent, licentiam dabat. Igitur metuens Lodhwicus ne iidem Nortmanni, necnon et *Sclavi*, propter affinitatem Saxonibus, qui se *Stellinga* nominaverant, conjungerent, regnumque sibi vindicaturi invaderent, et Christianam Religionem his in partibus annullarent.” It may here be observed that the *Franks*, *Scandinavians*, and other nations had but three classes of persons, *adalingus*, *liber*, *servus*; the *Saxons* four classes,—*adelingi*, *frilingi*, *lassi*, *servi*.

the arch-heretic and persecutor Ziska. In Ducange* we are referred to the authority of Graff on the words *Stallo* and *Notgistallo*, and we append in the note the explanation given to them.† Both Ducange and Graff lead inevitably, as we conceive, to the inference, that the Stellinga was a species of guild established for a defined political object; that it was composed of a great number of persons, extending probably from the banks of the Rhine to Wittemberg, once considered the ancient city of Wittichind, and including not merely the Saxons, but also the Sclavi and the Northmen, who were all animated with the same hatred of christianity, and who considered that their freedom could alone be secured by its downfall.

We must bear in mind that amongst the Northern nations the institution of guilds formed a most important element in society; whilst they attracted men together to enjoy what has ever been regarded as a pleasure by barbarous nations—the vice of intoxication—it also associated them as a band of men who were bound to sustain each other in periods of peril, giving to each the protection, alliance, and physical force of his confederates.

"In the early state of society," observes Mr. Blackwell, in his valuable edition of Mallet's Northern Antiquities, "when the laws were too weak to afford protection, individuals had no other means of securing their laws and property, but by entering into these associations, in which a number of men engaged to vindicate and avenge each other. These confederacies were at first necessary for self-preservation, and might originally be confined to self-defence, often proceeded afterwards, to act offensively, and so were productive of great mischiefs."‡

* "Ducange, Vol. vi. p. 369, in verb *Stellinga*."

† "STALLO, m. stall bruder, Genosse (Schm. Wtb. iii. 627.)

"NOTSTALLO, m. v. pl. trostet hiu gisellion, mine nostallon. Lu.

"GASTALLO, m.

"NOTGISTALLO, (angels. nydgestealla, mhd. notgestalle und notgestalde, notgestadde.) n. pl. thie notigistallon. O. iv. 16, 4. die waren gotes strangen die lieben notgestallen. Cdg. sie waren rehto notgestallen, Cdg.

"G. pl, er leitte unter sinem van einlif hundert man there rehton notgestallen; an den ne was nehein mangel. Cdg."

"GRAFF, Althochdentscher sprachschutz oder Wörterbuch, Vol. vi. p. 674.

‡ Mallet's Northern Antiquities, p. 197. (Bohn's Antiq. Lib.)

Supposing, then, that the *Stellinga* was one of these confederacies, we may, before further adverting to it, glance at the state of things which it was intended to abolish or reform.

Modern, or comparatively modern authors, maintain that Charlemagne, in his conquest and conversion to Christianity of Saxony, deprived the inhabitants of their rights, and reduced them to a state of slavery; that he made the people serfs, and those dependant solely upon himself their lords and masters, so that, in fact, Saxony was composed but of two classes; the *Furstenhause* and *Vasselthum*, the *domini* or *herren*, and the *Knechte*; and hence those who desired to put an end to this state, and to bring back their rights to the people, were justly named “*Stellinga*,” or “restorers.” This is the statement of Wachsmuth.* Another author charges Charlemagne with still greater cruelty; he says that, instead of the great emperor, upon the conquest of Saxony, permitting men, women, and children, to live as they had done before, he reduced them all to a state of slavery, and confiscated all their property, even their very persons, to his own use and profit;† and the same author, Lehmann, in another place, affirms that Saxony was an exception to the general rule, that every land should be left to the enjoyment of its own peculiar rights and customs.‡ He adds, that it was in reference to such treatment of the conquered, that the words were used, “All our Germany is filled with slaves and servants.”§

The faithlessness and cruelties practised by the idola-

* W. Wachsmuth, “Aufstand und Kriege der Bauern im mittelalter.” Historisches Taschenbuch. Vol. v. pp. 294, 295, 296.

† “An statt dass er Mann, Weib und Kindern das Leben geschenkt, all saamtlich zu Knechten, und mit Leib und Gut ihm zu eygen gemacht.” Lehmann, Speyrischer Chronik, B. ii. c. 20. p. 81. ed. 1698.

‡ “Jedes Land bey seinen Gebranchen und Rechten zu lassen.” Ibid. B. ii. c. 27. p. 91. As regards the observance of this custom in reference to the Saxons, see prefaco to Capitularies of Charlemagne, A. D. 797, and c. 9.

§ Plena fuit servis et servitutibus Alemannia nostra.” Vad. in Epist. ap. Goldast. Antiq. Aleman. Vol. ii. p. 84, as quoted by Lehmann, p. 81.

trous Saxons, provoked severe reprisals upon the part of their christian conqueror, and though the punishments which he inflicted, may render him liable to the charge of barbarity, it is to be hoped that the faith he professed will not be made responsible for his deeds of blood, by those who know what were the atrocities practised in Ireland by their co-religionists in 1798, and for which “the pious George III.” granted more than one act of indemnity.

It is quite true that, in “*The Life of Louis the Pious,*” it is said that the monarch bestowed upon the Saxons and the Frisii those rights of which, by reason of their perfidy, they had been justly deprived by his father.* This, however, cannot be justly, as it has been rashly, interpreted to signify that all the Saxons had been deprived of their rights by Charlemagne, but that those amongst them who had forfeited such rights, were restored to their enjoyment by the imperial clemency of Louis-le-Debonnaire. The distinction is clearly drawn by Potgessier, and in reference to the very passage here quoted:—“*Verum enim vero auctoris hujus verba non de universis Saxonibus, sed de rebellibus et perfidis intelligenda sunt, non autem de illis, qui sub imperio Caroli M. rempublicam Saxoniam constituerunt, atque cum eo pacis conditiones inivire.*”†

The conditions of Charlemagne’s peace with the Saxons were: that they should abandon the practices of their ancient idolatry, accept the sacraments of the Catholic Church, and become as one and the same people with the

* “*Quo ctiam tempore*” (A. D. 814) “*Saxonibus a/que Frisonibus jus paternæ hereditatis, quod sub patre ob perfidiam legaliter perdidérant, imperatoria restituit clementia.*” *Vit. Ludov. Pii. c. xxiv. Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script. vol. vi. p. 98.* This reference to the Frisii will show there is some foundation for the suggestion of Potgiesser as to the derivation of the word *Stellinga*:

“*Quid autem vocabulum Stellinga proprio significet in obscuro est. Gemina vox occurrit apud Hedam de Episcop. Ultraiect. in Friderico: ‘Quos omnes cum classe quadringentorum Velorum traduxit ad portum Cuneræ, ubi Frisos, qui Stellingi dicuntur.’ An forte Stedingi legendum sit, illique hoc nomine significantur, die das Stedinger Land bewohnen, aliorum esto judicium.*” *De Statu Scrvorum, Lib. i. c. 2. §. 84, note c. p. 89.*

† Potgessier, *De Statu Scrvorum, Lib. i. c. 2. §. 89. p. 94. see note c. in p. 92.*

Franks.* Nothing could be more plain, decisive, and distinct, than these stipulations, and especially as they regarded the repudiation of paganism and the adoption of christianity—"Ut abjecto Dæmonum cultu relictis patriis ceremoniis Christianæ fidei sacramenta susciperent;" and whilst there were rich gifts and high honours for the willing convert to christianity,† there still continued for the pagan Saxon defeated in war, slavery and exile to a distant part of Germany, or slavery on the soil on which he had once been free, and this, as a person excluded from the terms of the treaty by which Saxony had been pacified. The remains of the pagan Saxons, transferred to different portions of the continent, are still visible, but in none are they more recognizable than in the colony of Sachsenhausen, a suburb of Frankfort-on-the-Main, where the inhabitants "still speak the Plats-Deutsch of the Saxons from whom they are descended;" and where the labours performed by them are those of a servile nature for the rich citizens of Frankfort.‡

The pagan made prisoner in war, was invariably reduced to the condition of a slave. Such was the law of nations in the time of Charlemagne. "Between christians and pagans the right of slavery was exercised as a natural right;"§ and we have the proof in the reign of Louis-le-Debonnaire, that the same courtesies were not observed by a christian sovereign towards a pagan monarch, as towards

* Adam. Bremen. Lib. i. c. 7. This author quotes the very words used by Eginhard to describe the same fact.

"—has pacis leges inierunt

"Ut toto penitus cultu rituque relicto

"Gentili, quem dæmonica prius arte colebant

"Decepti, post hæc fidei se subdere vellet

"Catholicæ, Christoque dco serviro per ævum."—Poeta. Saxon. ad an. 803. in Pertz Monument. Germ. Hist. vol. i. p. 261. See Act. Sanct. (April) vol. iii. p. 802, 804.

† "—Nam se quisquis commiserat ejus

"Egregiæ fidei, ritus spernando profanos,

"Hunc opibus ditans ornabat honoribus, amplis." Poeta. Saxon. ad an. 803, in Pertz, vol i. p. 261. See Meibom, notes on Witi-chind, vol. i. p. 670, 671.

‡ Spencer's Germany and the Germans, vol. ii. p. 12.

? Biot, *De l' abolition de l' Esclavage Ancien.* v. Part. §. 1. c. 2. p. 357.

a king who was esteemed but an indifferent christian, or an absolutely bad catholic.* Slavery was regarded but as the fitting condition of him, who, in rejecting the gospel still continued the slave of his own vile passions. It cannot be denied that the persons in this condition were subjected to many oppressions. The royal conqueror had the power of disposing of them as he pleased ; if he retained them for his own use, they became the “*servos regios, or fiscalinos* ;” if they were assigned to the church for the purpose of cultivating the lands of the monasteries, they were known as “*servi Ecclesiastici* ;” or, if they were bestowed upon nobles or other persons of inferior rank, they were the “*mancipia privatorum*. ” To whatever masters they belonged, their time and toil might be absorbed without a recompense ; they could not marry out of their own condition ; they could be transferred, husband, wife, children, and household property, from one person to another ; they could be debarred of any right of inheritance ; they could be despoiled of all the fruits of their thrift and skill ; and they had not the power of changing their master. Such were the hard conditions attached to slavery in Germany, and which more generally assumed the form of rural servitude than of domestic bondage.†

It was the practice of the times, and not the barbarity of a conqueror like Charlemagne, nor the genius of the Catholic church, which doomed the defeated pagan to slavery, or that left his sad lot without hope or amelioration. The benevolence of Charlemagne was proved in his conduct to Saxony, which enjoyed, and in fact for the

* These are the words ascribed to Louis, when about to prepare an expedition against the chief of Britanny :

“ *Præstat ut ad Regem Missus mittatur cumdem*
 “ *Qui bene nostra sibi perferat orsa prius.*
 “ *Est quoque Rex idem sacro baptismate tinctus :*
 “ *Idcirco hunc primo nos monitare decet.*”

The Bretons, however, had been previously described :

“ *Christicolum retinet tantum modo perfida nomen*
 “ *Namque opera et cultus sunt procul atque fides*
 “ *Cura pupillorum, viduæ, sive Ecclesiarum*
 “ *Nulla manet, &c.*”—Ermold, Nigell. Carmin. Lib. iii. 45-47, 68-70. Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script. vol. vi. p. 39.

† See Lehmann, Speyrischer Chronik, B. ii. c. 20. p. 82, 83. Biot. p. 356, 357, 358. Potgessier, Lib. ii, c. 7. §. 11, 12. p. 473, 474, 475.

first time knew, the blessings of abundance in the first year of his reign over it as an emperor. It was by their christian conqueror that the poor Saxons were first provided with a sufficiency of food, “*Copia pauperibus Saxonibus agnita primum.*”* We find proofs of his benevolence, of his love of learning, of his piety, of his desire to save his fellow creatures from sin, and to act up to the spirit of the church, in raising men from the condition of slaves even to the most elevated position as freemen, when he founded and established, or richly endowed monasteries in every district of his empire.† His monastic and diocesan schools were to be open to the poor as to the rich, to the slaves as to the free, and there all the boys and youths were to be taught reading, arithmetic, singing, and that higher species of learning which, in the middle ages, went under the general name of grammar, and which we now designate as “a classical education.”‡ The slave-scholars, in the days of Charlemagne, became not merely priests but bishops in the reign of Louis-le-Debonnaire, and were often found as the managers of affairs of the greatest political importance.§ Saxony was christianised, and the sole burden of conquest imposed upon its people, was the annual tribute to be paid by it to the church, and which was at the same time a proof of the sincerity of its adhesion to the new form of faith it had adopted.||

From the year 803 to 841, the Saxons were, at least in

* Poeta Saxo. ad an. 803.

† For an account of the Irish monasteries in Germany, see Introduction to the Life of St. Marianus, Act. Sanct. (Feb.) vol. ii. p. 361, 362.

‡ “*Ut Canonicorum bona consuetudine multi attrahantur ad servitium Dei, et non solum servilis conditionis infantes, sed etiam ingenuorum filios aggregent, sibique socient. Et ut scholæ legentium puerorum fiant: Psalmos, notas, cantus, computum, Grammaticam per singula monasteria vel Episcopia discant.*”—Capet. Carol. M. Lib. ii. c. 72.

§ See Potgessier, Lib. i. c. 2. §. 90. p. 94, 95. See Form of bestowing freedom on a priest, who had been a slave, Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script. vol. vi. p. 446, 447. Thegan. c. 20, 84. same vol. p. 78, 79, 82.

|| “*Sed tantum decimas divina lego statutas offerrent.*” Poeta. Saxo.

appearance, and for some years substantially, the faithful subjects of Carolingian emperors. Let us cast back a look and see if we can possibly discover the state of society at the moment that the emissaries of Lothair sought for new allies amongst Saxon “freemen” and Saxon “slaves.”

If we make search into these distant times, we find the greatest respect manifested to the person of him who was invested with supreme authority; and that this was combined with great simplicity in his ordinary mode of life. The foot of the emperor was kissed when he was addressed by the nobles of his court, the empress even kissed his knee, and yet, upon state occasions, the nobles appeared before their sovereign with coronets of gold upon their heads.* There was great pomp and great simplicity.† Amongst the marvels of magnificence with which the emperor was surrounded in public, including nobles acting as his grand bakers, butlers, and cooks, and attended by troops of pages, it is also stated, that he and his guests had a marble dish.‡ Even the empress herself acted as the good housewife, and arranged the table for those invited to partake of her feasts.§ The chase supplied the royal tables with meat, and helped to feed the emperor’s dependants and the clergy.|| The emperor lived in most respects as private persons then lived—upon the produce of their estates. Wherever he resided for the time, was the “court” (*hof*), and at that place, whatever came from his farms (*mayerhofen*), should be delivered. His money outlay was small, and for the purpose of conveniencing his dependants, he moved about from one *mayerhof* to another.¶ The riches of the sovereign, as well as of the nobles, consisted, for the most part, in lands, and of the produce of those lands, the produce itself depending upon

* “—— Proceres gemini——

“Atque coronati——.” Ermold. Nigell. Carim. Lib. iv. 423, 425.

† See Ermold, Lib. iv. 458, 500.

‡ “Marmoreo disco disposuero dapes.

§ “Ipsa sedile parat, ordinat atque dapes.” Ermold, Lib. iv. 542.

|| Ibid. Lib. iv. 561, 566.

¶ Schmidt, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, vol. i. pp. 529, 530.

the manner in which the lands were cared for by the serfs placed upon them. The great defect in the Frankish system of government was, that it permitted those whose duty it was to administer justice, to obtain possession of lands in the places in which they were acting as the representatives of the sovereign. This led to the spoliation of the poor, which the church, in 813, earnestly, but still fruitlessly, endeavoured to prevent, by an ordinance which prohibited any one of high rank taking away the property of the poor, or of any one less powerful than himself, unless the land so disposed of was sold in open court ("in publico placito") and before proper witnesses.* Another evil was, endowing lands in such a manner that they were beyond the jurisdiction of the judges.† The free classes, when great and powerful, had almost unlimited influence in their respective districts; their misdeeds could alone be controlled, or the oppressions redressed, by the emperor's commissioners, "missi dominici."‡ The humbler classes of freemen, "liberi," or "ingenni," were bound to the performance of military service; below them were the freedmen, the freygelassenen, manumissi, indebted generally to the church for their enfranchisement; and then the *liden*, that is, persons who had a master. The only difference between them, such as were coloni and the pure slave, was, they might possess property, and that the slave (*knechte*) could not do so, but they were, like the slave, attached to the soil, and could not, unpunished, depart from it.§

Such was the political condition of the Saxons in the year 841. Each person had to look up to some one more powerful than himself, and to look down upon some one dependant upon him for protection, until at last we come to the lowest class, the slaves, whose life, whose family, and even poor household utensils, might be bought and sold by any bidder. This lowest class was composed in Saxony

* Concil. Mogunt. ad an. 813. c. 7. as quoted by Schmidt, vol. i. p. 540. note n.

† "In integra emunitate absquo ullius introitu judicium." Marnulf. Formular. Lib. i. §. 15.

‡ See Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script. vol. vi. p. 36, 47, 48, 100, 141, 207, 224-227, 233, 430, 436.

§ Schmidt, vol. i. p. 540, 545.

of pagans. With the exception of the church and its monasteries, that lowest class of persons had none to care for, or to sympathise with them, to labour for their enfranchisement, or to afford them the means of rising to the condition and enjoying the privileges of freemen. The church had to struggle for them and against them; for the slaves, who were pagans, were opposed to the discipline of the church. They disliked its fasts of lent and its weekly days of abstinence,* whilst the freemen of Saxony were opposed to the church for two reasons: first, that its labours tended to the diminution of slavery, that is, to deprive them of the means of cultivating their lands on the cheapest terms; and next, because christianity opposed itself to those periodical convivialities in which men immersed themselves in intoxication whilst sacrificing and doing honour to their false gods.

The affinity which Nithard remarks between the Saxons, the Slavi, and the Northmen, consisted mainly, we have no doubt, in their attachment to those pagan rites which tended to the indulgence of their sensuality. Ermold ascribes even to the Franks the same origin as to the Danes,† and the early history of all the barbarous nations of the North will show their attachment to these sacrifices, in which the form of religion was employed as a cloak to the vices of gluttony and drunkenness; and how desperately attached to them the Saxons and their descendants were, we have the proof in the history of England.‡ The manner in which these solemn festivals were celebrated, is fully described by Snorro in Haga the Good's Saga.§ At each and all the memory of heathen deities were celebrated, and Odin, Njord, and Freya, were invoked to bestow victory abroad, peace at home, and abundance on the land of those who associated together openly at "sacrifice-

* "The labouring men and slaves, thought that they could not work if they did not get meat." *The Heimkringta, Saga*, iv. c. 17. *Laing's Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, vol. i. p. 328; see also c. 16. p. 327.

† *Lib. iv. 11. 18. Rer. Gall. et Franc.* Vol. vi. p. 50, 51.

‡ *Bed. Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. c. 30.* "boves solent in sacrificio dæmonum multos occidere."

§ See also *Torfaeus, Hist. Rer. Norveg.* Lib. v. c. 8. vol. i, p. 216, 217.

feasts," or covertly in "social meetings" and "friendly drinking parties."^{**}

Charlemagne, we have little doubt, put down with the strong hand these ancient idolatrous practices, in which impiety and debauchery were associated together. The church, in the Frankish empire, we are quite certain, discountenanced them. It was not guided there by the wisdom and the sagacity which Gregory the Great had shown in his letter to the abbot Mellitus, when he suggested that the Anglo-Saxons should be weaned from their idolatrous feasts by the institution and celebration of joyous festivals in the church.[†] The Saxon slave, a pagan reduced to slavery, saw himself deprived of his ancient freedom, and the festivals in which he was a participator prohibited. In his own land or in exile he sighed to see those feasts restored. The Saxon freeman, although a Christian, preferred the sensual joys of paganism to the mortification imposed by the discipline of the church, and he wished to reestablish the yule feasts to which his new faith was opposed, and to bring back the drinking parties with their pleasures; the guilds, with their oaths of mutual defence and co-operation: -and hence we may presume, that when Lothair summoned the Saxons to his aid, they confederated together as *the Stellinga*, the restorers of what had been, the champions for the ancient idolatry, the much prized guilds, the greatly beloved "social meetings" of their ancestors, for such may be the interpretation put upon the words of Nithard:—"legem quam antecessores sui tempore quo idolorum cultores erant habuerant."

* See Saga of King Olaf Haraldaon the Saint, c. 113, 115. Laing's Chronicles of the Kings of Norway, vol. ii. p. 149, 151.

† "As these people have been in the habit of slaying many cattle in sacrifices to their demons, so, for their sake ought there to be some solemnity, but the object to which it is directed, changed. Thus upon a dedication, or upon the nativity of some of the holy martyrs, whose relics are in the churches, let it be permitted to make arbours with branches of trees, around what once was heathen temples. Then celebrate such festivals with religious feasts, so that the people will not immolate animals to the devil, but slay them, and partake of them with thanks and praises to God for that abundance which has been bestowed upon them by him, who is the giver of all things." St. Gregory's letter to the Abbot Mellitus, Bed. Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. c. 30.

The *Stellinga* were “the sons of old pagan Saxony,” having for their objects their enfranchisement, the slaves from bondage, the freemen from dependance on nobles, who regarded themselves as their lords, “*domini*,” and both the slave and the free *Stellinga* sought for a renewal of the unrestrained pleasures which paganism sanctioned and christianity discountenanced.

Let us pursue their history a little closer than Herr Gfrörer has deemed it necessary to do, and we shall find that they are twice again referred to by Nithard. “Louis,” he says, “suppressed in Saxony by an exemplary, although legitimate slaughter, those seditious persons, who, as it has been previously mentioned, named themselves the *Stellinga*. ”* In a succeeding chapter reference is again made to them. “About the same time” (A. D. 842) “the *Stellinga* renewed their rebellion against their masters (*dominos suos*) in Saxony, but venturing upon a battle, they were completely suppressed with immense slaughter. Thus was put down by authority, that which without authority had ventured to rise.”†

Prudentius describes the suppression of the *Stellinga* without distinctly naming it. He shows that Louis the German, in the punishments he inflicted upon the members of the association, made a distinction between them, and we may infer that this distinction arose from the difference in rank and circumstances of the insurgents: the penalty of death being imposed upon the members of the *Stellinga* who were freemen, and that of mutilation upon the slaves.

“Louis,” it is stated by Prudentius, “traversed the entire of Saxony, and so completely did he by his vigour terrify all those who had opposed themselves to himself or his adherents, that he was able to lay his hands upon the instigators of that enormous impiety, by means of which they might be regarded as having almost absolutely abandoned the christian faith, whilst they at the same time offered a most serious resistance to him and to those who remained steadfast in their loyalty. One hundred and

* Nithard, Lib. iv. c. 4. There is a peculiar expression in the original, of which we do not think the full force is conveyed, by translating it as exemplary, “*nobiliter, tamen legali cæde compescuit.* ”

† Nithard, Lib. iv. c. 6. in Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script. vol. vii. p. 31, 32.

forty individuals were punished by decapitation, fourteen were hanged, an immense number was doomed to mutilation, and not a single refractory person was left by him in Saxony.”*

In this defeat the *Stellinga* was utterly annihilated. Patronised in their institution by an emperor, having adherents in every part of Germany where there was a Saxon Pagan slave, and struggling to restore ancient and much-prized national customs, they appear for the moment on the page of history, and then sink back into the obscurity from which they sprung.

The *Stellinga* was put down; but that of which it was the development—the Guild—remained, and despite of the exertions of emperors and churchmen, was perpetuated, until at last its pagan character was lost—its pagan gods were trampled under foot—the saints of the Catholic Church were accepted as patrons, and through their prayers and intercession, the drunken banquet was changed into an innocent festivity; the contributions for sensuality were converted into donations for charity; and the toasts for the memory of the dead were metamorphosed into pious devotions for the repose of the souls of the deceased members. With the progress of Catholic Christianity prospered the Christian Guilds—and once they were adopted by ‘the Church,’ became the means of securing the independence, protecting the rights, and promoting the prosperity of the artisans. And we may also add, that with the decay of Christianity came the destruction of the Guilds; until at last we see them, as in England, confraternities in rich corporations, employing their wealth, like the old pagans who first founded them, in glutinous feasts and luxurious drinks, the mere merry-making associations of the living, and having as their heroes those whose names stand accursed in the memory of mankind, as the persecutors, spoilers, and profaners, of God’s Church on earth.†

* Prudentius Trecens. Anual. ad an 842. Pertz. vol. ii. p. 430. Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script. vol. vii. p. 61.

† As to Guilds in ancient and modern times, see A. Thierry Considerations sur L’Histoire de France, c. 5. Schmidt, Geschichte der Deutschen, vol. iii. p. 179. Torfaeus Hist. Norveg. Lib. ii. c. 19. vol. i. p. 84. vol. ii. p. 216, 217. Lappenberg’s Anglo Saxon

The name of the *Stellinga* has been suggestive to us of the circumstances of by-gone times, and we cannot but deplore that a modern author purporting to give a full account of the period in which they appear, should have passed them by as undeserving of a full and complete explanation. With a German writing on ancient Germany, we should have expected to find the subject dwelt upon as one of great interest, instead of being slurred over in the manner in which Herr Gfrörer has passed it by.

A perusal of the book of Herr Gfrörer will convince the reader, that the condition of the population of Germany is a matter of minor interest to him ; for *he is an historian with a theory to establish*. He wants to lay down a principle, and has to look for facts to sustain it ! As M. Thierri insists, that the British and Irish had a Christian form of faith different from that of Rome, and as M. Michelet would depict St. Columbanus as an antiquated Luther ; so Herr Gfrörer has to convey to his readers the conviction that German christianity was something different from the christianity of the Church of Rome, and that his book is, like the recent revolution in Germany, to act as an incitement to all of the Teutonic race, to have “a glorious restoration of their old German Church”—*die glorreiche Wiederaufbauung der alter deutschen kirche!!!*

This is the bold undertaking of Herr Gfrörer. He cannot but be aware that the Apostle of Germany—the Anglo-Saxon Boniface—commenced his mission by depositing on the altar of St. Peter his oath of allegiance to the See of Rome, a document which is still extant.* Unsustained in his undertaking by the lives of the saints, our author has recourse to the records of the Church, and its heretics are his heroes ; and amongst these figures in a very prominent position, the bad monk, and worse priest Godeschalcus, † who was the successor of Lucidus, and the

Kings, vol. ii. p. 350. Palgrave's Rise and Progress of English Commonwealth, vol. i. p. 332, 333, 334, 335. Herbert's History of the Corporation of London, Lingard's Anglo Saxon Church, &c.

* See Bonifacii, opera, vol. ii. p. 9, 10. Giles's edition.

† Gfrörer, vol. i. c. 6. p. 210, 247.

predecessor of Calvin, in promulgating the dangerous doctrine of predestinarianism.

Of this Godeschalcus, a very ancient, and a comparatively modern Catholic writer, have given a notice, and as both authors are brief, we may compare them with each other, for the purpose of showing the coincidence of opinion in matters of faith that at all times has prevailed in the Church.

"Godescalcus Gallus quidam, monasterii Orbacensis paroeciarum Suessionicarum monachus et presbyter, scientia tumidus, quibusdam superstitionibus deditus, Italiam specie religionis aggressus, inde turpiter ejectus, Dalmatiam, Pannoniam Noreiamque adorsus, quedam nostrae saluti valde contraria, præcipue sub nomine prædestinationis, pestiferis dictis et scriptis adstruens, in praesentia Hludowici Germanorum regis, episcopali consilio detectus atque convictus, tandem ad dioceses suæ urbem metropolim, Remorum, Durocortorum nomine, cui Ingmarus vir venerabilis præsidet, redire compellitur: quatenus illic dignum sua perfidiae judicium subiret."^{*}

"In the ninth century, Godeschalcus, a German Benedictine monk, lived, who is generally considered a real Predestinarian. He was a man of turbulent and troublesome disposition. He went to Rome through a motive of piety, without leave of his superiors, and usurping the office of preacher without lawful mission, disseminated his maxims in several places, on which account he was condemned in a synod, held on his account in Mayence, in 848, by Archbishop Rabanus, and sent to Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, his superior. Hincmar, in another held in Quiercy, again condemned him, deprived him of the sacerdotal dignity, and after obliging him to throw his writings into the fire with his own hand, shut him up in close confinement, in the monastery of Haut Vilniers, in the diocese of Rheims. Two Councils were held in Quiercy on this affair, one in 849, in which Godeschalcus was condemned, and the other in the year 853, in which four Canons were established against his doctrine."[†]

Every innovator in doctrine is recognised as a represen-

* Prudentius, Trecens. Ann. ad 849. Pertz. Monument. German. Hist. vol. i. p. 443. Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script. vol. vii. p. 65.

† St. Alphonsus Liguori's History of Heresy, c. 5. art. 2. § 17, see also §. 16 19. vol. i. p. 108, 111, translated by the Rev. T. Mullock. (Dutly's Edition.) See as to Godeschalcus, Pertz, vol. i. p. 365. Eccard, vol. i. p. 194. Rer. Gall et Franc. Script. vol. vii. p. 66, 133, 162, 216, 241, 249, 254, 272.

tative of “the old German Church,” and the antiquity of what is considered to be a very christian-like proposition, is the record of its condemnation by the Roman See, or by those whose fealty to the chair of St. Peter is avowed. The anathemas of councils are paraded as title-deeds, and modern heresy, anxious to free itself from the imputation of novelty, rummages through musty manuscripts to prove that the Church which now condemns it also condemned it, or something very similar to it, three, eight, nine, ten, or, perchance, eighteen hundred years ago. The right of the modern German clergyman to be married is supposed to be proved, because St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, denounced the marriage of priests as an abomination in the sight of God and of man;* and should socialism, communism, and red republicanism, so far brutalize Frenchmen and Germans as to combine together the bloody sacrifices of heathendom with some of the forms of christianity, we have little doubt but that some heretic historian would be found to justify the iniquity, and, quoting the words of Procopius, show that such an abomination was but a restoration of the old Frankish Church.†

Such seems to be the principle that actuates Herr Gfrörer in the composition of the work before us. He is unconsciously—one of the Stellinga—a restorer of antique iniquities; a renovator of long-discarded impieties. He recognizes a friend in every enemy to the Catholic Church, and approves of whatever Rome condemned. He appears to believe, that he can show his Lutheranism to be old and good, because it is so like to what has been for centuries condemned as bad; and in so doing, his reasoning is the very opposite of Salvianus Gallus, who, wishing to demonstrate that the Catholics of his day could not be virtuous, compared their lives with those who had not the true faith.

* “Clericorum refanda cum uxoribus conjunctio.” Willibald. Vit. Bonifac, in Boniface’s Works, vol. ii. p. 170. See also p. 166, 168, same vol. Act. Sauct. (Jan) vol. i. p. 467. Baronius, *cum critic.* Pagi, vol. xii. p. 311.

† Οἱ βαρβαροὶ γὰρ οὐτοις χριστιανοῖς γεγονοτεῖ, τὰ πολλὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς δοξῆς φυλασσούσι, δυσιαῖς τε χρωμένοις ανθρωηῶν χαῖ αλλὰ οὐχ οσιαὶ ιερευοντεῖς; ταυτὴ τε ταῖς μαντείαις ποιουμενοῖ. Procopius, De Bell. Gall. Lib. ii. c. 2. Corp. Script. Byzant. Par. ii. vol. ii. p. 248, 249.

Ancient heretics impugned the discipline of the Church, exclaims Herr Gfrörer, and so do we; ancient heretics impugned the celibacy of the priests, and so do we; ancient heretics disliked religious orders in the Church, and so do we; ancient heretics disbelieve in miracles, and so do we; ancient heretics repudiated the efficacy of confession, and so do we; therefore, we are the old German Church, and as such, we have a right to demand concessions from the Pope before we unite ourselves with the Roman Catholics of Germany!*

Such was not the spirit in which Salvianus Gallus thought or wrote:

"The barbarians" said he, "are unjust, and so are we; the barbarians are avaricious, and so are we; the barbarians are without faith, and so are we; the barbarians are stained with cupidity, and so are we; the barbarians are immodest, and so are we; in fine, the barbarians are full of all kinds of wickedness and impurity, and so are we."[†]

The similarity of Christians to that which was bad, brought grief to the soul and sorrow to the heart of the Christian and the Catholic, Salvianus. It is not so with heresy in modern times; for, imitating Paganism in its obstinacy, it also prides itself in what constitutes its shame, boasts of that which is a record of its iniquity, and displays, as a type of dignity, that which is but a brand of its reprobation.

* See Preface to vol. ii. p. iv. v. vi.

† "Injusti sunt barbari, et nos sumus: avari sunt barbari, et nos sumus: infideles sunt barbari, et nos hoc sumus: cupidi sunt barbari, et nos hoc sumus: impudici sunt barbari, et nos hoc sumus: omnium denique improbitatum, atque impuritatum pleni sunt barbari et nos hoc sumus." Salvianus Gallus, *De Vero judicio et providentia Dei*, Lib. iv. p. 104. (Venice Edition, 1696.)

ART. IV.—1. *Graduale Romanum.* Typis J. Hanicq, Mechlin, 1848.
2. *Vesperale Romanum.* Typis J. Hanicq, Mechlin, 1848.

THERE has been for some time a general movement towards the restoration of the Gregorian Chant in many parts of the Continent. The Cardinal Archbishop of Mechlin, the Cardinal Prelates of Cambrai and Lyons, the late Archbishop of Paris, the martyr of the barricades, the Bishops of Langres and Auch, have all in letters written at different times within the last few years, urged upon their clergy in the most earnest and forcible manner, the necessity for their considering the practicability of teaching the Gregorian Chant, generally to the children in the village schools, and to the Church choir, with a view to effect a beneficial improvement in the beauty and popular charm of the Celebration of Mass, and of the ritual offices. The many great and crying scandals of the system of profane music that has come into our churches, the experience of its powerlessness to interest the hearts of the multitudes of poor, whose sympathies are all on the side of the good old chant of Mother Church, and many other causes, have conspired to draw forth a widely spread desire over the whole of Europe, that some effective measures should be taken with a view to its restoration.

The first step in this work was felt, by the wise and virtuous Prelate who fills the seat of Primate of Belgium, to be an enquiry into the possibility of recovering the purest extant traditions, as to the true Form of the Roman Song. For the printed editions which have appeared in the different towns of Europe, contain so many capricious varieties, as to stamp many of them at once with the character, of being little else than counterfeit perversions of the true original.

Seven years ago, this Prelate communicated with the celebrated Abate Baini, the director of the pontifical Choir, whose attention for some years previously had been turned to the same subject; with the Abate Alfieri and other persons of distinction; and finding that among his own clergy the subject had been much studied and excited great interest, M. l'Abbé Jannssens, professor of Plain Chant in the Seminary, undertook the journey to Rome to collect information, and in the mean time the best editions and

MSS. of the Roman Song that the North of Europe furnished, were diligently examined and collated. In the first month of 1847, M. Edmund Duval, a pupil of the Conservatory of Paris, who also for years previous, at the desire of the Archbishop, had been engaged in researches on this subject, was sent to Rome, to compare the result which his labours had hitherto accomplished, with the best Roman editions, and the manuscript copies preserved in the rich libraries of that ancient city. He was engaged for ten months in these researches, during part of which time he was assisted by his able friend and colleague, M. l'Abbé Janssens.

The result of these indefatigable labours, which were examined and approved by a large body of ecclesiastics, and other persons appointed by his Eminence, in the spring of this year, to report upon the manner in which the task had been executed, is now in part given to the public, in the Graduale and Vesperale which M. Hanicq has recently published, at a remarkably moderate price; a favour for which the lovers of Gregorian Song are indebted to the Editor's disinterested zeal, as they will be to his knowledge and indefatigable perseverance, for the purest printed version of the Roman Song hitherto published. The remainder will follow in due time.

But it is time to investigate the principles, and the manner in which the editions now published have been prepared. For it is a question of the utmost practical importance, in the important work of restoring the Gregorian Chant, to feel a reasonable degree of certainty that the form of it proposed for use is a practically faithful transcript of the original that was compiled and composed by St. Gregory.

All great works have met with obstacles and suspicion on their first appearance; it might therefore be too much, perhaps, to expect that the merits of the present editions should encounter no envious or misinformed opposition; more especially since the subject is that inflammable matter, music. The old proverb will be remembered—

Καὶ πτωχοί πτωχῷ φθονεῖ καὶ δοκός δοκέψῃ

But to proceed.—The first question that the revisers had to dispose of was one that has occupied a good deal of discussion, viz.:—whether the manuscripts in Saxon or Lombard notation, which consists of 40 or more

different signs, and which are written without the employment of clef or lines, admitted of being deciphered. M. Fetis, a name well known to the continental musical world for his learning and research, claims to have discovered the secret of deciphering these manuscripts, and for some time the revisers of this edition in vain attempted the task of trying to discover the same secret, until a happy hazard threw in their way the following dissertation which the Abate Baini left among his papers. From the light it throws upon the question, and the great celebrity of its author's name, our readers will feel an interest in seeing the subjoined translation from the original Italian.

DISSERTATION OF THE ABATE BAINI.

"Preface.—It is certain that the Greeks employed the characters of the Alphabet as musical signs, up to the time of St. Gregory."

"St. Gregory, chosen Sovereign Pontiff (590) deceased 604, ordered that in the Latin Church, the song should be no longer noted with Greek letters, but with Latin in their stead."

"A little time after St. Gregory, the practice of writing the song by means of letters, whether Greek or Roman, was given up, and signs or notes substituted in their place, as may be seen in all the song books, whether Greek or Latin, of the middle ages."

"It is certain that in the time of Charlemagne, who reigned in 750, the Roman song was written with the above-mentioned notes, and not with the letters prescribed by St. Gregory; for the monk Engolesmia informs us, that the French singers had not the talent to express the 'tremulas' 'vinnulas.' See Gerbert, 'de Cantu et Musica Sacra,' vol. ii. p. 60."

"Enquiry into the possibility of reading the notation of the song of the six sequences, Rythms or plaints, of Petrus Abelardus, No. 288. of the Library of the Vatican."

"It is a very remarkable thing, deserving a careful investigation, that a book which could not have been written before the twelfth century, since it contains the poem of a writer who died in 1142, should present the same barbarous manner of expressing the musical notation of the poem, which was in use before the time of Guido Arretinus, i.e. before (1000) without lines, or letters, clef or colour. My opinion on this subject, after the best investigation I have been able to make with my limited knowledge, is as follows:

"After rejecting the Latin letters which St. Gregory substituted for the letters of the Greek alphabet, by which the sounds of the musical scale were indicated, and by substituting signs, called notes, which signs did not mark the respective distance of one note from

another, * it necessarily came to pass, that in the course of years, the traditional memory of the different parts of the song that used to be preserved by the above-mentioned mode of notation, with the letters of the alphabet was partly obliterated, so that no certainty could be said to exist, and each master of a choir, taught his singers the song of any particular composition, according to his own manner of interpreting it. Hence, perpetual disputes between master and master, between master and pupils, and even among the pupils themselves, one with another, until there might be said to be fully as many modes of execution as there were singers. However, it was impossible that a confusion so great, so worthy of the barbarity of the times, could continue, and various attempts were made to remedy it. Huebald, monk, about the end of the ninth century, invented new signs, by which the seven sounds of the scale, comprising the two semitones, might be expressed with certainty and precision, by means of their different position. Oddo, Abbot of Clugny, seeing that the notation of Huebald did not come to be generally adopted, gave himself great pains to obtain the readoption of the Roman letters of St. Gregory, and in the preface to his Dialogue on Music, he informs us, that according to the method then in vogue of writing musical notes,† no singers could hope to succeed in learning to sing by themselves any musical composition, even after fifty years' study and practice. On this account he caused his monks to be all taught the ancient method of using letters, which did but require a few days' study, or at the most a week.‡

" It was in the eleventh century, that the invention of the monk Guido Aretimus was generally adopted. This writer, in several of his works, attacks the method of writing music then followed. A method, says he, which will not enable a singer, even after a hundred years' study, to sing the smallest antiphon by himself. *Cantores etsi centum annos in canendi studio perseverant, nunquam tamen vel minimam antiphonam valent efferre.* (In prologo micrologi.)

" Hence he says, ' *Cantorum rusticorum multitudo plurima
Donec frustra vivit, mira laborat insania;*' &c.

* That is to say, they go up and down just the same, although the interval they express is sometimes a tone, sometimes a half tone, &c.

† Those with neither letters, or clefs, or lines.

‡ *Antiphonas non audientes ab aliquo per se discabant.*—
*Intuitu et ex improviso, quidquid per musicam descriptum erat
sine vitio decantabant quod haec tenus communes cantores nunquam
facere potuerant, dum plures eorum 50 jam annis in canendi usu ac
studio inutiliter permanserunt.*

" And elsewhere he exclaims :* ' Who is there who does not deplore the existence of so much confusion in the Church, that we should be found disputing with each other when we ought to be singing the divine office. Scarce any two are found to agree, the master and the pupils disagree, the result of all which is, that there are as many Antiphonaries in each church as there are masters. So that we no longer hear of the Antiphonary of Gregory, but that of Leo, Albert, or any other, and as it is already very difficult to learn one, it is certainly impossible to learn a great many.'†

" On account of this confusion, which necessarily resulted from the barbarous method of writing in notation, without any mark for high or low, tone or semitone, Guido proposed to abandon this manner, and still maintaining the signs which custom had introduced, he brought in the use of lines, *on* and *between* which, he placed the notes,‡ and thus determined the respective distance of the notes in the high and low parts of the melody ; next, by placing the Roman letters of St. Gregory at the beginning of each line, (clefs) he determined the place of the semitone, and obtained in this manner, that even children were able to learn to sing correctly without the aid of a master.§

" This invention of Guido was soon adopted at Rome, after the trial which the Pontiff John XIX. was pleased to make of it.|| The rest of Italy soon followed the example of Rome, in adopting the method of Guido, and the masters saw their pupils make so much

* Quis non defeat, quod tam gravis error est in Ecclesiâ, ut quando divinum officium celebremus, sœpe non Deum laudemus, sed inter nos certare videamur, vix denique unus concordat alteri, non magistro discipulus, non discipulus condiscipulis, unde effectum est, ut non jam unum aut saltem duo, sed tam multa sint Antiphonaria, quam multi sunt per singulas ecclesias magistri, vulgoque jam dicitur, Antiphonarium, non Gregorii, sed Leonis, Alberti, aut cujuscunque alterius, cumque unum discere sit valde difficile, de multis non sit dubium quin sit impossibile, (de ignoto cantu.)

† Because so much had to be learned and retained by heart.

‡ Spissæ ducuntur lineæ, et quidam ordines vocum in ipsis fiunt lineis quidam vero, inter lineas et in medio intervallo et spatio linearum.

§ Etiam pueruli sine magistro recte possunt cantare.

|| Pontifex nostrum revolvens antiphonarium, prefixasque ruminans regulas, non prius destitit aut de loco in quo sedebat abscessit, donec unum versiculum inauditum sibi voti compos ediseeret, ut quod vix credibat in aliis, tam subito in se cognosceret. (Guido Ep' stola ad fratrem Mi^m.)

progress, that in the space of less than a month they were able to sing at sight without hesitation, so that their hearers were filled with astonishment.* Notwithstanding the great utility of this invention, it did not quickly pass beyond the Alps. I have myself seen in our libraries in Rome, several MSS. written in France and Germany, of the twelfth and thirteenth century, in the ancient notation. The work of Abelard, with which we are now concerned, is of the number. And to return to the subject. How happens it that this book, which cannot have been written before the twelfth century, should have been noted in the ancient method, at the least one hundred years after Guido, without any distinctive mark of high or low in the melody, tone or semitone? My opinion is this, Abelard wrote his works in France, the country where he was born, near Nantes. He entered a religious order in the convent of Vionigi, from which he betook himself to the diocese of Trêves. He became afterwards superior in the convent of Huys, in the diocese of Vannes, from whence he removed to that of Clugny, and finally died in the Priory of Marfel on the Saône near Châlons. Let it be supposed that the above-mentioned convents had really adopted the system of Guido, as an invention approved and sanctioned by the Roman Pontiff, and by all the couvents of Italy, and my opinion will be this: The song of these Plaints or Sequences of Abelard must have been of some antiquity, well known, and in common use for such kind of poetry. The copyist therefore would in all probability have written it as he was accustomed to see it, in books anterior to the time of Guido, without troubling himself with the new method of notation as unnecessary in the case of tunes generally known. What confirms me in this idea, is the fact, that these plaints were in common use for the verses of the Troubadourst in the time of Abelard, as also for the "serventesc," a kind of verse in triple stanzas, declaimations, etc., which used to be composed by the Troubadours, and to be sung and accompanied by the Goliardi. Sometimes, it is true, these verses were sung to melodies composed by the Troubadours themselves, but much more commonly to old and well known tunes, that were sung by the people, and which were most to the taste of the barons and ladies. This was especially the case where the singers were not in the service of the Troubadours, but rambled about alone, singing and playing the old tunes most in vogue in the different courts. (See Reynouard, 'Poetry of the Troubadours' Galnari, opera sulla Poesia de' Trovatori.) It follows from this, that Abelard having

* Ante unius mensis spatium invisos et inauditos cantus, ita primo intuitu indubitantes cantabant ut maximum spectaculum pluri mis præboretur. (Epist. Guido, ad Theodalbū)

† Troubadours, a kind of Buffoon in the service of a Court.

composed his poem, upon subjects drawn from the sacred Scriptures, in Latin, for the use of clerks and literate persons, for his monks, and perhaps also as an antidote for the scandalous love-poems, written in the common language by the Troubadours, wished to have them sung to airs that were ancient and well known, and most to the liking of persons of taste and cultivation. The copyist would therefore have transcribed these melodies as he found them written in older books, that is to say, with the notation without lines, &c. But if, on the contrary supposition, it be taken for granted that the above-mentioned convents had not yet adopted the lines and notations of Guido, then I should say, that either the song of Abelard's poetry was ancient, as on the former supposition, or that Abelard, or some other, had composed new melodies, which were consequently noted in the ancient method then in vigour. But in this case I should also say, that the composer must have explained to those who first executed it, the proper manner of singing the new melody, for these could do nothing else than learn and retain it by memory. In either case, these melodies, though written according to the ancient method, must have been executed, and as long as this was done in these convents, the need of the lines of Guido was not felt, (seeing that they resigned themselves to the labour of learning them by heart.) But at the present day, when these traditions have been lost, and not the smallest trace of them remains, how are these melodies to be recovered? Oddo of Cluny will answer, 'study as much as you please, in fifty years you will not have found them;' and Guido Arctinus will add, that 'one hundred years' labour is not sufficient to decipher these melodies.' Whoever has the presumption to imagine himself to have recovered them, is as great a fool as he who should go about to draw water out of a deep well without a rope, or a blind man, who thinks to find a way which he does not know without a guide. Such was a received opinion in the tenth and eleventh centuries. At the present day, in the nineteenth century, we can but repeat the same thing, at least so long as we wish to act bona fide, and do not seek to impose upon simple and over credulous persons. I know that it will be said to me by way of reply, that the exact number of notes may serve as a guide without any danger of deception, in the notation that has no lines, the simple points, or those that have a tail, representing one note, as also the comma, the gnomon, &c. All the nessi stand for two or more notes, the Forulus, the Chius, the Podatus, the Arlus, the Plica, also represent two notes. The Scandicus, the Climacus, the Cephalicus, represent three notes. The Pentadichon, the Diatinus, the Exonchi, five notes, and that all these notes, or at least the greatest part of them, are found in the poem of Abelard. Now is it not sufficient to know the precise number of notes that have to be executed?

"Hucbald shall answer for me. In fact, says he, this is insufficient to determine the character of any particular melody, but it is also

necessary to know the respective distance from one note to another, whether it descends or ascends more than one step. Now nothing of this is determined in the ancient mode of notation.*

"But it may still be said, The Plica represents two notes, one of which is the upper and the other the lower note. The Podatus has also two notes, one above the other; the Quilisma, has three, four, or five, ascending or descending, and the same may be said of the other.

"I answer; although it may be known in these neissi, that there is either an ascent or descent, it cannot still be known whether it be of one or more steps, or where the place of the semitone is to be fixed, and consequently it is impossible to determine, what the melody is which is concealed either under the simple notes or the nessis, &c., and this for the want of lines and clefs, which constitute the notation introduced by Guido. Hear John De Muris. (*Summa musicæ*, c. 6.) *Plica continet notas duas, unam superiorem alteram inferiorem. Podatus continet notas duas, quarum una est inferior, et alia superior ascen lendo. Quilisma, continet notas tres vel plures, quandoque ascendens et iterum descendens, sed cantus per hæc signa minus perfecta non cognoscitur nec per se quis quam eum potest addiscere, et oportet ut aliunde audiatur, et longo usu, discatur et propter hoc, hujusmodi cantus, nomen usus accepit.*

"In these verses he says:

"Sed tamen hinc oculo nequeunt perpendere cautum;
Si non auris adest et vocis premodulatus,
Et quia sic tali pro consuetudine crescat.
Usus habet non CANTUS quem musica nescit.

"And to prove this assertion of Muris, I shall need to produce but one example, to show with what reason it was customary at that time, that is to say, at the commencement of the fourteenth century, to call such old songs as were written in the old notation without lines, of which the tradition might be lost, *usages*, and not *songs*. In fact, there are several melodies in the old books of song, which begin with the podatus containing an upper and lower note. In these old books without lines, nothing is found to mark the distance

* His notis quas nunc usus tradit, quoque que pro locorum varietate diversis deformantur principiis, ruminationis subsidium, minime potest contingere in incerto enim semper videntem ducunt vestigio. Primam enim notulam cum aspiceris, proferre eam quounque vocis casu facile poteris, secundam vero quum primæ copulari quæsieris, quonam modo id facias, utrum videlicet, uno aut duobus, aut certo tribus ab ea elongari debeat punctis, nisi auditu, ab alio percipias, nullatenus sic a compositore, statutum esse pernosceres potes, (*de Harmonica Institutions.*)

between these two notes. And further, in MSS. of the XI. XII. XIII. centuries, where the original notation is preserved, only with the *addition of lines*, the podatus is often found with the interval of a fifth, as on the syllable *Pu*, in the antiphon *Puer natus est nobis*, (Introit of the Nativity.) The same *podatus* is often found representing the interval of a fourth, as on the syllable *Ga viri Galilæi*, (in the Introit of the Ascension,) the interval of a third, both major and minor, and at every step it is met with, representing the *tone*, and ultimately the interval of the semitone, as among other instances in the Matins of the Nativity, on the syllable *Ve* in the Venite exultemus Domino, it is found at the distance of a fourth, on *ni* at the distance of a semitone. Thus, again, the two notes of the Podatus are at the distance of a semitone, on *Do.* in *Dominus dixit ad me*, the first antiphon of the above-mentioned matins. In this manner the notes of the podatus can be interpreted, and in fact have so been, at one time as fifth, at another as fourth, as third, whether major or minor, as tone or semitone, and this without any the least discoverable difference. After this what is to be said of the remaining notes, to the number of about forty-five, whether simple or combined with the nessi. Will any one wish that it should be believed possible to determine melodies by the aid of the notation anterior to that of Guido, or ought it not rather to be acknowledged, that first, the taste of the Cantor, and next usage, which varied according to schools, churches, masters and pupils, was alone capable of fixing the respective distances between the notes.

" But now we come the last objection: abbot Martin Gerbert, *De Cant. and mus. sacra*, § 8. *de notis musicis*, says, that he has been unable to decipher the notes without lines, but that Walther, in his *Lexicon diplomaticum*, had made the attempt to conquer this difficulty,* and after his success others may have the courage to employ themselves in the search, and to clear the way. I answer, that the expression of Gerbert would incline me to believe that Gerbert had written this passage without having consulted the work of Walther; but as this opinion would be injurious to so learned a man as Gerbert, I shall be content with saying that the Abbot's expression is not at all exact. In the second part of his *Lexicon*, table vi, Walther gives a specimen of the Responsory, '*In paupertate*,' written in the old notation without lines, in the fourteenth century; and in table XXIII, he gives a specimen of the preface of the Mass, written in the fourteenth century in the same notation; he adds, it is true, the modern notation, but without saying a word; he does nothing, therefore, but indicate the number of notes, which, as I have said in my reply to the first objection, may be easily done.

* Excusabit me incertitudo veri situs ejusmodi notarum, sine lineis, qua tamen non obstante tentavit Walther, in *lex. Diplomat*, 1747, Gottingæ.

" As to the nessi, he places above them the modern notes without lines, that correspond to the number of notes of each nessi, a little higher or lower, according as these same nessi ascend or descend, but without the least thought of indicating the amount of distance between these notes, or the place of the semitone; and can this be called discovering the melodies contained in these notes? does not the fact rather prove them to be entirely unknown? Walther brings forward other pieces. Table X, *Eripe me Domine*, written in the twelfth century. In table XIV, *Verbum patris*, written in the thirteenth. At table XIX, *Benedicta et venerabilis*, written in the fourteenth. These three compositions are written with the old notation, but also with the lines and clefs of Guido. Walther has reduced them to our modern notations, but this process is certainly not, as Gerbert seems to wish to represent it, a successful trial, an experiment, on the contrary: it is an interpretation so easy and clear, that the sovereign Pontiff, John XIX., was able to learn it in one lesson, which he received from the mouth of Guido himself. A mode of interpretation, which in the eleventh century, when it was still new and unknown, demanded, at the utmost, an application of two or three weeks, and this time sufficed even for the least apt pupils. Moreover, at this day, this interpretation contains no sort of mystery or secret, and those who are but moderately versed in these kind of studies, find no difficulty in it. A person wholly unacquainted with it, would but need to consult table XXVIII of the work of Walther, where he would find specimens of different forms of clefs and nessi. It may therefore be affirmed that Walther, without having deciphered the old musical notation, has contributed much towards facilitating the studies of those who desire to understand the notation invented by Guido.

" Hitherto I have been explaining my manner of viewing the subject; I cannot understand, what I am told is said in the public papers of France, that I am occupying myself with the attempt to decipher the poems of Abelard. Now I have never occupied myself, and I shall never occupy myself in a matter in which I should make no progress, even after fifty years' study and application; for it is *intrinsically impossible*, without the index of line or clef, to determine the respective distance of the notes and the place of the semitone, impossible therefore to know the tunes, or to divine the intention of the composer, and the lost tradition of those who first executed them."

The possibility of the attempt to decipher the MSS. in the Saxon and Lombard notations having thus ceased to hold out any further hope of success, the revisers turned their attention to the documents preserved in the Sistine Chapel; but, before enumerating the materials which have served for the compilation of the present editions, we must again refer to the same learned Baini for the reason

why the traditions of the Sistine Chapel were judged by them to embody the largest extant amount of the genuine form of St. Gregory's song. We abridge what follows from the second volume of the life of Palæstrina.

Abate Baini's Account of the Labours of Palæstrina.

"Pius V. issued, on the 8th of July, 1568, a bull decreeing, in conformity with the decree of the Council of Trent, Sess. xxiv., that the new Roman Breviary, in its corrected and amended form, should be adopted by all Catholic churches (*omni alio, usu quibuslibet interdicto, hoc nostrum Breviarium ac precandi psallendique formam, in omnibus Universi Orbis Ecclesiis præcipimus observari*) ; and by the bull of the 14th of July, 1570, it was further decreed, '*Mandantes omnibus et singulis,—ut missam juxta ritum modum ac formam quæ per missale hoc a nobis nunc traditur, decantent ac legant.*'

"These decrees made it indispensably necessary to pay attention to the correction of the choir books, that they might be brought to a proper correspondence with the new form of the Breviary and Missal. Pius V. died the 1st of May, 1572, and was succeeded by Gregory XIII., who, perceiving the urgent need, in the midst of many other cares that occupied his attention, summoned Johannes Petrus Aloysius, commonly known as Palæstrina, then master of the Vatican Basilica and composer to the pontifical chapel, and entrusted the work to his care.

"Palæstrina associated with himself his pupil Giovanni Guidetti, at whose suggestion he obtained from the Pontiff leave to abridge the notation of the Tracts and Graduals, as also of the Responsories in the matins, as having become too long now that the ancient practice of singing the matins separately during the night had been abandoned."

Baini here takes occasion to enter into a most interesting detailed account of the musical system of the eight ecclesiastical modes, and their points of difference from the major and minor modes of the modern art, with which probably few of our modern artists, who, notwithstanding, affect considerable pity for the supposed barrenness of the church system of music, are so much as even acquainted, and which, if space permitted, we should rejoice to be able to give entire. What follows is worthy of remark, as showing Baini's sentiments on the value of the plain-song.

"The genuine ancient melodies of the Gregorian song (all the musicians in the world may speak and write against my assertion as

much as they please) are positively inimitable. They may be copied and adapted, God knows how, to other words ; but to compose others their equals in value cannot be done, nor is any one known who has done so. I do not insist on the fact, that the greater part of them were the work of the primitive Christians, and that some derived their origin from the ancient synagogue, when art, if I may use the expression, was in the freshness of its life—I do not insist that many of them were the work of St. Damasus, St. Gelasius, and particularly St. Gregory, Pontiffs specially enlightened by the Divine Spirit for their task, and that others came from the most learned and holy monks who flourished in the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries. I do not insist upon any of these in particular, but I say, that from all taken together the result is that the ancient Gregorian song possesses a charm at once admirable and inimitable, a fineness of expression that words cannot describe, a power over the feelings, an easy and natural flow, ever fresh and new, ever youthful and full of beauty, that neither grows old nor palls on the taste ; while, beginning from about the middle of the 13th century, may be said to date the commencement of the stupid, insignificant, disgusting, harsh, and tuneless modern melodies, which have continued ever since to be heard up to the present time.

" Guidetti, in the course of about seventeen years from the time when they first commenced their task, completed four works which were published successively,—The Directorium Chori, The Office of Holy Week, The Passion, as it had been sung from time almost immemorial in the Pontifical Chapel ; and, lastly, the Notation of the Prefaces in the Missal. Three years after the publication of the latter work Guidetti died, 30th of November, 1592, having rendered great service to the liturgical song by his careful and extensive researches to recover its true traditions.

" The fourth year that Guidetti and Palestrina had been engaged on their work, there appeared from the press of one Peter Leichtenstein, a native of Cologne established in Venice, the Gradual, the Antiphonary, and the Hymnarium, corrected according to the Missal and Breviary of Pius V. Who was the author of this great work remains unknown, but so much esteemed was it, that Guidetti considered his portion of the task to have become superseded, and accordingly this Venice edition has been since acknowledged the most authentic printed form of the song of the office, and as such was adopted by the singers of the Pontifical Chapel.

" Palestrina, however, does not appear to have considered his part of the labour, the correction of the Gradual, at all superseded by the appearance of the Venice edition, but continued his task for more than seventeen years, at the end of which term nothing had appeared. ' Where,' exclaims his biographer, Baini, ' where all this while is the product of his researches ? what has become

of his inexhaustible genius? Where are all his promises to Gregory XIII.? what has befallen his project of correcting the melodies of the entire liturgical song, of relieving it from the weight of its superabundant notes, in order to bring it back to a dress of greater truth and simplicity? Be it said, with all respect to so great a man, heaven destined him to perfect ecclesiastical music in harmony, and endowed him to this end with almost superhuman gifts. But the Gregorian song claims a character wholly its own, has a beauty and a force proper only to itself. It is what it is, and does not change. But to remain ever the same, and to be susceptible of a change contrary to its nature, would be impossible. In a word, it may be said that heaven formed it through the early fathers, and then fractured the mould.'

"Palæstrina applied himself with the zeal of one who had deeply at heart the majesty of divine worship. But, having completed the first part, 'de tempore,' 'his pen,' says his biographer, 'fell from his hands, and, more wearied than Atlas under the weight of the sky, he abandoned his attempt, and at his death nothing was found but the incomplete manuscript.' 'And thus,' adds Baini, 'we may see the greatest man ever known in the art and science of figured music, become less than a mere baby when he wished to lay a profane hand on the fathers and doctors of the holy Roman Church;' and page 123: 'How wise at last was he, after having fruitlessly attempted in so many ways to correct this *divine* song according to human ideas, to abandon the enterprise for ever, and to conceal up to his death the useless result of his labour, which he himself acknowledged to be unworthy of being made public.'

"At the death of Palæstrina, his son, Igino, seized the imperfect manuscript, and by a bold stroke of dishonesty procured its completion, by what means is not known, and sold it as the complete work of his father, for 2500 Roman scudi, to a bookseller. The purchaser discovered the fraud on submitting it to the superiors for approbation, and an action was commenced, in which the court rescinded the contract, and compelled Igino to refund the sum, and to take back the MSS. What became of the MSS. subsequently is entirely unknown, as no traces of it exist. Baini believes, however, that it may have fallen into the hands of Giovannielli, the pupil of Palæstrina, who is thought to have superintended the edition of the Gradual that appeared in Rome from the press of the Medici, in two vols. folio, (1614.) This edition is the one adopted in the Pontifical Chapel, and is considered by Baini, to be superior to the one published by Liechtenstein of Venice, 1579,.....

"The various subsequent editions, printed in Italy, France, and Spain, are for the most part but reproductions of the Venice edition, and of each other. They abound, according to Baini, who himself examined great numbers of them, with the most uncalled for and wanton alterations, admitting at random the

signs of b, the q, and even the #, with such ignorance and capricious profusion, as scarcely to have left the original mode unchanged in any single composition of the whole book."—p. 122.

By the way, Baini's sentiments on the superiority of the plain chant would be far from an unprofitable meditation for some of our fastidious musical men, who, not unnaturally, seeing how little they know about the matter, consider the plain chant an unmusical theory. But what results from all that has been quoted is, that in Baini's judgment, the editions used by the pontifical choir, are the best extant printed forms of the Song.

The manuscript preserved in the archives of the college of the cantor chaplains, from which this edition in question of the Gradual was printed, and from which, through the carelessness of the printer, the printed copy somewhat varies, forms the basis of the present revised edition.

This manuscript, which was accurately copied, was collated with the following printed editions:

Liechtenstein	Venice	1579	
Plantin	Antwerp	1599	(The discrepancy
<i>Apud Juntas</i>	Venice	1814	very great.)

The Revision of the Antiphonal takes for its basis the edition of *Liechtenstein*, Venice, 1579, on the appearance of which Guidetti considered his work superseded, and the following printed editions have been carefully collated:

<i>Apud Juntas</i>	Venice	1614	
Plantin	Antwerp	1573	(A reprint of an early
—	Tulles	1624	Roman edition.)
Balloni	Venice	1701	
—	Lyons	—	

The result thus obtained from a comparison of the few printed editions to which any degree of authority could be attributed, was again carefully collated with the best of the legible manuscripts preserved in the following libraries of Rome

- The Vatican
- The Minerva
- Santa Croce di Gerusalemme
- Angelica, or St. Agostino
- La Chiesa Nuova
- Barberini (princes)

The various readings thus obtained would present, as it would be supposed, a problem somewhat difficult to determine, when it came to be necessary to make a permanent selection of one, from among them. The principle of the revision, however, has been to adhere to the form adopted as the basis of the work, and only to deviate from it for very special reasons, which were all passed under careful review, and submitted to the judgment of others, in those cases where the choice seemed more open to doubt. Long study and the familiar habit of singing the plain chant generates insensibly a taste which distinguishes instinctively between what is and what is not a true ecclesiastical phrase; and by this kind of judgment thus formed, many doubts as to the preference of readings in the course of the revision have been solved.

The principle of this revision has no less an authority than that of M. Fetis himself, who has claimed to be possessed of the secret of deciphering the Saxon and Lombard notations. In his fourth paper, "Sur les Origines du Plain Chant," he says, "It does not belong to me to treat such questions [*differences of ritual*], but as regards the plain chant, I will say that the case of the Gradual and Antiphonale is exactly that of the Rituals: recourse must be had to the *ancient Roman sources* in order to reform them effectually."

We may add, in taking leave of the subject, our sincere desire that a work which has occupied the research of so many years, which has been so carefully conducted, and is now given to the public at so low a price by its disinterested editors, who have sought no other reward than that which results from the consecration of their time and talents to the service of the Church, may speedily find its way into all our colleges and schools where the Song of St. Gregory is still honoured, and that amateurs and directors of choirs will procure themselves copies, and enable themselves, by a little care and study, to bear a part in the work of restoration that is going on around them, in so many of the arts which the Church lays under contribution to herself, among which none reigns so much a Queen as VOCAL MUSIC.

ART. V.—*Memorie dei più insigni pittori, scultori e architetti Domenicani.* Del P. L. VINCENZO MARCHESE, dello spesso istituito. Firenze; Aleide Parenti. (Memoirs of the most celebrated Painters, Sculptors, and Architects, &c.)

TO many of our readers, the very title we have prefixed to these remarks, will be not a little surprising. The very idea of the artist-monk is, in these days, so strange a portent amongst us, that the notion of two volumes of memoirs of Dominican painters, sculptors, and architects, will savour rather of the romance than of the reality of history. Alas! the destiny of art in this land has been so sad, that such a surprise is indeed but too natural, even in those who, by a knowledge of the intimate alliance between christianity and the fine arts, might have been prepared to anticipate an especial brotherhood between the artistic and the monastic lives. How has the fairest of the creations of human genius fallen in this great kingdom, once so proud in all that relates to the cultivation of the beautiful and the sublime! While all else has flourished gloriously, art has struggled even to live. The whole energies of the modern Anglo-Saxon have been devoted to the culture of every thing rather than of that in which his fathers so wondrously excelled. Let the churches, the monuments, the streets, the squares, the figures, the books, which greet the eye throughout the whole kingdom, tell the melancholy tale, and by their hideous deformity, or their inane mediocrity, repeat the undeniable truth, that when England lost her faith, she lost her soul for art. Since that hour when she separated herself from christendom, the genius of art has refused all her advances, and rejected her as one unworthy of any of her choicest favours.

Hence it is, that not only the great Protestant world, but the small Catholic remnant itself, has forgotten the fact, that there was a day when the cloister sent forth some of the most illustrious examples of artistic genius and skill. We have forgotten so many of the traditions of the old time, and have so little knowledge of the infinite versatility of the forms in which the spirit of true religion can develop itself in the midst of the world, consecrating everything to the service of God, and turning the very

desert into an Eden, that few amongst us are prepared to associate the free exercise of the sentiment and powers of the painter and the sculptor with the rigorous rule of the monk and friar, or to anticipate from those austere and serge-clad forms aught that can touch and elevate the most tender and refined portions of our intellectual nature. The narrow cell, the hard couch, the abstemious fare, the bared feet, the knotted scourge, all these implements of the monastic state seem to accord so ill with what we know to be the common characteristics of the artist's life, that we are tempted to fancy they cannot exist together, and that either the inspiration of art, or the iuspiration of divine love, must yield and fade away.

Yet assuredly is there a spirit stirring in the land which speaks of better things. No one can look upon the facts of the present hour with an observant eye, and not discern here and there a green spot bespeaking the presence of some hidden fount of living water, and cheering the wilderness with the verdure of the spring time. We confidently trust that the public mind is awakening, almost rapidly, to the consciousness of the utterly superficial character of the vast majority of her present works of art, and of that species of criticism which hitherto has been all that has been given to the world. The old cant about the sensual character of art is becoming actually old-fashioned and out of date; and a man who should class the fine arts among the mere trivial pleasures of the moment, and talk about the danger to pure religion resulting from the use of sacred pictures and sculpture, would run the risk of being laughed at, as a prejudiced simpleton, in nine societies out of ten. We are learning to look upon art as the visible language of the mind; as a means of expression with which the artist utters all the deepest thoughts of his heart, and through which he is, as it were, a poet in his generation. We are growing ashamed of the dishonour which we have so long cast upon the cultivation of art as a profession, and beginning to fancy that after all an intelligent painter, sculptor, or architect, is a fit companion for the highest in the land.

Above all, the folly of attempting to sever the fine arts from Christianity, is daily becoming more manifest in the eye of the country. History is teaching to thousands its stern lesson, that unless frequently and habitually called in to the service of the temple of God, art *cannot* make

any way in a nation. Academies, societies, patrons, government aid, all have been tried, and all have failed. The bow of Ulysses is yet unbent ; the magic horn is not yet sounded ; the riddle remains unsolved. Thousands watch and wonder with anxious gaze to see whence the inspiration will come to animate the cold clay which an earthly Prometheus has fashioned ; and as they gaze, they are learning to comprehend that the fire must come *from heaven*, or the lifeless limb which man has formed will never breathe with the vital energy of true existence.

We need scarcely say that it is our conviction, that if this life is to be infused into the form of English art, it must proceed from her with whom are lodged the spiritual graces of the christian life. The Protestant may aim well, and intend well, and struggle manfully, and study profoundly ; but he will only approximate to that achievement which is reserved, in all its triumphant success, for those who have the heritage of faith. Religious truths are rather words than realities, even to the most amiable and conscientious Protestant. He reads and understands certain statements, while the Catholic beholds the divine things, of which these statements are but the narrative. Therefore the Catholic artist paints what he sees ; the Protestant paints what he has heard of, or imagined. In the latter, the vivid expression of life and reality will ever be more or less absent ; for the simple reason, that however brilliant his genius, or correct his taste, his mind is to a certain extent wanting in that distinct conception of the spiritual truths he would fain embody, without which he never can advance from mediocrity to perfection. He cannot hope to rival even the works of those older Catholic artists, whose lives unhappily were so vicious, that their christian faith must have been a mere name ; for he has none of that traditional knowledge, that reflected inspiration, which served them, in a measure, in place of true christian sight : he must *create* a religious art, or he can do nothing.

Such being the prospects and hopes of art in England, it is not surprising that here and there we hear of indications of the revival of the old monastic spirit among the younger and more ardent Catholic artists of the day. With, perhaps, little actual historical knowledge to guide them, and no glowing pictures of the past victories of art, achie-

ved in the cloister, to arouse them by the force of mighty example, yet they cannot but now and then yearn for that which the religious life can alone supply ; and pray to be permitted to consecrate their talents to the service of Jesus Christ, under the same rules, and with the same spiritual advantages, which are found so precious by the lover of general science and learning. Awakening, as we trust the heart of England is, to a perception of the wonderful powers which reside in the Catholic Church, she cannot but perceive that the monastic life, in some one or other of its varieties, will necessarily supply to the devoted and enthusiastic artist that very rule of daily practical life, without which he feels that his best energies may be wasted upon worldly objects, or frittered away from the want of that personal self-control which is but too seldom the accompaniment of those who are pre-eminent in the gifts of natural genius.

We cannot but think, therefore, that we shall gratify many of our readers, if we remind them of the artistic glories which formerly shone around one of the most illustrious of those religious orders which have held, and which still hold, a prominent place in the Christian Church. What the order of St. Dominic has been, and even now is, in the more ordinary occupations of the spiritual and ministerial life, we need not say. To this hour it retains the rays of its pristine splendour, and whether in the pulpit of Notre Dame, or in the hovel of the poor English or Irish Catholic, it shows that the spirit of its great founder yet resides in the members of the body he called into existence. Its achievements in sculpture, architecture, and painting, are less known ; and though the order itself has not failed from time to time to preserve a chronicle of the works of the Fine Arts which its sons have accomplished ; yet, with the exception of one or two amongst them, their very names are novelties in our ears. Even in the case of those two great artists, who hold the highest rank in their records, few are aware that it was as faithful children of the rule of St. Dominic, that they attained their lofty pre-eminence. The world is hardly aware that Beato Angelico and Fra Bartolommeo were both of them Dominican monks.

As early as the commencement of the thirteenth century, we find this order supplying its artists to the works of the time. Some fifteen or twenty years before Cimabue

became famous, as the great painter of the age, two Dominicans, Fra Ristoro and Fra Sisto, were not only eminent in Tuscany, their own country, but were invited to Rome to share in the works of that noblest of all palaces, the Vatican. In Florence, they had previously, in the service of the republic, completed the palace of the *Podestà*, or chief magistrate, rebuilt the bridge called *alla Carraja*, and furnished designs for the church of *Santa Maria Novella*, when they were summoned to the holy city by Pope Nicholas the Third. Here they were employed in the works of the Vatican, and in all probability also in the building of the church of *Santa Maria sopra Minerva*. They died, the former in 1283, at Florence; the latter, in 1289, at Rome. Their names are honourably mentioned by Væsari, Bottari, and Lanzi, the historians of art; but with especial distinction by Cicognara, in his *Storia della Scultura*.

Other architects of the thirteenth century were supplied by the Dominican body in Tuscany and in Portugal. Mazzetto, Borghese, and Albertini Mezzanti, were all three employed, with high reputation to themselves, in the building of Prato, Florence, and the Val d'Arno; while three others, Gundisalvo, Gonzalez, and Lorenzo, were known in Portugal as "the three holy architects."

The first celebrated name, however, which the Dominicans gave to the world of art, was that of Guglielmo of Pisa, a sculptor and architect, not unworthy of ranking in fame, as he was actually associated in labour, with one of the greatest sculptors to whom Italy has given birth—the illustrious Nicola Pisano. Under this brother artist he first studied with all the fervour of laborious genius. Born of an illustrious family under the Pisan republic, Guglielmo Agnelli early entered the religious life as a monk of the order of St. Dominic, and was accounted as eminent for his piety as for his skill as a sculptor. When the preaching of the monks and their influence among the people made it necessary that they should erect a vast and splendid church in Pisa, Nicola is reported to have furnished the designs; but the superintendence of their execution was confided to Fra Guglielmo. On the celebrated shrine of San Domenico, at Bologna, Guglielmo was also employed, in conjunction with his friend and master; and though the entire work is popularly attributed to the chisel of Nicola, it is certain that not only had Fra Guglielmo a

considerable share in the execution of that masterpiece of early christian sculpture, but that other sculptors were successively employed in its perfect completion. Another of the most superb creations of the early Italian chisel, owes much of its splendour to Fra Guglielmo. The facade of the domes of Orvieto has never failed to strike the observant traveller with ardent admiration for the dramatic power and fire which pervades its bas-reliefs, in which the history of the creation of man, of the sacrifice of Abel, and other early events in the annals of our race, are portrayed with all that singular energy of expression, which, notwithstanding certain artistic deficiencies, is unrivalled in impressive truth by the tame and academic proprieties of a later and more critical age. Many sculptors were employed on this wonderful work, and among the rest the Dominican Guglielmo claims a large share of the fame which the entire body of sculptures has deservedly acquired. He died at an advanced age, having passed fifty-six years of his life as a monk of St. Dominic.

Bologna and Lombardy furnished also their quota to the goodly array of monastic architects. In the dominions of Venice, the Dominicans built three noble churches, from designs furnished by members of their order; namely, San Giovanni in Venice itself, Sant Agostino in Padua, and San Nicola in Trevigi. In Milan, also, an architect of the same order, Fra Giovanni da Giussano, was distinguished by some important works. Tuscany further went on producing its monastic artists, to take the place of those we have already named. Fra Giovanni da Campi, and Fra Jacopo Talenti, both Dominicans, built many edifices in Florence, both public and private, ecclesiastical and secular. They finished the church of Santa Maria Novella; rebuilt in stone the bridge *alla Carraja*; and designed a new convent for their own religious body. The convent of Santa Maria Novella, again sent forth its artist monks, under the teaching of Giovanni and Jacopo. Fra Giovannino da Marcojano, and other architects under their guidance, learned the elements of the art, and practised it with more or less success in their time.

Here, also, we must note the skill and genius displayed by an almost innumerable number of monks, to whom, in the cultivation of another branch of art, the very existence of painting was in a measure due. Every one is familiar with the name of the old illuminations, though few are

aware with what perfection and refinement of beauty and graceful fantasies the inhabitants of the cloister were wont to adorn their sacred books, and those contemporary annals which formed no inconsiderable portion of the literature of the period. The *miniatori*, as the cultivators of this beautiful art were termed, were of two kinds; the *miniatori*, properly so called, and the *miniatori-calligrafi*. The former painted the figures and the decorations, and laid on the gilding of the books they adorned; the latter were chiefly occupied in the actual writing of the text and its elaborate initial letters. Together they produced that multitude of illuminated manuscripts, which are alike the admiration of the unlearned, and the treasures of the historian of art.

The records of the Dominican order register the names of monks who devoted themselves to this beautiful art, as early as the middle of the fourteenth century. At that period, a certain Fra Guido, of Santa Maria Novella, was thus distinguished in Florence. In the same century, also, flourished some eminent Dominican *miniatori* at Pisa, of whom one of the ablest was F. Alessandro della Spina, the inventor of spectacles. The most exquisite specimens of the art were, however, produced by Fra Benedetto del Mugello, who took the Dominican habit at Fiesole, in the year 1407. He illuminated many missals, psalters, and sacred books. Many of these yet remain preserved with the greatest care. We pass hastily over the works of Eustachio, Pietro da Framoggiano, and other religious miniature painters of the sixteenth century, to come without delay to the most brilliant name which the Dominican order has ever produced, to whom, in our own days at last, that full measure of praise has been awarded, which could never have been wrung from an age so cold and uninspiritual in all works of art, as that which has but lately drawn to its conclusion.

Fra Angelico da Fiesole, called the Blessed, was born near Vicchio, in the province of Mugello, near Florence, in the year 1387. His surname is not known; his Christian name was Guido, or Guidolino; and the names *Beato* and *Angelico*, by which he has ever been distinguished, were given him on account of the extraordinary and angelic purity of his life. It is not precisely known under whom he studied painting, some authorities supposing Starnina to have been his instructor. From

Starnina, if he really was his master, he probably learnt the elements of that taste for united brilliancy and delicacy of colouring, which is one of the great characteristics of his remarkable works. In the year 1407, he entered the Dominican convent of St. Mark at Florence, and the following year received the habit of the order. It appears, also, that he soon afterward became an inmate of the convent at Fiesole. For forty-six years longer he continued his tranquil course of existence, giving glory to God alike in prayer and meditation, and in all the works of his beloved art. His life was passed in the cloister, except on one occasion, when he was invited by the Pope to Rome. The exact year in which he was summoned to the holy city is not known; but it is supposed that he was called from his retirement by Pope Eugenius the Fourth, as he certainly worked at Rome under the successor of Eugenius, Nicholas the Fifth. In this latter pontiff, he found not only a patron, but a friend. The Pope would have made him Archbishop of Florence; but the pious monk dreaded the elevation, and besought his holiness to bestow the mitre upon another brother of his convent, Frate Antonio, who was accordingly placed over the vacant see, and became distinguished for his eminent zeal and piety. Angelico died at Rome in 1455, and was buried in the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva.

His works are detailed in all histories of the art, in Vasari, D'Agincourt, Rosini, and others; but no sketch of the spirit which animates them is so much worthy of notice as that which is given by the accomplished author of "La Poesie Chretienne," in that still uncompleted charming work.

"A remarkable fact," says M. Rio, in the history of this incomparable artist, "is the influence which he exercised on his biographer Vasari, who lived in an age when all enthusiasm for the works of the mystical painters was become faint; but who, nevertheless, in the account he has given of the works of Fra Angelico, seems to have forgotten all the prejudices of his contemporaries, to celebrate with the accents of admiration the sublime works which animated his soul, and the innumerable wonders of art which came forth from his pencil. In the fervour of his conversion, he even goes so far as to say, that talents so superior and so extraordinary as those of Fra Angelico, could not belong except to the highest sanctity, and that to succeed in the representation of religious and holy subjects, the artist must be religious and holy himself."

This superiority, he adds, to which Vasari pays homage, does not consist either in perfection of design, or in the composition of the figures, or in truth of detail; the laws of picturesque arrangement are not sustained by a skilful distribution of light and shade, as in the frescoes of Masaccio; and what must still more shock certain observers, the life which superabounds in the head, and which is sufficiently vigorous in the upper portions of the body, in the lower portions of the figure becomes more and more feeble, until the limbs look like artificial supports; while yet one must be wholly inaccessible to the most delightful emotions which Christian art can arouse in a soul rightly prepared, to notice minutely all these technical imperfections in the productions of a truly divine pencil, imperfections which less prove the inefficient execution of the artist, than his indifference to every thing which was strange to the spiritual object which occupied his pious imagination.

The compunction of the heart, its dartings forth towards God, the ecstatic ravishment, the foretaste of celestial blessedness, all this species of profound and elevated emotions, which no artist could express without having himself experienced them, were, as it were, the mystic cycle in which the genius of Angelico delighted to expatiate, and which he ever recommenced with the same love with which he had finished it. In this way he seems to have exhausted all combinations and colours, at least so far as relates to expression; and the more we examine certain of his pictures in which a fatiguing monotony seems to predominate, the more we discover a prodigious variety of treatment, embracing every species of poetry which the human countenance can express. Especially is this the case in the picture of the Coronation of the Virgin, in the midst of angels and the heavenly hierarchy, in the representation of the last judgment, at least in that portion of it which comprises the elect, and in the representation of paradise, the ultimate limit which bounds the imitative arts; it is in these mystic subjects, so perfectly in harmony with the undefined, yet infallible presentiments of his own soul, that he has poured forth with profusion the inexhaustible riches of his imagination. One may say of him, that painting was nothing more than his beloved formula for acts of faith, hope, and love. That his efforts might not be unworthy of Him in whose sight they were undertaken,

he never put his hand to his work without imploring the blessing of heaven; and when the inward voice assured him that his prayer was heard, he thought himself bound to make no change in that production of the inspiration which came to him from on high, being persuaded that in this, as in everything else, he was but the instrument of the will of God. When he painted Jesus Christ upon the cross, the tears flowed from his eyes as if he had been actually present at the last scene of the passion upon Calvary; and it is to this zeal and profound sympathy that we must attribute that pathetic expression which he was able to give to the various personages who were present at the crucifixion, or at the descent from the cross, or at the entombment.

Although a great many of his works have been dispersed throughout Europe, there yet remain enough at Florence, both of large and small dimensions, to call forth for ever the admiration of travellers. The convent of St. Mark, one of the richest in the world in superb monuments of the past, preserves with special veneration the works of Angelico, and the magnificent frescoes with which he adorned its walls and cells; but we seek in vain for the choir books which he and his brother decorated with miniature paintings, for the praise of which, Vasari says that language fails him. Thus, also, the miniatures he completed for the church of St. Dominic at Fiesole have disappeared, with the other morsels of art with which he enriched that church, and in the execution of which he was still more happily inspired by his love for his order, and for his mountain birth-place. We must seek elsewhere for proofs of his superiority to all other artists of his age, as a painter of miniatures, at least so far as regards the representation of mystical subjects. Besides the carefully preserved fragments which are collected in the gallery of the academy of Fine Arts, and in the gallery of the Grand Duke at Florence, we may see at Santa Maria Novella, another Dominican convent at Florence, the two reliquaries which, Vasari says, were painted by Angelico, at the same time with his Paschal Candle; and in the absence of these distant treasures, the most *exigeant* imagination may be completely satisfied before the *chef-d'œuvre* which France possesses, and which Italy reasonably envies her.

With these criticisms of M. Rio, every enlightened

traveller, whether artist or connoisseur, agrees; and we may fairly account it one of the best artistic signs of our times, that the whole world of art has thus united in doing homage to the genius and the achievements of the angelic painter-monk. We can linger, however, no longer over his memory, except so far as to give a list of his most celebrated works, which will be found useful to those who, when wars have ceased, may go on a pilgrimage to the various churches and galleries of Italy.

At Rome. In the Vatican, the chapel of Pope Nicholas V., painted in fresco, with the histories of the martyrs St. Stephen and St. Lawrence; and in the Vatican gallery, two pictures of the deeds of St. Nicholas of Bari. In the Valentini gallery, a portion of a picture, perhaps belonging to a picture in the choir of San Domenico at Fiesole. In the Corsini gallery, a picture of the last judgment. In the gallery of Cardinal Fesch was another of the same subject, before the collection was dispersed.

At Florence. In San Marco, the crucifixion, in the first cloister, and five lunettes, with figures of middle size. In the chapter room, the crucifixion, and portraits of illustrious Dominicans. In the ~~convent~~, with two exceptions, all the cells of the upper dormitory, thirty-two in number, and three stories of the outer walls. In the dormitory called "Giovinato," other pictures of our Lord on the cross. In Santa Maria Novella, three reliquaries. In the academy of design, two pictures of the deposition from the cross; two pictures representing Albertus Magnus, and St. Thomas Aquinas disputing in the cathedral; the Blessed Virgin with the infant Jesus; St. Cosimus healing a sick man; the last Judgment; the burial of five martyrs; a "Pietà," with the instruments of the passion; eight pictures containing thirty-five scenes in the life of our Lord; the Blessed Virgin with some saint; the Blessed Virgin with two angels and saints. In the gallery of the Uffizi, the Blessed Virgin on a throne; six small pictures of the adoration; two scenes in the life of St. Mark; a "Sposalizio;" the journey to Egypt; and the birth of St. John the Baptist.

At Fiesole. In San Domenico, in the choir, the Blessed Virgin on a throne, with angels and saints. In the refectory, a fresco of the crucifixion. In the old chapter house, a fresco of the Virgin and child, with St. Dominic and St. Thomas, of the size of life. In the church of

San Girolano, the Blessed Virgin with doctors and saints.

At Perugia. At San Domenico, in the choir, the Virgin and the child Jesus; and on the sides, two pictures, one of St. John Baptist and St. Catherine, the other of St. Dominic and St. Nicholas of Bari. In the sacristy, twelve small pictures of Saints; a picture of two scenes in the life of St. Nicholas of Bari; and two of the annunciation.

At Cortona. In San Domenico, the Blessed Virgin and child; two pictures of Dominican monks; and the four evangelists; and the Blessed Virgin on a throne, with angels and saints, all in fresco. At the "Gesù," the annunciation; and two pictures of St. Dominic and the Blessed Virgin.

At Orvieto. In the Cathedral, the roof of the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, in fresco, consisting of the upper part of a picture of the last Judgment, completed by Luca Signorelli.

At Montefalco. In the church of the Franciscans, some pictures, as stated by Rosini; but not described by him.

At Paris. The great picture of the coronation of the Virgin, in the Louvre.

At Berlin. In the royal museum, St. Dominic and St. Francis embracing one another; a picture of the last judgment.

About the time of Angelico, other Dominican artists flourished, of whom space allows us to mention only the names. Such were Fra Bartolommeo Coradini, a painter of Urbino, surnamed *Fra Carnovale*; Fra Girolamo Monsignori, a painter of Verona; Padre Maccari, of Genoa, also a painter; an architect of Venice, Fra Francesco Colonna, the author of an Art-Romance, called "The Dream of Poliphilus;" some Tuscan painters, Fra Bartolommeo of Perugia, and Beato Giacomo d'Ulma, a glass painter, with others, his pupils in his art. All these worked in their generation for the love of God and the glory of His worship; and we can scarcely doubt that many of them were more or less animated with that pure and lofty spirit, whose struggles against the corruption of the age we must now briefly notice in the person of the great Savonarola. Though not himself an artist, in the actual execution of works of painting, sculpture, or architecture, this heroic Dominican was too deeply concerned in the progress

and purification of christian art, to be passed over without a sketch of his remarkable course.

At the age of twenty-two, Girolamo Savonarola entered the religious life, as a monk of the order of St. Dominic, at Bologna. He chose this order from his veneration for St. Thomas Aquinas, and from the earliest period of his profession was animated by a singular devotion to the work of magnifying the worth of Holy Scripture, in opposition to the passion for profane learning, which at these times flooded the Church like a torrent. He speedily became a renowned preacher, though his first essays were so unsatisfactory, that at the end of his course of sermons, he had retained an auditory of only twenty-five persons. The celebrated Picus of Mirandola was so struck with his powers, that he persuaded Lorenzo di Medicis to invite Savonarola to Florence, to take up his abode in the convent of St. Mark. Here his first sermons attracted so great a concourse of people, that in the following year (1490) he was summoned to preach in the vast cathedral. The influence of his preaching was instantaneous, and for seven years it lasted undiminished. Taking for his subject in his first discourses certain useful passages in the book of Revelations, he foretold the time of trial that was coming upon the Church, and the purification she must suffer, in order to be cleansed from the corruptions which were preying upon her heart, and which had ingulfed men of every rank and class, in all the sins and follies of a corrupt world. Florence itself, like Rome, had become a centre of all the craft, the luxury, the frivolity, and the crimes which stain the annals of the latter portion of the middle ages. The riches and power which were the lot of the Church in those days, had proved so baneful in their influence, and had so far dishonoured the papacy itself, that, to the keen spiritual eye of Savonarola, the hand of God was already visible, preparing a season of conflict, struggle, and suffering,—a season of schism, heresy, and devastation,—as the punishment for the sins of the age. Against this giant edifice of corruption no arm struck more vigorously or unrelentingly than that of the great Dominican of Florence. He aimed his blows at every branch of human thought and feeling in which the spirit of the world was corrupting the spirit of the church.

Education and art were the two subjects in which, above all, Savonarola laboured to work a radical reform.

In these our times of propriety and decency, we have little idea how searching was the revolution needed in a period which, when contemplated from afar, has too often been estimated as singularly favourable to true religion. The poetic mind, wandering amid the monuments of the past, and admiring with almost ecstatic gaze, the gorgeous creations of art to which the fifteenth century gave birth throughout christendom, peoples the venerable cathedrals, and halls, and abbeys, and churches, with a race of men as devout in heart as ascetic in practice, as profound in thought as the works of their hands were magnificent and abundant. We contrast our times of little faith with those earlier days, when churches and monasteries crowded the face of Europe in wondrous confusion, and hundreds of new religious edifices rose year by year. Yet the facts of history, and the words of pious men of those times, tell a sadly different tale. Were not the simple fact, that the prosperity of the fourteenth century brought on the corruptions of the fifteenth, and that the corruptions of the fifteenth brought on the calamities of the sixteenth century,—were not this enough to convince us that a terrible plague was at work in the church in those days, the words and toils of Savonarola, his sermons and his bloody death, would be enough to show that the errors of the church of our own time are but as venial infirmities, compared with the monstrous worldliness which had then taken possession of so large a portion of the spotless heritage of Christ. The influence of the council of Trent, indeed, upon the clergy and laity of the church, has been so mighty, that it is difficult to realize the state of things against which Savonarola preached and the oratory of divine love prayed.

In the matter of education, it was well when the subtleties of the Aristotelian logic, supplanting the study of christian doctrine, and the phraseology of classical mythology thrusting out the language of holy scripture, were the worst consequences of that state of things to which the wealth of the preceding age had reduced the church. We are astounded to find Savonarola compelled to demand the suppression of such licentious poets as Tibullus and Catullus, and even Ovid's infamous "Art of Love," as class-books in seminaries. Still worse, in one of his sermons, he calls for the formal suppression of another book, in comparison with which these old Roman writers

were pious teachers, and whose title alone revealed its abominable character.

Of the scandalous character of the ecclesiastical music of those days, we need not speak at length, as we are more especially concerned with the state of the fine arts when Savonarola preached. It is enough to say, that it was a not unfrequent practice for one or more of the choristers in a choir to sing profane, or even indecent words, all through the progress of the music of the mass, while the remainder of the singers uttered the solemn words of prayer and praise. Such, also, were the abominations practised by the painter and sculptor, and upheld by too many of the authorities of the time. The churches swarmed with representations of sacred subjects, which provoked ideas of ribaldry, jesting, and impurity, rather than sentiments of reverence and divine love. That Savonarola exaggerated the real facts of the case, may possibly be granted. Men like that ardent Dominican are not wont to understate the wickednesses which arouse their holy indignation. Still, there is no denying that his statements were substantially true, for they are confirmed by every other source of history remaining to us. The spirit of christian art in those days, may be judged from an anecdote told by Vasari, in the life of Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, of an artist who replied to the earnest request of a pious father of a family, who begged to have a *Madonna* painted with a decent amount of drapery, and not emulating the lascivious sentiments of a heathen Venus, by painting the immaculate mother of God with a long beard upon her chin! "You paint the Virgin Mary dressed like a harlot," cried the preacher; and truly we may say, that when such were the objects which greeted the eyes of the faithful in the house of God itself, and in the presence of the adorable sacrament of the altar, there was need indeed for one to lift up his voice and spare not, and to give his own blood as a testimony to the truth of his bitter words.

To effect a vigorous and fundamental purification of all these abominations, the Dominican applied himself with all the fervour of his soul. In every branch of study and art, he toiled to raise up a class of men who would count it their highest honour to dedicate their talents to the service of God, and rigidly eschew every thought and work which might minister to the paganism or licentiousness of the time. Sometimes he went to an extreme, and erred,

in an excess of severity, it must be remembered that it is well nigh impossible for those who are involved in the heat of the contest, to sit down and calmly estimate the minute results of every step they take, or to retain their fervour and zeal with a superhuman judgment and prudence. Taken all in all, Savonarola wrought a wondrous work in his day, a work, we cannot doubt, which prepared the way for that glorious triumph over heresy, schism, and internal corruption, which was won by the toils of the great council of Trent. His influence upon the artists of his age was wonderful. Many, through his spirit-stirring appeals, gave up the world altogether, and cultivated their art to the glory of God alone, in the silence and austerities of the cloister. No less than nine artists thus took the Dominican habit, under his auspices. These were Benedetto, Lapaccini, and Eustachio, all three miniature-painters of Florence; Mugello, Andrea, and the celebrated Bartolommeo della Porta, painters, not in miniature; Domenico di Paolo, and Francesco di Prato, architects; and Ambrogio della Robbia, a modeller in plaister. The famous worker in porcelain, Luca della Robbia, and Lorenzo di Credi also, both consecrated their labours to pious purposes, and attached themselves to the cause of the reform.

Of these christian artists, Bartolommeo della Porta now claims especial attention. What the world of artists has thought of this great painter, may be judged from Wilkie's criticism upon his great work, the *Madonna della Misericordia*, at Lucca. "Here," says Wilkie, "a monk, in the retirement of his cloister, shut out from the taunts and criticism of the world, seems to have anticipated in his early time all that his art could arrive at in its most advanced maturity, and this he has been able to do without the usual blandishments of the more recent periods, and with all the higher qualities peculiar to the age in which he lived."

Fra Bartolommeo was born near Florence, in the town of Savignano. Nothing, or little better than nothing, is known of his family, and he derives his surname from the circumstance of his having lived with some relations who resided near one of the gates of Florence, while he was receiving instructions in painting from Cosimo Roselli, under whose tuition he was early placed. His common appellative, while he continued in the world, was Baccio della Porta, Baccio being a familiar diminutive

for Bartolommeo. While studying under Roselli, he formed a close attachment to a fellow student, Mariotto Albertini, and they often painted pictures conjointly, their style and feeling being so similar, that it is scarcely possible to judge between their individual works during this early period of their lives.

From the first, the peculiar religious spirit of Bartolommeo appeared in his paintings. The natural gentleness and christian purity of his mind, poured themselves forth in a strong feeling for harmony of colouring, and in a remarkably tender and devout expression in the forms and countenances of the creations of his pencil. He shunned the luxuries and vices of the ordinary artists of the day, and in place of cultivating the patronage of Lorenzo and his dissolute court, he became the friend of the Dominican monks, and was engaged by them to paint a fresco of the Last Judgment, for their convent of St. Mark. About this time the influence of Savonarola began to be powerful in the young artist's mind, and he attached himself with cordial zeal to the mighty preacher. In conjunction with several other artists, he made a sacrifice of every painting which he possessed, with all books and works of art, which could by any possibility be turned to the purposes of impurity, and the flames of the burning pictures and manuscripts attested at least the sincerity of the devotion of those who made the offering on the shrine of duty. When the vengeance of Savonarola's enemies was successful, and this energetic preacher was first tortured and then burnt alive in the Grand Piazza of Florence, the gentle and pious mind of Bartolommeo was so stricken with horror and disgust for the profligacies of the age in which he lived, that he at once made up his mind to quit the world for ever, and at the age of thirty-one became a monk of St. Dominic. For four years he touched neither palette nor pencil. He had renounced his art and the world together; and when he entered the cloister, had committed to his friend Albertinelli the charge of completing all his unfinished pictures.

At length, however, the urgent entreaties of his friends were supported by the authority of his ecclesiastical superior, and Bartolommeo, now known simply as "*Il Frate*," returned to the practice of his beloved art. He made the works of Leonardo da Vinci his special study, and from them learned to imbue his pictures with that mingled

repose, strength, and richness of colour, which shine forth so wondrously in the pictures of the illustrious painter of the “Cenacolo.” At first, on taking up his pencil again, he worked with little zeal and satisfaction. Though in obedience to his superior he toiled with diligence, still it was to his spirit simply a toil, and not a delight, so fearfully scrupulous was he lest his mind should be again trammelled with the cares and excitements of the world and its allurements.

From this languor of action he was roused by a visit of Raffaelle. The great painter, then twenty years old, sought out the artist monk in his cell, and a close friendship ensued, which produced the happiest effects upon the works of both the friends. From Raffaelle Bartolommeo learnt a more correct drawing and perspective, and from Bartolommeo Raffaelle learnt a better method of colouring than he was yet familiar with. From the time when the acquaintance was formed, a manifest change took place in the works of both painters. The energy, the dramatic propriety, the refined and thoughtful grace, which breathe in Raffaelle’s wonderful paintings, were caught in no slight measure by the genius of Bartolommeo ; while Raffaelle studied so closely the colouring and draperies of his friend, that the only great work he executed at Florence, the *Madonna del Baldacchino*, might almost be mistaken for the work of Bartolommeo.

In the year 1513, Bartolommeo visited Rome. There he saw the works of Raffaelle and Michel Angelo in progress in the Vatican and the Sistine chapel. Astonishment and admiration produced in his humble and tender mind a feeling of disgust with his own performances, aided, doubtless, by a weakness of health which the Roman climate induced in his constitution. He still cultivated the friendship of Raffaelle, and left the only two pictures which he began, (figures of St. Peter and St. Paul,) to finish after his departure. These works were completed by the hand of Raffaelle, and one of them is said to have given occasion to one of his amusing witticisms. While he was engaged on the St. Peter, two cardinals, not remarkable for a too great strictness of life, were standing by and gossiping with the painter. One of them said that he thought the face of St. Peter was a little *too red*. “Pardon me, your eminence,” said the painter, “the saint

is blushing in heaven at the sight of the church now governed by such personages as your eminences."

Returning northwards, he resumed his pencil with renewed vigour, and painted his greatest works. The most celebrated of these are the St. Mark, at Florence, and the *Madonna della Misericordia* at Lucca. The criticism of Wilkie upon this latter picture, we have already given. It is a painting full of figures, and represents the Blessed Virgin standing on a raised platform, with outstretched arms, invoking the divine mercy upon the people of Lucca. These are typified by groups of supplicants of all kinds, who gaze upon the mother of mercies, entreating her prayer with her divine Son. The composition is altogether one of those rare masterpieces of truly christian art, in which all the skill of artistic science and national genius are subordinated to the expression of the pure devout feelings and ideas of the pious mind. The picture of St. Mark is one of the most sublime figures in existence, whether in ancient sculpture or modern painting. Its grandeur and simplicity rival the dignity of the best periods of Greek art, while the *soul* of christianity enlivens the noble human form. So long ago as the middle of the seventeenth century, this picture was held in such estimation, that Ferdinand the Second, grand duke of Tuscany, purchased it for £1200.

The general character of Bartolommeo's pictures is the same as that of his mind. Repose, dignity, simplicity, tenderness, and especially *sanctity*, are the peculiar attributes of his creations; while he rarely attempts any great energy or the display of active emotion. His infantine angel figures are exquisitely charming, and among his happiest conceptions, for their grace, variety, and simple truth of feeling. His architectural back-grounds are also striking and elaborate, his draperies grand, broad and full of flow and meaning. An ardent student of nature, he would have everything painted from a reality, and to him is attributed the invention of one of the greatest resources of the painter, the lay-figure.

He painted a great many pictures of various sizes and forms; of which the most celebrated, besides the two we have already spoken of, are, a Presentation in the Temple, in the imperial gallery at Vienna; a Madonna, and an Annunciation in the Louvre at Paris; and a Madonna,

Infant Jesus, and St. John, in the Grosvenor gallery in London.

Of the great glass painters of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Dominican order furnishes one of the most renowned. Fra Guglielmo di Marcillat, a Frenchman by birth, was both architect and painter, while his genius in painting windows is attested by every traveller who has gazed upon the gorgeous combinations of colour which blaze in many of the old gothic churches of Italy, lightened up by her radiant sky. The churches of Cortone, Perugia, and Arezzo, were the chief places in which the talents of Marcillat were displayed, and to this day his windows, in the cathedral of Arezzo, are among the most superb remains of ancient art in the peninsula.

The whole land of northern Italy, indeed, abounded with works of Dominican artists. Verona supplied its architect, engineer and antiquarian in Fra Giovannai Giocondo; Venice its painters in Fra Marco Pensabe and Fra Marco Maraveja; Pistoia its painter in Fra Paolino, the pupil of the great Bartolommeo; Bergamo its mosaic worker in Fra Damiano; and others of lesser note. A Dominican nun also, by name Plautilla Nelli, attained great eminence as a painter. She was a pupil of Fra Bartolommeo, imbibed many of the charms of his style, and painted a great number of works of very considerable merit. She was a religious of the monastery of St. Catherine at Lucca, and was born about the year 1539.

The records of the Dominican order, in other countries besides Italy, would, perhaps, show a large proportion of the artists who built and decorated the houses of God in their generation, but they are not made known to the world, and certainly no other country has produced such monk-painters as Angelico and Bartolommeo.

Whether in our own day we shall again see the alliance between the monastic and the artist life once more flourishing, it were perhaps in vain to speculate. We see no reason, however, why the same thing should not now take place which was once so general. We know at present, it is true, of but one artist whose pencil works within convent walls, with any measure of public fame. The convent of the Good Shepherd at Hammersmith, possesses a nun, whose miniatures are not unworthy of comparison with those of artists of considerable talent in the world. Born of a family whose name was well known in the republic of

art in the last generation, she has now devoted herself to the service of God in that most admirable institution, while she still paints portraits, when her services are sought for, with the view of adding some little to the scanty resources of her order, and to enable the sisters to extend their glorious mission more widely among that lost class of miserable beings for whose salvation they devote their lives. We should rejoice, indeed, if this reference to the religious in question, should induce any of our readers to employ the talents of what is now so rare, a nun portrait painter.

ART. VI.—*Memoir of William Ellery Channing, with extracts from his correspondence and manuscripts.* 3 vols. London, Chapman, 1848.

FOR the last twenty or thirty years, there have been few names more prominently before the British and American public than that of Dr. Channing. This position he owes far more to the chaste dignity and massive impressiveness of his style, than to the originality of the principles of which he was the advocate. In truth, the leading principles of which he was the champion, are by no means new, nor were the objects which he had in view in any manner peculiar to himself. The doctrine of Unitarianism with which his name is associated, and which he has done more than any individual of our times to propagate and extend, is one that dates as early as the age of Arius; and it is one towards which all scepticism in matters of religion must inevitably tend. All sects are moving towards it, with different degrees of velocity indeed, but yet with sure and unerring certainty; and in it they must all inevitably end, if they be not preserved from such a termination of their career by taking a timely refuge within the sheltering pale of Catholicism. In America, the descendants of the early Puritans had long forgotten the minute doctrinal differences of their fathers, and settled down into an almost general indifference to religious truth and religious observance. The flood of infidelity and vice which the French Revolution let loose on the

world, reached even the remote provinces of the west, and poured out on American society some of its most revolting ingredients. The almost frantic extravagance of early Puritanism was sure, in due course, to subside into the morbid calm of indifference; but it required the additional ingredient of French frivolity to produce that condition of profane and blasphemous impiety for which many parts of the American Union were notorious towards the conclusion of the last century. Perhaps, in the ordinary course of things, a reaction of some kind or other was to be expected; or at least, it was to be hoped, that some minds, shrinking with an instinctive delicacy from the corrupting influences by which they were surrounded, should turn towards some brighter object of ambition, and yearn after some more real excellence, even though that excellence was never to be attained. In other and happier circumstances, and with the aid of true religious guidance, these yearnings would probably, under the guiding influence of God's grace and Spirit, have conducted the inquirer into the true path of knowledge; but, as in the case of Channing, they only led through the barren and fruitless region of human inquiry and philosophical investigation. If the character of Channing possesses an attraction for us, and enlists the services of our pen, it is not because he was the advocate of human freedom and equality, nor for his services to the cause of social progress, however eminent these unquestionably were; but because it exemplifies to the reflecting reader the consequences of unrestricted religious inquiry. His opinions, objectionable as they are, and heterodox as they must be pronounced by the self-satisfied and contented episcopalian or dissenter, will, on examination, be found nothing more than the natural result of Protestantism, when fearlessly and consistently worked out to its legitimate and logical consequences.

William Ellery Channing was born at Newport, Rhode Island, on the 7th of April, 1780. He was the third child of William Channing and Lucy Ellery. Notwithstanding the prophetic assurances of future eminence which the fondness of friends discovered in some of his early actions, we are still disposed to think that his youth must have been passed in a manner not very dissimilar to that of his juvenile associates. Notwithstanding all we have heard and read on the subject, we must be permitted still to adhere to our old opinion, that man, to be a man, must

first have been a boy. It is our opinion, that since the time of Adam, there has been no exception to this philosophic maxim, and we must therefore be allowed to consider all the recorded deviations from this general rule, as so much incense offered by family affection at the altar of its idolatry. We may therefore pass over unnoticed much of the early part of the volumes before us. In 1794, he entered Harvard college, Massachusetts, as freshman, being then in his fifteenth year. It was here that, according to his biographer, the young student was to experience a new birth. To those who have been familiar with the calm and well-ordered code of discipline to which the Catholic religion subjects the minds of those whom it takes under its especial care, and more especially those who have been brought up beneath its protecting wing in the several colleges and seminaries over which it sheds its holy influence, this new birth may, and we doubt not will, present a very distinct and definite idea. There may be some little discrepancies in the outline, perhaps, according as the elements of individual character may more or less preponderate; but the leading element will most assuredly be a regeneration from sin to grace. To such, we venture to assert, the new birth of William Ellery Channing will appear passing strange, and lest any doubt may hang over our mere assertion, we shall give the account in the words of the author of the present memoir, who is no less a personage than his own nephew:

"And this leads to what was his most vital experience in college. The more his character and mind matured, the more earnestly did he devote himself to aspirations after moral greatness. He read with delight the Stoics, and was profoundly moved by the stern purity which they inculcated. But the two authors who most served to guide his thoughts at this period, were Hutcheson and Ferguson. It was while reading one day, in the former, some of the various passages in which he asserts man's capacity for disinterested affection, and considers virtue as the sacrifice of private interest, and the bearing of private evils for the public good, or as self-devotion to absolute, universal good, that there suddenly burst upon his mind that view of the dignity of human nature, which was ever after to 'uphold and cherish' him, and thenceforth to be 'the fountain light of all his day, the master light of all his seeing.' He was, at the time, walking as he read, beneath a clump of willows yet standing in the meadow, a little to the north of Judge Dana's. This was his favourite retreat for study, being then quite undisturbed and private, and offering a most sereno and cheerful

prospect across green meadows and the glistening river to the Brookline hills. The place and the hour were always sacred in his memory, and he frequently referred to them with grateful awe. It seemed to him, that he there passed through a new spiritual birth, and entered upon the day of eternal peace and joy. The glory of the divine disinterestedness, the privilege of existing in a universe of progressive order and beauty, the possibilities of spiritual destiny, the sublimity of devotedness to the will of infinite love, penetrated his soul ; and he was so borne away in rapturous visions, that, to quote his own words, as spoken to a friend in later years, ‘ I longed to die, and felt as if heaven alone could give room for the exercise of such emotions ; but when I found I must live, I cast about to do something worthy of these great thoughts ; and my enthusiasm at that age, being then but fifteen, turning strongly to the female sex, I considered that they were the powers which ruled the world, and that, if they would bestow their favour on the right cause only, and never be diverted by caprice, all would be fitly arranged, and triumph was sure. Animated with this view, which unfolded itself with great rapidity and in many bearings, I sat down and wrote to this lady,’ laying his hand upon his wife’s arm, who was listening by his side; ‘ but I never got courage to send the letter, and have it yet.’ This holy hour was but the first wind-flower of the spring, however, the opening of a long series of experiences by which he was to be led up to perfect consecration. It is a significant fact, that in this time of exultation, when the young moral knight-errant took his vow of fidelity, and was girt with the sword of love, his heart should have instinctively sought the concert in action of woman. This faith in the power of disinterested virtue, so early felt, grew always stronger ; and if disappointment in the characters and deeds of men made him ever falter for a moment in his generous aims, he found his hope and heroism renewed by woman’s purity and earnestness.”— Vol. i. p. 62.

Channing was finished at Harvard University in his nineteenth year. His mother, then a widow, had a large family to support, and with a kind and considerate fore-thought, which is deserving of all praise, he resolved on providing for his subsistence by his own intellectual exertions while preparing for the ministry, which, previously to his leaving college, he had chosen as his future state. He got a situation as tutor in the family of a Mr. Randolph, at Richmond, Virginia, and repaired thither in the October of 1798. The following extract gives a graphic description of his appearance in the capacity of school-master :

“ His energies were mainly turned to the duties of his school,

and to private studies. He had under his charge twelve boys, to whose care most of the hours of the day were devoted. In after years he thought himself at this time too strict a disciplinarian. But he may have found a display of decision more necessary from his youth and smallness of size, of which an amusing illustration is given in the following anecdote related by himself: An old coloured woman came into the school to complain of some of the boys who had damaged her garden, broken her fence, and torn up her flowers, making loud complaint, and wanting to see the master. When he presented himself, she surveyed him for a moment, and said, ' You de massa? You little ting, you can't lick 'em; dey put you out de window.' He assured her, however that the boys should be corrected, and that she should be satisfied for her loss, remarking, ' Poor mamma, she knew of no way of discipline but the lash.'

"Absorbed in the duty of teaching during the day, and living much apart from the family, Mr. Channing was prompted by his wish of quick advancement to pass most of the night in study. He usually remained at his desk till two or three o'clock in the morning, and often saw the day break before retiring to rest. He had also gained from the Stoics, and from his own pure standard of virtue, ascetic desires of curbing the animal nature, and of hardening himself for difficult duties. For the end of overcoming effeminacy, he accustomed himself to sleep on the bare floor, and would spring up at any hour of waking to walk about in the cold. With the same view he made experiments in diet, and was rigidly abstemious, while he neglected exercise from too close application. The result of these night studies, and of his general ignorance of the natural laws, was, that an originally fine constitution was broken, and seeds of disease were planted in his system, which years of scrupulous regard to health could never root out.

"To these sources of illness was added another, which, as it illustrates his characteristic disinterestedness, may deserve a passing notice. When he left home, his provident mother had given him a bill of credit on a house in Richmond, with the confident expectation that he would use it to re-furnish his wardrobe. Money, however, he could not bring himself to take from his mother's large family, and never drew upon his friends. Depression of spirits, and absorption of mind, made him careless also of external appearances, and he preferred to expend his salary in purchasing books. The consequence was, that his clothing became much worn, and he exposed himself the whole winter without an overcoat, except when sometimes he borrowed one to attend church. These necessities came home to him, when upon Christmas-day he found himself too meanly clad to join the gay party assembled at Mr. Randolph's."—Vol. i. p. 97.

But it is with Channing in his professional capacity that

our business principally lies. To prepare himself for the ministry he entered Harvard University once more in 1801, being nominated Regent, an office somewhat analogous to that of Dean in our Catholic establishments; and after the usual course was admitted "a member in full communion of the First Church of Christ in Cambridge." In this somewhat high-sounding character he preached his first sermon, and shortly after was appointed minister of the Federal-street Church in the city of Boston, which event is thus mentioned by his biographer:

"On Wednesday, June 1, 1803, Mr. Channing was ordained. The order of services was as follows: Introductory prayer by the Rev. Dr. Holmes, of Cambridge; discourse by the Rev. Dr. Tappan, professor at Harvard University; prayer of consecration by the Rev. Dr. Osgood, of Medford; charge by his uncle, the Rev. Henry Channing, of New-London, who had declined preaching the sermon; right hand of fellowship by his classmate and friend, the Rev. Joseph Tuckerman, of Chelsea."—p. 171.

As the author of the present volumes has made his work as much of an autobiography as possible, leaving Dr. Channing to speak his own thoughts and describe his own feelings whenever, and that was very frequently, it was in his power to do so, we shall quote pretty freely from his pages. The religious opinions of an individual can be no wise so fitly or clearly expressed as in his own words. If such be found deserving of harsh or condemnatory criticism, the censure is not to be evaded by the plea so often made of uncharitable construction or disparaging interpretation. With a prudence which shows his unwillingness to be swayed by enthusiasm or prejudice, he determined to divest himself of all his early doctrinal recollections, and to examine the great question dispassionately for himself. He had great acuteness of penetration, considerable perseverance in following up whatever train of thought engaged his mind, and we have not seen or heard of any imputation on his sincerity. He was thoroughly in earnest in the business of enquiry, and the great book in which he sought light and truth, was that sacred volume, in which it is said even the simple child may find all the knowledge that is necessary. He sought it, too, with prayer and supplication: yet what was the issue of his investigation? The nature of his doctrine, and the principles which he advocated through life, are to all christian minds a melan-

choly evidence of what private judgment must ever be productive, when pursued to its necessary and legitimate development. In many, perhaps, most cases, the Protestant rule of faith is not attended with these results; because, in ordinary minds, the process of enquiry is stopped in the beginning or the middle of its course. Numbers are indifferent to the concerns of religion; others—good, easy people—are satisfied to receive without doubt or questioning whatever their teachers condescend to tell them. Some, perhaps, with an instinctive feeling of Catholicity, of which they are themselves unconscious, repose with a full and undisturbed security on the authority of their superiors. But let a thoughtful and clever inquirer, discarding prejudices of education, urging the right of private judgment to its full extent, and taking nothing for granted but what is fully and satisfactorily made clear to his convictions, take up the Bible to find out a creed on which his mind may rest with all the certainty of faith which he can have, and we make no doubt but the issue would be exactly similar to what was realized in the character of Dr. Channing.

"I began the study of divinity with attending to the evidences of Christianity. I examined them with caution, and I think without prejudice; and I am convinced that this religion is truly divine. I have now undertaken to acquaint myself with the doctrines of this religion; and to do this, I have not applied to any commentators, or to any authors except the apostles themselves. My object is, to discover the truth. I wish to know what Christ taught, not what men have made him teach. I well knew, that if I began reading polemical divinity, there were ten chances to one that I should embrace the system of the first author that I studied, whether right or wrong. I was certain, that as Christ came to save the world, every truth essential to salvation must be plainly unfolded in the scriptures. I had also observed that many ministers, instead of guiding their flocks to the gates of heaven, had become so entangled in controversy, as to neglect their most solemn charge, the saving of men's souls. These are the reasons which have induced me to apply to the Bible—that only source of divine knowledge—and to the Bible alone. The advantages I have derived from such a course seem to prove the propriety of it. I might have found the same truths in other authors; but they could never have made so forcible an impression on my mind. I have been active in acquiring, not passive in receiving, the great precepts and doctrines of Christianity, and the strength of my conviction is proportioned to the labour I have bestowed. My

heart too has been affected as well as my mind enlightened. I have learned to view everything, as it were, through the medium of Scripture, to judge of actions by the medium of Scripture morality, and to estimate the importance of present wants by their influence on the happiness of another state."—Vol. i. p. 123.

And writing many years afterwards, and very nearly at the close of his life, to an intimate friend, he thus repeats the same assertion :

" You wish to know the history of my mind, but it would fill a volume. My inquiries grew out of the shock given to my moral nature by the popular system of faith which I found prevailing round me in my early years. All my convictions of justice and goodness revolted against the merciless dogmas then commonly taught. I went to the Scriptures, and the blessed light gradually beamed on me from the word of God. I soon learned the great end for which Christ came into the world—that his first, highest purpose was, not to deliver us from punishment, but from that which deserves punishment, from moral evil, from every impurity of life and heart, from whatever separates us from God ; that he came to exert a moral, spiritual influence, by which man was to become a pure, disinterested, excellent being. I soon learned that heaven and hell belong to the mind, that the fire and the worm have their seat in the soul, and that we can attain to the happiness, only by drinking into the spirit, of heaven. In other words, I learned that the Kingdom of heaven is within us, that Christianity is eminently a spiritual system, or intended chiefly to redeem the mind from evil ; that we understand its records only when we interpret them according to this principle."—vol. i. p. 348.

Channing then took up the Bible as his only guide. He declares that he cast aside all prejudice in favour of those several religious systems which were familiar to him from his youth. We do not believe that with the most gifted minds this is altogether possible ; but, at least, he did it as far as an honest, sincere, earnest religious thinker was capable of accomplishing it ; and we may rest assured that he did it to a much greater degree than millions of those whose boast and fancied duty it is to have done so. He came to the work of religious examination with a firmness of determination that would have shrunk from the avowal of no truth that presented itself convincingly before his mind. The whole tenor of his life proves that he would be dismayed by no difficulty, and deterred by no obloquy. Let us then see what his deductions were, and

to what opinions his investigations gradually conducted him.

"As far as I understand the prevalent sentiments of Liberal Christians in this quarter of our country, they appear to me substantially to agree with the views of Dr. Samuel Clarke, and the author of 'Bible News'; and were we required to select human leaders in religion, I believe that we should range ourselves under their standard in preference to any other. Dr. Clarke believed that the *Father alone* is the Supreme God, and that Jesus Christ is not the Supreme God, but derived his being and all his power and honours from the Father,—even from an act of the Father's will and power.

"With respect to the Atonement, the great body of Liberal Christians seem to me to accord precisely with the author of 'Bible News,' or rather both agree very much with the profound Butler. Both agree that Jesus Christ, by his sufferings and intercession, obtains forgiveness for sinful men; or that on account, or in consequence of, what Christ has done and suffered, the punishment of sin is averted from the penitent, and blessings forfeited by sin are bestowed. It is, indeed, very true that Unitarians say nothing about *infinite atonement*, and they shudder when they hear it asserted that the ever blessed God suffered and died on the cross. They reject these representations, because they find not one passage in Scripture which directly asserts them, or gives them support. Not one word do we hear from Christ or his Apostles of an *infinite atonement*. In not one solitary text is the efficacy of Christ's death in obtaining forgiveness ascribed to his being the Supreme God. All this is theology of man's making, and strongly marked with the hand of its author."—vol. i. p. 411.

When Channing penned the passage just now quoted, his views on the Divinity of Christ were rather inclined to those of Arius. With the latter he was disposed to believe, that the Son had been in existence for an indeterminate period of time before the creation of the world. At a later period of his life, however, as the process of private examination and judgment went on in his mind, even this belief was softened down, and he was not much disposed to differ with any one who ventured to deny the Saviour even this limited prerogative. He thus writes:

"Rhode Island, August 29, 1831.—If it will afford you any satisfaction, I ought to say that my views on the doctrine which you have examined, were much the same with yours. At the same time I would add, that for years I have felt a decreased interest in settling the precise rank of Jesus Christ. The power of his character seems to me to lie in his spotless purity, his moral

perfection, and not in the time during which he has existed. I have attached less importance to this point, from having learned that all minds are of one family, that the human and the angelic nature are essentially one. Holding this doctrine, I am not shocked, as many are, by the Humanitarian System."—Vol. ii. p. 424.

Many of his expressions at this period of his life savour most strongly of the Humanitarian school. In the mouth of any one who believed that Christ was more than a human being, they would seem not only inapplicable, but irreverent. Even from the pen of Dr. Channing they sound in Catholic ears like downright blasphemy. And these are the fruits of free enquiry. These are the happy results of private judgment, and the carrying out to its legitimate and logical consequences of the principle of private interpretation. His opinions, however erroneous—his deductions, however unchristian—were the conclusions which he drew from the study of the Scriptures. Could any Protestant, consistently with his own fundamental principle, dare to tell him that he was wrong in his conclusions, that his doctrines were false, and that he had no right to draw such inferences from that common rule of faith, which yet he had a right to interpret to the best of his private judgment? A Catholic, secure in his religious convictions, may censure his erring brother, and seek to reclaim him from the error of his ways, by condemning the opinions he entertains. He may do so sometimes, also, after too rough a fashion, but he acts at least consistently with his principles. It is not so with any member of the Protestant communion. He has no right to sit in judgment on his brother. However erroneous the doctrine, he has no right to pronounce sentence. That any one should do so would appear incredible, if we did not know it to be a fact. And what is more incredible, those who are most disposed to deny it to the lawfully constituted authorities in Christ's Church, are those who are most ready and most anxious to claim it for themselves. Hence it cannot be supposed that the promulgation of his opinions did not expose Channing to much opposition and obloquy. Though he was not disposed for controversy, he was forced into it by the contradictions of his adversaries.

"It is due to myself," he says, "to say that the controversial character of a part of my writings is to be ascribed, not to a love

of disputation, but to the circumstances in which I was called to write. It was my lot to enter on public life at a time when this part of the country was visited by what I esteem one of its sorest scourges; I mean a revival of the spirit of intolerance and persecution. I saw the commencement of those systematic efforts, which have been since developed, for fastening on the community a particular creed. Opinions which I thought true and purifying, were not only assailed as errors, but branded as crimes. Then began those assaults on freedom of thought and speech, which, had they succeeded, would have left us only the name of religious liberty. Then it grew perilous to search the Scriptures for ourselves, and to speak freely according to the convictions of our own minds. I saw that penalties, as serious in this country as fine and imprisonment, were, if possible, to be attached to the profession of liberal views of Christianity—the penalties of general hatred and scorn; and that a degrading uniformity of opinion was to be imposed by the severest persecution which the spirit of the age would allow. At such a period I dared not be silent."—Vol. ii. page 85.

In proportion as he lowered his conceptions of the Redeemer to a more human standard, the more did he exalt the human character of man to a more perfect resemblance to the Divinity. His opinions on the nature of man are thoroughly Pelagian. He knows not of man's original fall and apostacy; or, if he does, he makes no mention of such a calamity. There is, therefore, in his opinion no original sin. The human race is not fallen, but merely degenerate. It needed no redemption to escape perdition, and stands in need of no grace or help from above to secure immortal bliss. His own nature is sufficiently noble and powerful and strong to correct faults, avoid sin, and practise fidelity to the divine law. He only requires a little knowledge to enlighten him, and some example to encourage him, and the rest of the good work he is able to accomplish by his own exertions. He is not only able to make progress in goodness and perfection in his individual capacity, but the very society of which he is a member is capable of onward and indefinite advancement, and at some future, and perhaps not remote time, knowledge and civilization and peace are so to abound on earth as to leave but little to be desired or ambitioned in even heavenly fruition. Of this blissful consummation Christ was to be the type, the herald, the example. The change was to be brought about more by his teaching, than by his

sufferings ; and his doctrine, spoken to his followers and recorded in his written word, were more to influence their future destiny than the sighs and supplications which he poured forth with many cries and tears to his heavenly Father, or that priceless and ineffable atonement which the Man-God made on that sacred mount whereon we were purchased with a great price. From the belief of such a merely temporal dispensation, we think that the belief of a merely human Messiah must have been a very easy and a very natural deduction. What need was there of an infinitely perfect and divine being for what a mere human minister was able to accomplish ?

"The glorious capacities of human nature have as yet been but imperfectly unfolded ; nor has the full development of them been made very much an object. In vast numbers of men, I may say in the great majority, the higher faculties on which happiness chiefly rests are almost locked up, and those who possess them have no consciousness of the immense resources, the divine gifts which they carry in their hearts. Were we to visit a country where the greatest number of people were blind, deaf, palsied, we should look on them with deep compassion ; but to a reflecting man, a large part of the world now exhibits a scarcely less afflicting sight. Human nature is every where seen blind, deaf, palsied, as far as its highest and best faculties are concerned. The idea of advancing men's happiness by such an extensive development and improvement of the moral and intellectual powers of human nature, as has now been suggested, may seem impracticable. But experience has already demonstrated that much more intelligence can be spread through all classes of men than was once thought possible ; and no man who compares the world now with former periods, can doubt that a vastly larger measure of knowledge, clearer and nobler ideas of duty, and higher views of religion, than are now met with, except in persons of the very first order of minds and the purest character, can gradually be thrown into general circulation, and infused into men's minds through all classes of society. *Society grows as truly as the individual*, and is becoming ripe for higher instructions than were given in its childhood. We are too apt to settle down into the present state of things as if it were immutable, as if human nature had reached its ultimate point of progression, when in fact the springs of human improvement gain strength by use, and every advance makes future ones more easy. Revelation encourages the most generous hopes and efforts, for it clearly points to a higher condition of the human race than has yet been reached ; and that this is to be promoted by man's instrumentality, God's past dispensations compel us to believe."—Vol. ii. p. 37.

Among the fruits of free enquiry we find the following rather mundane view of heaven :

"Another error in the description of heaven, which I think renders it less interesting, is that the thought of Society is thrown too much out of sight. Now human nature is essentially social. It wants objects of affection, companions to whom it may communicate its thoughts and purposes, and with whom it may act and enjoy. Pleasure is tasteless without friendly participation, and every view of heaven excluding this, is unfavourable to an impression of its happiness. We are too apt to think of heaven as a solemn place. It ought to be viewed by us as a place of cheerful society. The countenances of its inhabitants should seem to us irradiated by a benign smile in their intercourse with one another, and their piety though reverential, should seem to us a filial and happy sentiment, which enters into the conversation, and which they delight to manifest together.

"Another view of heaven which seems to me to weaken its interest is this :—its inhabitants are often described as forming a world by themselves, as having no connection with any other beings. Heaven seems to be considered as a region separated from the rest of the universe. Now an improved and benevolent mind can hardly escape the desire of extending its acquaintance with this boundless universe of which it forms a part, and heaven would seem a place of confinement, did it shut up its inhabitants for ever from every other region. But we ought not to conceive thus of the future state of good men. We need not doubt the fact, that angels, whose home is heaven, visit our earth and bear a part in our transactions ; and we have good reasons to believe, that, if we obtain admission into heaven, we shall still have opportunity not only to return to earth, but to view the operation of God in distant spheres, and be his ministers to other worlds.

"It is not impossible that in our intercourse with other worlds, we shall meet with beings who are passing through the first stage of discipline, like that which is now assigned to ourselves—beings exposed to pain, temptation, and sorrow ; beings who may need our sympathy and aid, and to whom we may render the same offices which we have reason to believe angels now render to the human race. It seems to me that we do not render heaven a less interesting or less happy world, when we suppose that its inhabitants retain the tenderest sensibility, and feel for the sufferings which may be endured in other regions of the creation."—Vol. ii. p. 18.

Some of the speculations here expressed approach nearer than the author was probably aware to the Catholic doctrines of the invocation of Saints and praying for the departed, which, if proposed for his acceptance as dogmas to be believed, he would have shrunk from as supersti-

tious. We close our observations on the theology of Dr. Channing with the following extract, showing that the kingdom of heaven, which Christ is to establish on earth, is quite of a mundane character, and very different indeed from what we have been always led to consider Christ's great object in coming into this world.

"Christ came to establish an empire of benevolence, peace, charity, on the ruins of malice, war, discord. The work of diffusing goodwill through a world of free agents, must of necessity be gradual, and like all the great purposes of God, must advance with a slow and silent progress. But this work has been in a degree accomplished by Jesus; and what is more, there is a very remarkable adaptation in his whole character, to this office of spreading peace on earth—such an adaptation as proves him to be the predicted *Pacifier of the World*. At the thought of this reign of benevolence, the whole earth seems to me to burst into rejoicing. I see the arts and civilization spreading gladness over deserted regions, and clothing the wilderness with beauty. Nations united in a league of philanthropy, advance with constantly accelerating steps in knowledge and power. I see stupendous plans accomplished, oceans united, distant regions connected, and every climate contributing its productions and treasures to the improvement and happiness of the race. In private life I see every labour lightened by mutual confidence and aid. Indigence is unknown. Sickness and pain are mitigated, and almost disarmed, by the disinterestedness of those who suffer, and by the sympathy which suffering awakens."—Page 61.

With the confidence in the advancement of the human race in knowledge and perfection, which Dr. Channing felt, he must have weighed with great attention the influence which political events were likely to exercise. Hence he took a great interest in the movements of the political world. The opposition which he encountered in the free expression of his peculiar religious opinions, made him value liberty more highly perhaps than he would have done had his theological career been free from obstacle or interruption. His feelings and his convictions became equally concerned in the issue; and hence, throughout his whole life, he was the straightforward, consistent, persevering friend and advocate of civil liberty. When we say that his assertion of the great principles of freedom were influenced by his personal position, we do not by any means assert that he would not have been as sincere, but only that he would not otherwise have been so energetic

an advocate as he actually was. We cordially concur in the sentiments of the following passage :

"If I were to express in a line what constitutes the glory of a State, I should say, *it is the free and full development of Human Nature.* That country is the happiest and noblest, whose institutions and circumstances give the largest range of action to the human powers and affections, and call forth man in all the variety of his faculties and feelings. That is the happiest country, where there is most intelligence and freedom of thought, most affection and love, most imagination and taste, most industry and enterprise, most public spirit, most domestic virtue, most conscience, most piety. Wealth is a good only as it is the production and proof of the vigorous exercise of man's powers, and is a means of bringing out his affections and enlarging his faculties. Man is the only glory of a country, and it is the advancement and unfolding of human nature which is the true interest of a State.

"If this be true, we learn what is the great end of government, the highest good of civil polity. It is *Liberty.* I am almost tempted to say that this is the only political blessing, and the only good gift, which law and order can confer on a country. By liberty, I do not mean what anciently bore the name, for anciently they had little but the name. I mean the protection of every individual in his rights, and an exemption from all restraints but such as the public good requires. We do not want government to confer on us positive blessings, but simply to secure to us the unobstructed exercise of our powers in working out blessings for ourselves. The spring of happiness is in man's own breast, not in his government; and the best office of government is to remove obstructions to this inexhaustible energy of the living spirit within us. Every man may promote the glory of his country, for every man, whatever be his sphere, may put forth his powers in useful pursuits, and express and give some extension to right principles and virtuous affections. Let none imagine that they can do no good to the community because they are in private stations. The error has always been to ascribe to public men and public institutions, an undue share in the prosperity of a nation. The great powers in the natural world on which its motion, life, beauty, happiness, depend, are subtle and everywhere diffused; and so the most effectual springs of a nation's felicity, are very different from the cumbrous machinery which works at the seat of government. They are silent as the principle of life in the animal frame. They consist in what we call the *spirit of a people,* in a general respect for rights which is the sole foundation of civil liberty, in industry, temperance, intelligence, humanity, and piety. These are the elements of a country's life, and he who multiplies and invigorates these, is a public benefactor." — Vol. ii. p. 80.

We may descend a little from the elevated ground of theological and political examinations, to consider Channing in the humbler relations of social life. Before we knew anything of his domestic history, and judging of his character merely from his writings, we had been led to think that he was possessed of a kind and gentle heart, affectionate in its disposition, and generous and persevering in its affections. With all his theological errors, and notwithstanding his many strange opinions on doctrinal subjects, he must be, we thought, a man filled to overflowing with kindly feelings towards all, and more especially to the members of his own household. Nor have we been disappointed in this expectation on perusing the passages in the present work which relate to his private history. In early life he laboured strenuously and devotedly to relieve his widowed mother of the charge of his support, and to enable her to apply to the junior members of the family the savings of her humble store which were thereby effected. In after years, when the emoluments of his profession furnished him with more abundant means, he cheerfully devoted them to their wants, and became a kind and devoted son and one of the kindest and best of brothers. His home became the home of all the family. He was four-and-thirty years of age, in 1814, when he married ; and even when the cares and responsibility of his own family may be supposed to claim thenceforward all his means and the greater part of his affections, he yet was able to devote a considerable share of both to those who had hitherto looked up to him as their guardian and protector.

In the year 1822 the state of his health was so delicate, that his friends and medical advisers recommended a voyage to Europe, hoping that change of air and scene would restore his strength again. Accordingly he sailed in the May of that year, and landing in Liverpool, he spent about a year in making the ordinary European tour. He passed the winter months in Italy ; and we were anxious to see what Channing felt and wrote on those subjects that must have been so interesting. We looked through the pages with much interest, in the hope of finding some record of his feelings at Florence, Naples, or Rome ; but we have looked in vain. There is only one letter dated Rome, but it is confined entirely to reflections on the death of his infant son. We did not expect that

the religious associations of the eternal city would awaken feelings kindred to our own ; but yet we did expect that something would have fallen from his pen worthy of being preserved in his biography, and evincing some interest in that which has been the object of many a distant pilgrim before.

It was not till after his return to America that Dr. Channing appeared before the public as an author of any literary pretensions.

"He became," says the biographer, "an author unawares. When the Anthology Club commenced the course of labours which did so much to give an impulse to the intellect of New England, he was invited to be a contributor to their Journal ; and, in consequence, he communicated to its pages two or three essays, a few fragmentary thoughts, and one or more short pieces in verse, which were probably the only attempts he ever made at poetical composition. But he could not enter cordially into what he felt to be, for himself at least, but 'busy idleness.' His work was to preach. As great political occasions called from him sermons which contained declarations of sentiment and opinion adapted to the wants of the times, he reluctantly yielded to the demand for their publication, and allowed them to be printed as first written, with scarcely a verbal amendment. At length the desire to aid in giving a higher tone, and securing a wider sphere of influence to the Christian Disciple, which in 1824 was enlarged, and took a new form under the name of the Christian Examiner, drew from him some essays which attained a most unlooked for celebrity, and made him universally known in the world of letters. The attention excited by these papers was a great surprise to him, and he always considered the estimate placed upon them by the public exaggerated. To redeem his promise of communicating an impulse to the Review, which was the special organ of Liberal Christianity, and to set an example of a bold, free, manly treatment of great subjects in literature, politics, education, science, &c., he poured out with his usual rapidity of composition, trains of thought which at all times interested him, and which were freshly recalled by the successive appearance of Milton's 'Christian Doctrine,' Scott's 'Life of Bonaparte,' and 'Selections from Fenelon ;' but his chief aim was to awaken his own circle of believers to a more comprehensive, cordial, direct application of religion to life."—vol. ii. p. 346.

His first volume was published in 1830, and consisted of "Miscellanies." It was followed some time after by a volume of Sermons. These publications introduced him in regular form to the literary world, and were the occa-

sion of a correspondence with several distinguished literary characters. Several of the letters are given in the present volumes, and will be found of considerable interest.

During his public ministry in Boston, Dr. Channing exerted himself very perseveringly in the cause of social reform. The more humane treatment of criminals, the suppression of intemperance, the improvement of the working classes, were all in turn the objects of solicitude ; and in the promotion of his benevolent purposes, he exerted not only his social influence as minister of a wealthy and numerous congregation, but also the powerful advocacy of his pen. Some of his best and longest treatises were written for this purpose,—such as the tract on Temperance and Self-culture. It was one of the leading articles of his creed, that human nature was capable of accomplishing mighty results in the work of self-improvement, and he spared no pains to further the good cause. He believed also that man and society were to go onward with a steady and increasing ardour towards that glorious and happy condition to which even on this earth they were destined. Alas ! that such glorious visions are not to be realized here below. Great, indeed, is man's capacity for improvement ; many are the triumphs which his intellect and his industry are to achieve upon this earth. But we know and believe that a primeval malediction has denounced woe upon the abodes wherein he dwells ; that sorrows are ever to lie in wait at its threshold, and misery in some of its many forms to brood over his hearth ; that the fiery car, in which science travels with lightning speed, cannot bear him away from sickness and poverty and pain and death, that will ever hover over our social life, and like the flaming sword of the cherubim that guarded the lost bowers of Eden, will ever hinder the children of Adam from regaining here below their paradise. But though all that benevolence would aspire to may not be done, much yet may be effected by it. Much more may be effected by christian charity. Though the efforts of Channing in the work of human improvement may have been the mere impulse of a kind and generous heart, influenced by mere moral virtue, it is still to be admired. In more favourable circumstances God's grace would have inflamed and kindled that moral virtue into the more sacred one of supernatural charity.

There are many points of personal and general interest

in the volumes before us, to which we would willingly direct attention, if time and space permitted; but we cannot pass over the great question of anti-slavery agitation, with which Dr. Channing's name is so closely identified, without a passing notice. We may rest assured from what we have already seen and known of his character and dispositions, that his sympathies were in favour of Emancipation; but events were about to take place in his day of a nature to make him take a more active and immediate part in the movement to attain that object. In the autumn of 1830, the necessities of his health compelled him to spend a winter in the island of Santa Cruz. Here he had frequent opportunities of observing the condition of the negroes, and his sympathies were strongly excited in their behalf. About the same time also the question of Slavery began to be extensively and warmly agitated throughout the several States of the American Union. It is not our intention to enter into the consideration of a subject that has been so often and so ably discussed, and which, as far as these countries are concerned, has been long since effectually decided. Indeed, the question seems so clear, that it is matter of surprise how the great and fundamental principles on which it rests, could ever be doubted. But when men have great interests at stake, their minds are easily inclined to that view of the question which is most for their own advantage. During the great controversy which was carried on in the United States at this period, there seemed to have been but little of the temper or tone of mind suited to free discussion. The Abolitionists and their opponents had both become excited to a degree that bordered upon frenzy; and that which should have been made purely a question of principle, became, in the excitement of the hour, a question of party and of passion. If there was corruption and injustice and violence on the part of the friends of slavery, we must also admit that there was violence and imprudence and injudicious assertion of principle on the part of their political opponents. Dr. Channing was led by his position, as well as by his own inclination, to take an active part in this stirring controversy. We always thought that he did so on the broad principle of justice and humanity. We confess that the following statement of his biographer has come upon us completely unawares:—

"Dr. Channing was chiefly desirous to awaken the hearts of his

countrymen to the great spiritual truths involved in the anti-slavery movement, and was fearful that the whole tone of feeling and action, in regard to our great national sin and shame, would be debased by the intermixture of political jealousies and intrigues. In fact, his cherished hope was, that Abolitionism—asserting as it did the very fundamental principles of justice, the essential rights of every human being, and the universal law of love—would widen and grow up into a *Church of Practical Christianity*, by whose influence the whole nation might be regenerated."—vol. iii. p. 191.

Do we understand rightly when we understand by this that Channing, in supporting the great movement against Slavery, meant to make that movement a means of extending his own peculiar religious opinions? We trust that in his support of the cause which he so ably and so warmly advocated, he was animated by a more generous and philanthropic spirit than these words imply.

In his latter years he was drawn more and more into the vortex of political discussion. Many of his opinions on the great subjects that occupied the attention of the day, are recorded in his own words in the pages lying open before us; but we can do no more than refer the curious reader to the pages themselves. Where there is much to admire and approve, we grieve to say also that there is some little thing to be condemned. Our readers will easily understand that the tone of Channing's mind, as well as the fundamental principle of his religious creed, must have been utterly at variance with those which we Catholics believe to be indispensable, and therefore that the leading dogma of our Church, namely, the infallibility of its teaching, was particularly the subject of his animadversion. To the high virtue and devotion of many of its members, indeed, he is ready to do full justice. His essay on Fenelon is not only a true appreciation of that character, but also one of the most eloquent productions that has issued from his pen. In every case also where the civil or political rights were invaded or threatened, or their personal security endangered, Catholics were always sure of his support and of the warm advocacy of their cause. Yet it is astonishing to find how grossly he must have misunderstood, and how signally he must have mistaken some, at least, of the tenets, with which he should be correctly acquainted. Such, for

instance, as the veneration which is given to the Mother of God. Writing, in 1824, to a female friend, he says—

"Were not the associations so serious, the vanity of your sex might be gratified by thinking that the *actual deity* of a large part of the Catholic world is a woman,—the Blessed Mary."—vol. iii. p. 326.

It may be inferred from this error, how uninformed he must have been on the points of Catholic doctrine; and if misinformed, how defective and erroneous must have been his examination of their truth. Setting out, as we suppose he did, notwithstanding all his assertions of discarding prejudice, with the principle that the Catholics made a deity of the Virgin, it is not to be surprised that such a tenet should to him be found wanting in truth, and in opposition to the Scriptures. Yet we may rest assured that exactly similar is the process of inquiry and religious examination that is going on, in thousands of minds around us, under the guidance of that good old Protestant principle—the right of private judgment.

To come down from the high subjects which have hitherto engaged our attention, let us for a moment, ere we close this notice, take a glance at Channing in the privacy of his home. The following description of his usual mode of life at Boston, will bring him prominently before us, and make us for a moment forget the author in contemplating the man:—

"The sun is just rising, and the fires are scarcely lighted, when with rapid step Dr. Channing enters his study. He has been wakeful during many hours, his brain teeming, and, under the excitement of his morning bath, he longs to use the earliest hours for work. His eye and smile are so bright, his step is so elastic, his whole air is so buoyant—the spirit, in a word, seems so to shine through his slight frame, that a stranger would not anticipate the languor which a few hours of labour will bring. 'Dr. Channing small and weak!' said a Kentuckian, who was a fervent admirer of his writings; I thought he was six feet at least in height, with a fresh cheek, broad chest, voice like that of many waters, and strong-limbed as a giant.' And now in these morning hours you see how radiant he is with energy. His first act is to write down the thoughts which have been given in his vigils; he next reads a chapter or more in Griesbach's edition of the Greek Testament; and, after a quick glance over the newspapers of the day, he takes his light repast. Morning prayers follow, and then he retires to his study table. If he is reading, you will at once notice this peculiarity,

that he studies pen in hand, and that his book is crowded with folded sheets of paper, which continually multiply as trains of thought are suggested. These notes are rarely quotations, but chiefly questions and answers, qualifications, condensed statements, germs of interesting views ; and when the volume is finished, they are carefully selected, arranged, and, under distinct heads, placed among other papers in a secretary. If he is writing, unless making preparation for the pulpit, or for publication, the same process of accumulating notes is continued, which at the end of each day are also filed. And as your eye scans the interior of the secretary, you observe that it is already filled with heaps of similar notes, arranged in order, with titles over each compartment. These are the materials for the work on ‘*MAN*.’ When a topic is to be treated at length in a sermon or essay, these notes are consulted—the reflections, conjectures, doubts, conclusions of many years are reviewed ; and then with treasures of memory, orderly arranged, Dr. Channing fuses and recasts his gathered ores under the warm impulse of the moment. He first draws up a skeleton of his subject, selecting with special care, and making prominent the central principle that gives it unity, and from which branch forth correlative considerations. Until perfectly clear in his own mind as to the essential truth of the main view, he cannot proceed. Questions are raised, objections considered, explanations given, definitions stated, what is merely adventitious and accidental swept aside,—the ground cleared, in a word, and the granite foundation laid bare for the corner-stone. And now the work goes rapidly forward. With flying pen he makes a rough draught of all that he intends to say, on sheets of paper folded lengthwise, leaving half of each page bare. He then reads over what he has written, and on the vacant half-page supplies defects, strikes out redundancies, indicates the needed qualifications, modifies expressions. Thus, sure of his thought and aim, and conscientiously prepared, he abandons himself to the ardour of composition.”—vol. iii. p. 468.

This picture partakes, in a high degree, of the colouring of a family portrait ; and as the colours have been laid on by the pencil of a near relative, we are disposed to make allowances for the natural partiality of the painter. Dr. Channing’s style is too well known to all readers, to require at our hands any minute or critical analysis. For force of expression, earnestness of argument, and sustained dignity of language, we know of no modern author who will not lose somewhat by comparison. If there be a fault, it is that it has too much of a certain solemnity of tone that savours strongly of the pulpit. This is to be naturally expected in the discourses that were to be so delivered ; but even in his other and lighter treatises,

where it is not at all required, it is also met with. Even his most familiar letters smack of the divine, and read as if they were to be delivered from the pulpit. This peculiarity of style must be ascribed to his professional habits; though something may be also due to his natural character.

Amid all the severity of his studies, and the fatigue consequent upon his ministerial duties, Channing was always of a delicate constitution. The preaching of even one discourse was frequently known to affect his health so much, that he was confined to his bed for days. During the last years of his life he resigned almost entirely the care of the congregation at Federal-street, Boston, of which he had been the pastor, and travelled over great part of the States, in the hope that change of air and the excitement of travel, would recruit and invigorate his shattered constitution. It was during one of these excursions that he was seized with his last illness, and died at Bennington, Vermont, while on his return to Boston through the romantic scenery of the Green Mountains. This event took place on the 2nd of October, 1842. He was sixty-two years old.

Of the general character of Channing, it is necessary to say but little. After what we have already stated, our readers will not expect unqualified approval. He had great qualities of mind, and great amiability of heart. Had they been consecrated by a spirit of true religion, and directed into a proper channel, we doubt not he would have accomplished great things for God and for his church. If, instead of groping his way blindly along by the glimmering of his own reason, and being conducted by it through many a quagmire until precipitated into the depths of Socinianism, he had been led onward by the blessed light of that sun of justice which sheds its benign rays on all of the Church's household, we doubt not that with his natural capabilities, God's grace would have conducted him to high perfection. As it is, though he has done some good to his fellow-man, and achieved for himself in the world's history a brilliant name and much renown, we must regard him as a melancholy and notable example of the evil of unrestricted inquiry in matters of religion. He is a light to men, but, alas! it is a light to warn them of the perils to be encountered, and the dangers to be shunned.

ART. VII.—*Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh, second Marquess of Londonderry.* Edited by his Brother, CHARLES VANE, Marquess of Londonderry, G.C.B., &c. Vols. 1 and 2. London : Colburn, 1848.

MOST of the actors in the great Irish drama which commenced with the rebellion of 1798, and ended with the act of Union in 1800, have long since passed into another world. Far be it from us to draw aside the mantle which death kindly spreads over human infirmities. That privilege belongs to God alone, to whom we, as well as they, must render an account of our every action. We were contented to extend to Lord Castlereagh that common charity which hides the weaknesses of all those who have paid the common debt of humanity ; nor would we have felt ourselves called upon to interfere, if the relatives of the deceased had contented themselves with the usual privilege of friendship, and adorned his tomb with a long catalogue of real or imaginary private virtues. But when they bring forth his public actions as a minister of the crown—when they drag his ashes out of the grave, where they have lain, “cold and unhonored,” for twenty-six years, and proclaim them to be the remains of a great patriot—when they produce his letters and correspondence as a proof of this, and challenge contradiction, we are reluctantly compelled to examine the justice of their claim, and without setting down aught in malice, to pronounce an impartial judgment.

The name of Castlereagh is unpopular in England, and in Ireland it is still execrated. He has been generally represented as a man devoid alike of genius, feeling, and principle—as a political trickster, who made his way in the world by unscrupulousness, corruption, and chicanery. We can, however, conscientiously declare that we took up these volumes wholly free from such prejudices, and that we expected to find in them much that would illustrate one of the saddest and most interesting portions of Irish history, as well as something to palliate the conduct of Lord Castlereagh, if not to ease him of a part of the load of infamy which presses so heavily upon his name. We are bound to state at once, that in both these expectations we have been entirely disappointed. On the contrary, if

any evidence was hitherto wanting to prove that he was the guilty participator—if not the contriver—of the most tyrannical Acts of Parliament, of the most abominable atrocities, and of the most wholesale corruption that ever disgraced the annals of any nation, it is abundantly supplied even by the *select* correspondence published by the Marquess of Londonderry. In the entire of Lord Castlereagh's voluminous correspondence, we have not met with one noble or generous sentiment. The most heartless wickedness, provided it has been perpetrated by the friends of administration, is unable to draw from him in his most confidential moods, one word of honest manly indignation. When he bartered the principles to which he had pledged himself on the hustings, for place, and passed from the opposition to the ministerial benches of the Irish Parliament, he sold himself body and soul to his employers. Initiated into the impure mysteries of a government which persecuted and plundered, to use the calculation of Mr. Elliot, one of Lord Castlereagh's official assistants, more than three and a half millions of the people for the benefit of five hundred thousand, and ruled parliament by a system of almost universal corruption, he improved them so as to render them as nearly as possible the perfection of iniquity. Yet Lord Castlereagh was gifted by nature with some excellent qualities. He was possessed of both physical and moral courage in an eminent degree, as well as of the most unflinching perseverance and the most indomitable energy. Even coercion and cruelty were not with him an end, but a means, which he unscrupulously used to attain his object. But his best qualities were prostituted to such mean and wicked purposes—his energy being wasted in the miserable traffic of purchasing corrupt boroughs and more corrupt representatives, and his courage and perseverance in one sustained effort, which lasted during his whole life, to enslave Ireland, England, and even all Europe, by force and fraud and trickery—that they have borrowed the hue of those objects with which alone they were familiar, and appear in him themselves mischievous, paltry, and contemptible. This will be evident to every impartial reader of these volumes. Lord Castlereagh's letters are not like those of Burke—a study for the philosopher and the philanthropist, as well as for the statesman. They are as destitute of nobility of thought as of nobility of purpose, and wholly unilluminated.

by a single ray of genius. His powers as a speaker and writer were contemptible even to ridicule—the temper of the times alone rendered his principles dangerous. On this point we thoroughly agree with the estimate which Lord Brougham has expressed with regard to Lord Castlereagh's capacity, in his “Historical Sketches of the Statesmen of the Reign of George III.”; for although the only portion of his oratory which is given in these volumes is one very long extract, which occupies from page 24 to page 59, of the Marquess of Londonderry's “Memoirs” of his brother, and although it was corrected by Lord Castlereagh himself, we are convinced that the reader will be quite satisfied with this specimen, which, although it does not soar into one of those lofty metaphors in which his lordship embarked into a feature—said feature being on hinges, will sufficiently prove that “he was incapable of uttering two sentences of any thing but in the meanest manner and in the most wretched language.” We are sorry that we can only make room for one or two sentences of this polished effort of oratory. The following are a fair specimen of the whole. “The people of the Netherlands will now become a nation of great importance, in the general balance of power, and have *great weight when properly called out.*” Vol. i. p. 54. “At the commencement of the war, *Hanover and her fate* were not so much connected with this country as they might have been.” (p. 55.)

Lord Londonderry avows that his object in publishing these volumes, is to rescue the name of Castlereagh from the calumnies which have been cast upon it; and that for this purpose he publishes his select official correspondence. Explaining this word “select” by the object of the present publication, it is certainly calculated to create a strong suspicion that every thing unfavourable to his lordship has been carefully suppressed. Lord Londonderry thus expresses his object in undertaking the present work, and at the same time sums up the contents of the first division, only the first part of which, however, has as yet been published.

“Though conscious that my abilities are not adequate to the task which I have undertaken, I feel it to be a duty to rescue the name of Castlereagh from the calumnies and abuse which have been so long and so industriously cast upon it by political adver-

saries and pardoned rebels. This object cannot, in my opinion, be more effectually accomplished than in (by², submitting to the public the select Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh, from the commencement of his official career, to the close of his useful and laborious life. The first division of this collection, relating exclusively to the affairs of Ireland, will occupy four volumes, two of which are before the reader. The prominent points comprehended in these volumes are—the Rebellion of the United Irishmen, and the abortive attempt at invasion by the French; the proceedings adopted for effecting the important measure of the Union with Great Britain, and arrangement, commercial and financial, preparatory to it; the state of the Roman Catholics and of the Presbyterians; and the insane outbreak of the younger Emmett."

As the two volumes already published do not come down so far as the Union, we shall confine ourselves entirely to the transactions connected with the Rebellion of 1798. From ignorance, flattery, party spirit, or perhaps because a Marquess got them printed, the historical importance of these volumes has been grossly exaggerated. After perusing them more than once, and without pretending to any extraordinary knowledge of the history of the period to which they belong, we cannot recollect that we have discovered in them a single fact with which we were not already acquainted. Notwithstanding the great number of documents and letters which they contain, most of them being now first published, these volumes are neither interesting nor important. The writers of a few of the letters were amongst the most eminent individuals of their own times, such as Pitt, Burke, Grenville, Cornwallis, Portland, and the Irish Catholic bishops. They treat of almost every topic which agitated the public mind during the end of the last, and the commencement of the present century. Not only the Union, Catholic Emancipation, and the diplomatic relations with Rome, which have been already legislated upon, but the utility of a new University, a state provision for the clergy, and other subjects of importance, will be found discussed by men who have left their impress on the age for good or for evil. But, notwithstanding these recommendations, we are convinced that the collection will be regarded on the whole as the least interesting that has for many years been issued by the press in these countries.

Lord Londonderry's volumes, indeed, show us more

clearly than we ever knew it before, the perfect system of espionage which the government had established, by which its members were thoroughly acquainted with all the most secret proceedings of the United Irishmen at home, as well as with those of their agents in France, and even with the secret despatches of the French ministers to each other. Conspirators may learn a very salutary lesson from the fact, that not only was treachery rife at home, but that the correspondence regarding Ireland which passed between Citizen Reinhard, the French Resident at Hamburg, and La Croix and Talleyrand, who were successively ministers for foreign affairs, and even the memorial of Dr. McNevin relating to a landing in Ireland, which was presented to the French Directory, as well as the letter of Mr. Duckett, another of the Irish emissaries, which was addressed to Citizen Truguet, ex-minister of Marine, were all put into the hands of the English ministers almost as soon as they were written. Lord Londonderry does not tell us who these agents were, and indeed we are sorry to be obliged to say, that his are decidedly the worst edited volumes we have ever read. The names of persons are constantly designated by the initials only ; and yet the Editor scarcely ever tells us who is meant, even when the name is given in full in other documents in the same volume. Hence we are treated to such information as the following, which occurs in a letter from Mr. Wickham to Lord Castlereagh, dated Whitehall, June 8th, 1798.

" His Grace (the Duke of Portland) has desired me to inform your Lordship, that the Honourable Mr. L—, Mr. S., of Acton, and Messrs. A., C., and T., of the Temple, have been apprehended here ; and Messrs. M'G., and D., at Liverpool ; and that warrants for apprehending the following persons have been granted, though not yet executed, viz. :—Dr. O'K., a person of the name of C., of Abbey-street, Dublin, and Mr. H."

The editor, like a true Protestant, gives all this to his readers without note or comment. By way of compensation, when the name of the Home Secretary, the Duke of Portland, which is printed in full some hundreds of times in these volumes, is occasionally written the Duke of P., the learned editor takes care to supply the missing letters by putting (ortland) in a parenthesis. The letters are for the most part printed according to their dates, but

not the slightest attempt is made to connect them with the history of the period to which they refer. Indeed, the illustrations of the noble Marquess are for the most part short extracts from the peerage. Thus, when Lord Ormond's name occurs, we are told in a note that he was "eighteenth earl and first marquess." Vol. ii. p. 25, is illustrated by four notes: the first is appended to Lord Shannon, and considerably informs us that he was "second earl, and that his christian name was Richard;" the second to Lord Ely, and it tells us that his name was Charles Tottenham, that he was created Baron Loftus in 1785, Viscount Loftus in 1789, and Earl of Ely in 1794; the third to Lord Pery, which lets us into the secret that he was created Viscount Pery in 1785; the fourth to Lord Yelverton, and this, though last not least, tells us that his name was Barry, and that he was raised to the peerage in 1795. In the very next page (26) we have three notes, of which the first and second give us the dates (and we have no doubt accurately) at which Lords Kilwarden and Carleton were made peers; whilst the third informs us that the Duke of Leinster's name was William Robert. Truly, the Marquess of Londonderry is "a man of one book;" and that is the "Peerage of Great Britain and Ireland." This information may be very interesting in aristocratic circles, but it is very easily acquired; and we beg leave to assure Lord Londonderry that when unaccompanied by any other, it is scarcely sufficient to illustrate a book which relates to one of the most eventful periods of a nation's history. We are sorry to be obliged to add, that there are a few miserable, bigoted notes in these volumes, which we are sure would never have found their way into them, if his lordship had not been utterly ignorant of the history of the transactions to which they refer. The truth is, that these volumes are a "rudis indigestaque moles;" that no attempt whatever is made to edit them in the present publication; and that, in a literary point of view, Lord Londonderry must rest content with the credit of having permitted them to be printed. The names of persons and places are often grossly, and sometimes ludicrously, distorted. Thus the informer, McGucken, is called McGuckey; the unfortunate Quigley, who was executed, is called Coigley; and, with regard to places, we find the *County* of Ulster (vol. i. p. 303), whilst in the previous page, the camp of Blaris is not inappropriately called the camp of Blasis.

The first of Lord Londonderry's volumes contains a very miserable memoir of Lord Castlereagh, and certainly, if we can judge of the suppressed parts of the correspondence by the omissions in the life, we must conclude that they are neither small nor unimportant.

Robert Stewart, afterwards so notorious under the name of Castlereagh, was born on the 18th of June, 1769—a year rendered memorable by the birth of Wellington and Napoleon. His father was not then a peer, but was created Baron of Londonderry in 1789, Viscount Castle-reagh in 1795, Earl of Londonderry in 1796, and Marquess of Londonderry in 1816. This nobleman had himself represented the county of Down in two parliaments, and his son—the object of the present notice—on attaining the legal age in 1790, sought the same honourable trust from the electors. He stood on the principles of reform, and was supported by the votes and contributions of the independent portion of the county, for which he was returned after a harassing contest of two months, and at an expense of £60,000. At first he voted regularly with the opposition. But in 1797, Mr. Stewart, who was now Viscount Castlereagh on account of his father's promotion in the peerage, was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal by Lord Camden, and of course ceased to be an advocate of parliamentary reform. Lord Londonderry says this change took place so early as 1793, when the franchise was conferred on the Catholics, which only proves that he kept his hustings pledges for even a shorter time than some charitable persons had previously imagined. When Mr. Pelham left Ireland in March, 1798, Lord Castlereagh discharged the duties of Chief Secretary as his *locum tenens*, to which office he was afterwards appointed on the retirement of that gentleman in 1799. He continued to hold this important situation until after the Union. That the Catholics were cajoled into an approval of that measure in some instances, and into neutrality in others, by the hopes of emancipation which were held out to them by Pitt, Cornwallis, and Castlereagh, no one can deny. They even retired from office avowedly in 1801, because the king would not permit them to carry that question; and Lord Cornwallis, when resigning the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, assured the Catholics that "many characters of eminence were pledged not to embark in the service of government, except on the terms of the Catholic

privileges being obtained. These eminent characters were of course the ministers, who had just abandoned their offices because they could not carry this question. Addington, the speaker, succeeded Pitt as prime minister, and that steady and consistent friend of the Catholics, Lord Castlereagh, accepted in the very next year (1802) the presidency of the board of control from a ministry which was pledged against emancipation. When Pitt also violated his promises, and took office in 1804, Lord Castlereagh retained his situation. In 1805 he was appointed secretary for the war and colonial departments; but so disgusted had his constituents become with his conduct, that he was indignantly rejected by the county of Down, which he had hitherto represented in Parliament. In 1806, on the death of Pitt, none of his colleagues being fit to be placed at the head of an administration, they were all obliged to resign, and the Grenville ministry was formed. But Lord Grenville and his colleagues were dismissed by the king in the following year, because they would not give a written engagement never to propose any thing connected with the Catholic question. They were succeeded by the Portland and Percival "No Popery" ministry, in which Lord Castlereagh, the true and honest friend of the Catholics, accepted of his former situation of secretary for the war and colonial departments. This ministry, which had maddened the nation by the cries of "No Popery" and "The Church in danger," sunk in a short time into the utmost contempt. The disastrous issue of the Walcheren expedition, which was one of the most powerful and expensive ever fitted out by England, in comparison with which the forces with which Edward III. and Henry V. routed the chivalry of France were as nothing, was the finishing blow to the calamities which had commenced some time previously by the expulsion of Sir John Moore's army from Spain. If the powerful and well-appointed army which was entrusted to the imbecile command of Lord Chatham, and which sailed from England on the 28th of July, 1809, had been despatched to reinforce Sir John Moore in the end of the preceding year, it would have enabled him to have liberated the Peninsula, instead of being obliged to fly, and ultimately to find a soldier's grave on the 16th of the previous January on the ramparts of Corunna. Sir John Moore was disliked by Lord Castlereagh, because he was opposed to his system of govern-

ing Ireland by martial law and flogging. When it was found that Theobald Wolfe Tone had cut his throat in prison, although he had not succeeded in killing himself at once, Curran moved for a habeas corpus, the return to which was that he could not be brought up without endangering his life. "This," says Sir John Moore, "is so far fortunate, as it is to stop for the future all trials by court martial for civil offences, and things are to revert to their former and usual channel." (*Memoirs, &c.* vol. ii. p. 8.) Sir John Moore was, however, quite mistaken in this anticipation, for, although the rebellion was completely extinguished, this motion about Tone dreadfully alarmed Lord Castlereagh, as we shall see a little farther on, lest the country should be freed in consequence of it from the horrors of martial law. It is not a little remarkable, that both Sir John Moore and Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who were horrified by the savage treatment which the Irish received under Lord Castlereagh, should have afterwards perished gloriously whilst encountering superior forces of the enemy, the one in Spain and the other in Egypt. Whether Mr. Canning thought that Lord Castlereagh's contemptible conduct in leaving Sir John Moore without reinforcements in Spain, and in entrusting the Walcheren expedition to Lord Chatham, was occasioned by personal considerations, or by incapacity, it is certain that he entirely disapproved of it, and that early in the year 1809 he threatened to resign his office of secretary for foreign affairs, unless Lord Castlereagh was dismissed from the war and colonial department. The whole cabinet, including Lord Camden, whose sister was Lord Londonderry's second wife, and the king himself acquiesced in this demand, but its execution was delayed for some unaccountable reason, until Lord Castlereagh himself became aware of the transaction in September. Both Castlereagh and Canning resigned their respective offices, and a duel took place between them on the 21st of the same month, in which Mr. Canning was wounded, but not dangerously. The Duke of Portland also resigned at this time, and Percival became first lord of the treasury. It should not be forgotten that, whilst Lord Castlereagh occupied a place in the Portland administration, he was deeply involved in all the disgraceful transactions connected with the sale of commissions by Mrs. Clarke, the mistress of the Duke of York, who was then commander-in-

chief; and that he was publicly charged in the house of commons with having insisted that Quintin Dick should resign his seat for the borough of Cashel, which had been purchased for him by the treasury, because he would not vote the Duke of York innocent, contrary to his conscience. During the same period, he admitted that in 1805, when he was at the head of the board of control, he had delivered into the hands of Lord Clancarty a writership, of which he had the gift, for the purpose of exchanging it for a seat in Parliament. To render this transaction more disgraceful, and to prove that this kind of traffic must have been habitual, it was carried on between Lord Castlereagh and a person called Reding, an advertising place-broker, who was a perfect stranger to his lordship. Although he expressed his sorrow for his conduct publicly in the house of commons, no less than one hundred and sixty-seven members voted, on the motion of Lord Archibald Hamilton, that Lord Castlereagh had been guilty of a dereliction of his duty as president of the board of control, a gross violation of his engagements as a servant of the crown, and an attack on the purity and constitution of the house. Lord Londonderry is strangely oblivious in his *Memoirs* of all these circumstances. He also commits an egregious and unaccountable blunder (vol. i. p. 20) by asserting that the department of foreign affairs, which Mr. Canning had resigned in 1809, was "transferred to his lordship before the end of the same year;" whereas it is notorious that Lord Castlereagh did not become foreign secretary until 1812, when it was resigned by the Marquess Wellesley, who had succeeded Mr. Canning. When Lord Liverpool was placed at the head of the treasury, because Wellesley and Canning and Grey and Grenville declined to form a ministry which should not be pledged to an early consideration of the Catholic question, Lord Castlereagh was continued in his office of foreign secretary, which he retained until his death.

Our space does not permit us even to glance at the remainder of Lord Castlereagh's career. His "green bag" indemnity acts of 1818, which prevented innocent persons from appealing to the laws of their country against those who had flagrantly injured them—the active part which he took in the unmmanly attacks upon the Queen in 1820-21—the levity with which in 1822 he treated the

charge of having connived at the horrid cruelties and cold blooded butcheries committed on the Greeks, who, as it was alleged, had surrendered themselves to the Turks under assurances of safety from Lord Strangford, the British ambassador to the Ottoman Porte; and of encouraging and supporting an administration which had established a market for the purchase of christian ladies, who were to be delivered over to the barbarous lust of Mohammedans, excited against him the indignation of every honest man in the empire. On the death of his father in 1821 he became Marquess of Londonderry, and in August, 1822, he perished by his own hand at North Cray in Kent. This event is described by a recent writer* in the following words :

"A few days after the king's departure for Scotland, Lord Londonderry put a period to his own existence, which led to the adoption of a line of policy on the part of the government more in keeping with the general wishes and feelings of the people than had been for a long previous period pursued. The conduct of the lower classes of the people has always been marked by a high degree of respect towards their superiors, even when suffering deeply from misgovernment and the extravagance of administrative expenditure ; but on the occasion of the removal of the coffin from the hearse which contained the remains of this minister, the shout of exultation which burst from the assembled populace too plainly showed the gratification felt at the end of a man who had been all his life the avowed opponent of everything savouring of religious or political liberty, and a willing abettor of every species of tyranny and corruption."

Those who shall have taken the trouble of perusing this sketch, will be able to judge for themselves how far Lord Castlereagh deserves credit for his advocacy of Catholic eniancipation and his opposition to the slave trade, which are the two chief points on which his brother rests his character for benevolence and consistency.

We must now briefly mention the causes which led to the outbreak of 1798. A Protestant association, which was known by the appellation of "Peep-of-day Boys," was formed in the county of Armagh in 1784. Its character may be given in the words of even the bigoted Sir R. Musgrave. "They visited," he says, (Hist. Rebell. p. 54.)

* Mr. J. P. Miles, 'Hist. Eng.' p. 365.

"the houses of their antagonists at a very early hour in the morning to search for arms; and it is most certain that in doing so they often committed the most wanton outrages, insulting their persons and breaking their furniture." Their object, in fact, was to exterminate the Catholics. "These insurgents," said Mr. Grattan, in a speech delivered in the Irish house of commons on the 20th of February, 1796, "have organized their rebellion, and formed themselves into a committee, who sit and try the Catholic weavers and inhabitants, when apprehended falsely and illegally as deserters. That rebellious committee they call the committee of elders..... They generally give the Catholics notice to quit their farms and dwellings, which notice they plaster on the house, conceived in these short but plain words: *Go to hell, Connaught won't receive you. Fire and faggot. William Thresham and John Thrustout,** They followed these notices with faithful and punctual execution of the horrid threat. In many instances they threw down the houses of the tenantry, or what they called racked the house, so that the family must fly or be buried in the grave of their own cabin." The Catholics who, as Mr. Grattan states in the debate we have just quoted, were actually put outside the protection of the law, formed a society of "Defenders," to resist the attacks of the "Peep-of-day Boys." But this society only included persons of the very lowest class, and these were in a great measure destitute of arms. The two parties met on the 21st of September, 1795, at the village of the Diamond, in the county of Armagh, when the Defenders were defeated. On that day the Peep-of-day Boys dropt that appellation, and assumed the denomination of *Orangemen*, and then their first lodge was formed at the house of a man named Sloan, in the obscure village of Loughgall. "So dreadful was the persecution which followed," says Plowden,† "that it was generally believed that 7,000 Catholics had been forced or burned out of the county of Armagh,

* An eye-witness to many of these horrible scenes has furnished us with another reading of this terrific text: "To Hell or Connaught immediately; or wo, Captain Rackall and Captain Firebrand, will come and destroy you, and send your souls to hell and damnation." Plowden's 'Post-Union History,' vol. i. p. 24.

† Plowden, vol. ii. p. 377; and 'Post-Union History,' vol. i. p. 45.

in the beginning of 1796 ; and that the ferocious banditti who had expelled them, had been encouraged, connived at, and protected by the government.” Three of the magistrates of Lurgan—Messrs. Ford, Brownlow, and Greer—induced their Catholic tenants to give up their arms, and then told the Orangemen that they would be perfectly safe in plundering that part of the country. Accordingly they crossed the Ban in boats on the next Sunday, and destroyed all the Catholic property in the district. At the spring assizes in Armagh (1796) more than one hundred of these exterminators were committed for trial, but scarcely a witness against them would dare to come forward. When this was represented to the judge, he ordered such of the witnesses as dared to brave the future vengeance of the Orangemen, to be protected on the king’s highway during broad day by patrols of dragoons ; notwithstanding which they were attacked, and many of them maimed, and some murdered. The juries were threatened with summary vengeance, if they dared to convict ; but the case was so flagrant, that eleven of the banditti were found guilty of wilful murder, and sentenced to be hanged. At the solicitation of the Orange magistrates, they were, however, respited from time to time, and ultimately the Lord Lieutenant Camden, under whose auspices Lord Castlereagh shortly afterwards entered the service of government, granted a *free pardon* to ten out of the eleven, and let them loose to recommence the work of extermination. Yet government was fully aware of the extent and horrors of this dreadful persecution from the most authentic sources ; for Lord Gosford, the governor of the county, convened a meeting of the magistrates at Armagh on the 28th of December, 1795, at which he said :

“ It is no secret that a persecution, accompanied with all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty which have in all ages distinguished that calamity, is now raging in this county. Neither age nor sex, nor acknowledged innocence as to any guilt in the late disturbances, is sufficient to excite mercy or to afford protection. The only crime which the objects of this ruthless persecution are charged with, is a crime indeed of easy proof—it is simply a profession of the Roman Catholic faith. A lawless banditti have constituted themselves judges of this new species of delinquency, and the sentence they have denounced is equally concise and terrible ! It is nothing less than a confiscation of all property, and an imme-

diate banishment. It would be extremely painful, and surely unnecessary, to detail the horrors that attend the execution of so rude and tremendous a proscription - a proscription that certainly exceeds in the comparative number of those it consigns to ruin and misery every example that ancient and modern history can supply; for where have we heard, or in what story of human cruelties have we read, of more than half the inhabitants of a populous county deprived at one blow of the means as well as of the fruits of their industry, and driven, in the midst of an inclement season, to seek a shelter for themselves and their helpless families where chance may guide them. This is no exaggerated picture of the scenes now acting in this county. These horrors are now acting with impunity. The spirit of impartial justice (without which law is nothing better than an instrument of tyranny) has for a time disappeared in the county, and the supineness of the magistracy of Armagh is become a common topic of conversation in every corner of the kingdom. Conscious of my sincerity in this public declaration, which I do not make unadvisedly, I defy the petty insinuations that malice or party spirit can suggest. I know my own heart, and I should despise myself if under any intimidation I could close my eyes against such scenes as present themselves on every side, or my ears against the complaints of a persecuted people."

In consequence of this determined language, the following was the first resolution passed by the meeting:

"Resolved, that it appears to this meeting, that the county of Armagh is at this moment in the state of uncommon disorder: that the Roman Catholic inhabitants are grievously oppressed by lawless persons unknown, who attack and plunder their houses by night, and threaten them with instant destruction, unless they abandon immediately their lands and habitations."

This infernal system of Orangeism quickly spread through the entire kingdom. Yet, in the beginning of 1796, government passed the insurgency and indemnity bills, by the first of which the power of transporting was conferred on those very magistrates who had acted with such flagrant partiality; and by the second the victims of their persecution were prevented from availing themselves of the laws of the country, such as they were, to seek redress from them. It is no wonder that the attorney-general should have avowed, on the 28th of January, 1796, that the insurgency act was a bloody penal code. It is no wonder that when Emmet, O'Connor, and M'Nevin made their disclosures to the parliamentary committee in 1798,

they should have answered the question, What caused the rebellion? in the following words: "The free quarters, house-burnings, tortures, and military executions in the counties of Kildare, Carlow, and Wicklow." In answer to another most extraordinary question by the committee,—Government had nothing to do with the Orange system or their extermination? O'Connor answered, addressing himself personally to Lord Castlereagh, "that considerable sums of money were expended throughout the nation in endeavouring to extend the orange system, and that the *oath of extermination was administered*, and that he found it impossible to exculpate the government from being the parent and protector of the *sworn extirpators*." This agrees with the declaration made by the delegates of the Orangemen in the spring of 1796, that the two guineas per man, allowed them by government, was not sufficient to purchase clothes and accoutrements. In the autumn of the same year the Orangemen were regularly armed by the government, under the name of yeomen. This armament was indeed commenced by Mr. Pelham, but, after his departure, "an *exclusive* armament of supplementary yeomen in the north, and of Mr. Beresford's corps in Dublin, was ordered by Lords Camden and Castlereagh." We have this under the hand of the former, in a letter written after he had ceased to be lord lieutenant. Wollaghan, a yeoman, had murdered Thomas Dougherty, a sick lad, whilst leaning on his mother's breast in her own cabin. For this he was brought to trial before a court martial, of which the Earl of Enniskillen was president. The defence set up was, that the commanding officer had issued orders that "if any yeoman on a scouring party should meet with any whom he knew or *suspected* to be a rebel, he need not be at the trouble of bringing him in, but was to shoot him on the spot." The authenticity of the order, as well as the fact that it was constantly acted upon by the corps, was proved by one private, one sergeant, and two lieutenants; and Wollaghan was acquitted. The lord lieutenant (Cornwallis) disapproved of the sentence in a letter written by his private secretary, Captain Taylor, to Lieutenant-general Craig, dated October 18th. He also ordered Wollaghan to be cashiered, and that none of the officers who sat upon Hugh Wollaghan should for the future be admitted as members of any court martial. On hearing of this order, Lord Camden, who but

a few months before had been lord lieutenant, thus writes to Lord Castlereagh :

" Brighton, Nov. 4th, 1798.
(Secret.)

" Dear Castlereagh,

" By a short letter I wrote you, you have perceived the opinion I entertain of the letter written by Captain Taylor to General Craig I have from the first reading of the sentence felt upon it as I do now ; and my sentiments are by no means changed. How long is it, my dear Lord C., since we ordered an exclusive armament of supplementary yeomen in the north, and of Mr. Beresford's corps in Dublin ? My feelings and my reflections both urge me to write as I have done on this subject. I hardly know how to write it under your circumstances ; but I rather conjecture from your silence that your opinion on this letter is not widely different." —vol. i. pp. 425-6.

It would be utterly impossible, without writing an entire volume, to convey the slightest idea of the horrors by which the Catholics of Ireland were goaded into madness, from the enrolment of the Orange yeomanry in the autumn of 1796, until the breaking out of the rebellion in May, 1798. In May, 1797, on a false report being brought into Newry that a corporal's guard was surrounded, the Ancient Britons, some of the city of Dublin militia, and of the Newry yeomanry issued out, without any special order, and laid waste the country for miles by fire and sword, sparing neither age nor sex in their ravages. Of the intolerable cruelties which the people had to endure during this time, whilst the country was perfectly peaceable, we have the unexceptionable testimony of the Earl of Moira. On the 22nd of November, 1797, he spoke as follows in the English house of lords :

" Before God and my country I speak of what I have seen myself. But what I have to speak of are not solitary and insulated measures, nor partial abuses, but what is adopted as the system of government. I do not talk of a casual system, but of one deliberately determined on, and regularly persevered in. My lords, I have seen the most absurd as well as the most disgusting tyranny pursued in Ireland, that any nation ever groaned under. I have been myself a witness of it ; in many instances I have seen it practised, and unrebuted. I have seen troops that have been most full of this prejudice, that every inhabitant in that kingdom is a rebel to the British government. I have seen the most wanton insults practised upon men of all ranks and condi-

tions; I have seen the most grievous oppression exercised in a part of the county as quiet and free from disturbance as the city of London..... When a man was taken up on suspicion, he was put to the torture; nay, if he was merely accused of concealing the guilt of another. The rack, indeed, was not used; but the punishment of picketing was put in practice, which had been for some years abolished as too inhuman even in the dragoon service. He had known a man, in order to extort confession of a supposed crime, or of that of some of his neighbours, picketed until he actually fainted; picketed a second time until he fainted again; as soon as he came to himself picketed a third time, until he once more fainted: and all upon mere suspicion! Nor was this the only species of torture: many had been taken and hung up until they were half dead, and then threatened with a repetition of the cruel treatment, unless they made confession of the imputed guilt. Under what law of God, or of men, or of devils, was this permitted? These were not particular acts of cruelty, but part of our system. In the execution of the order [to search for arms] the greatest cruelties had been committed: if any one was suspected to have concealed weapons of defence in his house, his furniture and all his property was burnt; but this was not all. If it were supposed that any district had not surrendered all the arms which it contained, a party was sent to collect the number at which it was rated; and in the execution of this order, thirty houses were sometimes burnt down in a single night. Officers took upon themselves to decide discretionally the quantity of arms; and upon their opinions these fatal effects followed."

A regular system of espionage had been established by government so early as 1795-6, before rebellious principles had been at all propagated amongst the masses of the people. Counsellor M'Nally, the professional advocate of the United Irishmen, and who knew nearly all their secrets, both with regard to domestic organization and their expectations of foreign aid, also enjoyed a pension of £.300 a-year from the government for supplying it with secret intelligence. The notorious John Edward Newell, a member of the united body, entered on the duties of the castle in April, 1797. Nicholas Magin, a colonel in the military organization, and a member of the provincial and county of Down committees, regularly attended the meetings of the United Irishmen, and communicated the treasonable proceedings to the Rev. John Cleland, the Earl of Londonderry's chaplain. This Magin must have been very munificently paid, for he received August 16th, 1798, £.700, and on the very next day, £.56 17s. 6d. The

entire reward for his services must have been very great indeed. John Hughes, a bookseller of Belfast and United Irishman, was also a well-paid informer. This man it was who betrayed Lord Edward Fitzgerald, although of course Lord Londonderry is profoundly ignorant of the fact.* Hughes, having failed in business, acted as agent in procuring counsel to defend the United Irishmen, to which office he was deputed by their solicitor, McGucken of Belfast. McGucken himself, like his assistant, had two strings to his bow, for he received the money of the government as well as that of the United Irishmen. The enormous sums which government paid to these and other informers—such as Cockayne, Dalton, and Reynolds—may be guessed at from the few items given in Madden's '*United Irishmen, First Series,*' vol. i. pp. 325, 327-8-9. Reynolds alone got £.45.740. (See pp. 240-1.) Every page almost of the volumes published by Lord Londonderry shows that the government was most intimately acquainted with all the proceedings of the United Irishmen; but we have only room here to refer to the letter of Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland, requesting permission to submit some parts of the secret information in the possession of the government to the committee of secrecy of the two houses of Parliament, and Portland's answer, reporting the unanimous opinion of the cabinet, that only M'Nevin's memoir to the French Directory, which might be supposed to have fallen into their hands by other means, and some extracts from the other documents, could possibly be permitted to be laid before them. (vol. i. pp. 226-9.)

Indeed, one of the members of the "Secret Parliamentary Committee" declared, after O'Connor, M'Nevin, and Emmet had, in order to save the lives of their fellow-prisoners, revealed all the plans of the United Irishmen, that they had told nothing of which they were not already aware. The letters, also, which we have just referred to, prove that the revelations of the United Irishmen were chiefly desired by government as a means of enabling

* This we conceive Dr. Madden has satisfactorily proved in the '*United Irishmen, First Series,*' vol. i. p. 324, &c. We are indebted to the same writer for some of the facts contained in this article.

them to publish on their authority what they already knew from other sources which they would not disclose. Lord Castlereagh writes to Mr. Wickham on the 30th of July, 1798, that "the lord lieutenant authorized him to read the correspondence and (M'Nevin's) memorial once over to the committee of the commons, with a strict injunction that no person should note a single fact; and," he adds, "I can truly state that the individuals of the committee are altogether in the dark as to the manner in which that intelligence was obtained, and from the mode in which it was gone through, can only have a very general impression of its contents. The precautions used will preclude any danger to the state, from this valuable channel of communication being in any manner brought into suspicion." Speaking of an interview with O'Connor, Emmet, and M'Nevin, he says in the same letter: "They expressed an anxious desire to save Bond's life, as also to *rescue the country from a rebellion which it was evident must be destructive to all parties.* They admitted that they had *intended everything we knew they did.*" The latter italics are Lord Castlereagh's.

Yet the government not only allowed the United Irishmen to remain at large, but took the most effectual means of recruiting their ranks by persecuting innocent and loyal men so frightfully, that they had no alternative between taking up arms to defend themselves, and allowing their property to be destroyed, their wives and daughters to be dishonoured, and themselves to be picketed and half-hanged or whole-hanged, according to the caprice of their tormentors. But it was necessary to go even further before the country could be forced into rebellion. On the 12th of March, 1798, the Leinster delegates of the United Irishmen, fifteen in number, were seized at the house of Oliver Bond in Dublin, and the lord lieutenant, Camden, issued a proclamation on the 30th, commanding the military to act without waiting for directions from the civil magistrate. On the same day Lord Castlereagh wrote as follows to Sir R. Abercromby, the commander-in-chief:

"Sir,—I am commanded by his excellency, the lord lieutenant, to communicate to you his orders, that you do forthwith direct the military to act without waiting for directions from the civil magis-

trates in dispersing any tumultuous, unlawful assemblies.....and that you do employ the troops at your command in the disturbed districts, particularly in the counties of Kildare, Tipperary, Limerick, Cork, King's County, Queen's County, and Kilkenny : and in such others as shall become disturbed, or *appear to you in danger of becoming so*, to crush the rebellion in whatever shape it may show itself by the *most summary military measures* ; and that you do employ similar means effectually to disarm the rebels."—
vol. i. p. 164.

There being as yet nothing in the shape of a rebellion, Sir R. Abercromby was astonished by these orders, and wrote on the following day for an explanation, which Lord Castlereagh gave instantly :

" *Lord Castlereagh to Sir Ralph Abercromby.*

" Dublin Castle, April 1st, 1798.

" Sir.—My lord lieutenant has transmitted to me a paper delivered by you this day to his excellency, wherein you request to be informed, whether the commander-in-chief and the officers acting under him are warranted by the Proclamation, and the orders issued by his excellency thereon,—

" ' To quarter troops wherever they may judge necessary, in any buildings whatever ; to press horses and carriages ; to demand forage and provisions ; to hold courts-martial for the trial and punishment of offenders of all descriptions, civil or military, with the power of confirming and causing to be executed the sentences of all such courts-martial, and to issue Proclamations.'

" And, in answer thereto, his excellency has directed me to inform you, that the Proclamation, and his excellency's orders in consequence thereof, invest you with all the powers which are enumerated in that paper.

" His excellency also considers the general officers acting under the orders of the commander-in-chief warranted to carry the measures therein specified into execution, except that of holding courts-martial for the trial of civil and military offenders, and confirming and carrying the sentences thereof into execution ; which power his excellency confides solely to the commander-in-chief."—
vol. i. pp. 168-9.

The excesses, however, of the military were so frightful, that even Sir Charles Asgill, who has never been accused of having been overburdened with humanity, wrote to Sir R. Abercromby from his head-quarters at Kilkenny, in strong condemnation of the measures of government, only seventeen days after martial law had been proclaimed.

“Sir C. Asgill to Sir R. Abercromby.

“Sir,—It is strongly represented to me, that the soldiers by living in free quarters will possess themselves of the comforts and savings of the farmers, and it will be impossible for the officers commanding to discriminate between the innocent and the guilty. I submit to you, whether *an indiscriminate attack on the whole of the inhabitants* of any distant part would not involve the innocent, and make fresh enemies to the government.”—vol. i. pp. 184-5.

A letter written from Waterford at a later period, August 29th, 1798, gives the following character of the Irish militia :

“I dread the indiscipline of the Irish militia : friends or foes are all the same to them, and they will plunder indiscriminately advancing or retreating ; and from what I have heard, no effort is made to restrain them. The dread the inhabitants have of the presence of a regiment of militia is not to be told ; they shut up their shops, hide whatever they have, and, in short, all confidence is lost wherever they make their appearance.”—vol. i. p. 342.

Sir R. Abercromby was too honourable and brave a man to remain at the head of a gang of robbers. So early as the 26th of February, 1798, he had issued orders to the troops to act under the control of the civil magistrate, unless in the moment of invasion or of actual insurrection. The proclamation, however, of the 30th of March had let these armed ruffians loose upon the country, and in the following month Sir R. Abercromby threw up his command in disgust, having previously declared, that “the very disgraceful frequency of courts-martial, and the many complaints of the conduct of the troops in Ireland, too unfortunately proved that the army was in a state of licentiousness which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy.” It would sicken the heart to detail the disgusting horrors which were perpetrated from this period. Rape, murder, and pillage were universal. It is admitted in the report of the “Secret Committees of the Irish Lords and Commons,” in 1798, that, until the “middle of March, the disaffected entertained no serious intention of hazarding a general engagement, independently of foreign assistance ; indeed, the opinion of the most cautious of their body was always adverse to premature exertion. That it appears from a variety of evidence laid before your committee, that the rebellion would not have broken out so soon as it did, had it not been for

the well-timed measures adopted by government subsequent to the proclamation of the lord lieutenant and council, bearing date 30th of March, 1798." That the measures of the government not only caused the rebellion to explode, as Lord Castlereagh expressed it, but caused it to exist also, is attested by those who of all others had the best means of knowing its rise and progress. The "memoir" of the state prisoners, which, although already well known, is republished by Lord Londonderry, vol. i. pp. 353-373, declares that the original society of United Irishmen, which was founded in 1791, contemplated nothing more than Catholic emancipation and reform, until being forcibly dissolved in 1794, it was changed into a secret society, and towards the end of 1795 began to entertain republican views. "Whatever progress," they continue, "this united system had made among the Presbyterians of the north, it had, we apprehend, made but little way among the Catholics through the kingdom, until after the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam. To the Armagh persecution is the union of United Irishmen exceedingly indebted. The persons and properties of the wretched Catholics of that county were exposed to the merciless attacks of an Orange faction, which was certainly in many instances uncontrolled by the justices of the peace, and claimed to be in all supported by the government. When these men found that the illegal acts of magistrates were indemnified by occasional statutes, and the courts of justice shut against them by parliamentary barriers, they began to think that they had no refuge but by joining the union. We will here remark, once for all, what we solemnly aver, that wherever the Orange system was introduced, particularly in Catholic counties, it was uniformly observed that the numbers of United Irishmen increased most astonishingly. The alarm which an Orange lodge created among the Catholics, made them look for refuge by joining together in the united system; and as their number was always greater than that of bigoted Protestants, our harvest was tensfold." This perfectly agrees with McNevin's answer before the "Secret Committee of the House of Commons," on the 8th of August, 1798. *The Speaker* (Foster)—"Pray, Sir, what do you think occasioned the insurrection?" *McNevin*,—"The insurrection was occasioned by the house-burnings, the whippings to extort confessions, the torture of various

kinds, the free quarters, the murders committed upon the people by the magistrates and the army."

The rebellion which was thus fomented by government, broke out on the 23rd of May, when the leaders were in prison, and all their plans fully known long before to government. That the people, goaded as they were to madness, committed some shocking cruelties is quite true, and far be it from us to defend them. It is not a little instructive, however, to learn that these excesses were chiefly confined to the county of Wexford, from every part of which addresses of loyalty had been sent to the lord lieutenant in the beginning of 1798—which had no delegate amongst the Leinster representatives of the United Irishmen, and which was not mentioned as one of the disturbed counties in the lord lieutenant's proclamation of the 30th of March, 1798. But the burning of chapels as well as private houses—the torture by putting heated pitch caps on the heads of the "Croppies," and then setting them on fire—the violations of female chastity, and the murders kindled a flame in Wexford, which, if it had burst forth with equal violence in the other counties, would probably have ended in a separation of England and Ireland. The cruelties and oppression of the people did not end with the rebellion, but were continued long after it was totally subdued.

We are told, indeed, that Lord Castlereagh was ignorant of these cruelties. It is most absurd to say that a man who was so intimately acquainted with the most secret proceedings of the United Irishmen, did not know what was done by the troops within the very precincts of the castle. He surely was not ignorant of the reasons which induced Sir R. Abercromby to throw up his command in disgust. Lord Castlereagh did indeed deny in the English house of commons, in March 1801, that "torture was ever inflicted in Ireland with the knowledge, authority, or approbation of government." But his lordship could not have been ignorant of a practice which was so well known to the Earl of Moira, and which had been openly debated in the English and Irish Parliaments. John Claudius Beresford said, that "it was unmanly to deny the torture, as it was notoriously practised;" and Lord Clare, the Irish chancellor, avowed and defended it in the house of Lords. Sir R. Musgrave also, who afterwards received a situation worth £.1200 a-year, defends the practice thus:

" That man who would balance between the *slight* infractions of the constitution, in inflicting a few stripes on the body of a perjured traitor, and the loss of many lives and much property, must renounce all pretensions to patriotism."** Lord Castlereagh could not have been ignorant of the indignation with which Sir John Moore expressed himself against Judkin Fitzgerald, the sheriff of Tipperary, on account of the unmerciful laceration which he saw inflicted on a poor peasant by his orders. Lord Castlereagh must surely have been aware of the practice before the 16th of November, 1798, or he alone did not know that of which no other man in Ireland was ignorant. He must have known that to continue martial law was to insure the perpetuation of this diabolical practice. Yet at this time, when he admits that the rebellion was at an end, he is so far from rejoicing with Sir John Moore, that the *habeas corpus*, which the Queen's Bench granted to bring up the body of Wolfe Tone, would put an end to martial law, that he immediately wrote to England to acquaint government with the alarming fact, and to entreat that he might get leave to pass an act of Parliament which should allow martial law to be enforced without allowing an appeal to the ordinary tribunals, even in the very places where they were open. We can only refer to this letter, which will be found v. i. pp. 445-8. Lord Castlereagh was doubtless influenced in urging this matter of having all the acts of courts-martial legalized beforehand, because a gentleman named Wright, on whom the sheriff of Tipperary, Judkin Fitzgerald, had caused five hundred lashes to be inflicted, for no other cause than that he had in his pocket a letter written in the French language by his daughter, had obtained £.500 damages even from a prejudiced jury against this wretch, whose name, although the government put Sir before it as a reward for his services, is so infamous in the annals of the Irish rebellion. This conjecture is confirmed by a glimpse which we get at another of his lordship's legislative achievements, which is nothing less than a general pardon for all crimes committed against the people, however wanton or atrocious. And by the way, it is not a little singular that he should have been so anxious for a bill of this kind, as he was entirely iguo-

* See Madden's 'United Irishmen,' p. 340, &c.

rant of the atrocities which had been committed by the friends of the government. Mr. Wickham, writing to his lordship on the 9th of August, 1798, says: "I have received the honour of your lordship's letter of the 4th instant, and have communicated it to the Duke of Portland. His grace will have the point you mention considered, but the law officers, as well as the chancellor, seemed clearly of opinion, that it would be wiser and the safer mode, that all illegal acts done in suppressing the rebellion should be pardoned by the king, than that the persons who have committed them should be indemnified by act of parliament. No acts but such as are *illegal* *have need of either pardon or indemnity; and in either case the illegality must be admitted.* It seems difficult, therefore, to say that there is more of *disgrace* in recurring to one mode of protection rather than the other." We may mention in passing, as one of the many instances of suspicious suppression in these volumes, that Lord Castlereagh's letter of the 4th of August, to which Mr. Wickham refers, is not published by Lord Londonderry. At all events, he succeeded by the aid of the chancellor, Lord Clare, in obtaining the bill of indemnity, for in another letter written to Wickham on the 12th of August, 1798, he says: "'The lord chancellor is of opinion that a bill of indemnity will still be requisite to protect individuals against personal actions. The act of pardon will secure them against *criminal* prosecutions, but not against a *private suit to recover damages.*' Who does not see that the suggestion was made, lest any other Judkin Fitzgerald should be obliged to pay a pound sterling for every lash which he inflicted on an innocent gentleman? In this same letter he gives us a slight insight into his humanity in carrying the famous "Bill of Pardon," which contained so many exceptions as to render it a miserable mockery. These exceptions will be found in a letter from Castlereagh, dated July 30th, 1798. But the real motive for bringing it forward peeps out in the letter of the 12th of August. "It appears," says his lordship, "an important object of policy to his excellency, to get rid by their own consent of a number of active traitors throughout the country. This is more to be effected by their *own fears*, than by any evidence in our possession." Even in acts of grace, his lordship's correspondence shows him to be dexterous and designing always, humane and

noble never. Notwithstanding all the cruelties and sufferings which the country endured during the melancholy period over which this correspondence extends, not one word of commiseration or pity ever escapes his lordship, although an eye-witness of many of the most harrowing scenes. In one or two very rare instances he appears to lean to the side of clemency; but his motive never rises to the height of mercy or of justice. He is totally incapable of expanding his views; but, like a horse grinding bark, goes round and round the same miserable narrow circle. He never once argues that a thing must be done because it is just or right, but because it will serve "his majesty's government."

There are a large number of letters from Catholic bishops in these volumes, relating to both the rebellion and the union. With the latter we have nothing to do at present. As far, however, as they relate to the rebellion, they are entirely on the side of law and order. Some persons may imagine that they even went too far in this direction; but we entertain no doubt that they did that which, considering the awful circumstances in which they were placed, they believed to be most conducive to the good of their country, and the temporal and eternal welfare of their people.

ART. VIII.—*Practical Sermons, Preached in 1847-8; to which is Added a Sermon preached on a Special Occasion.* By the Rev. F. OAKELEY, M.A. 8vo. London: Burnes, 1848.

WE remember being greatly struck, several years ago, by a curious estimate which we saw made, of the very small proportion out of the numberless discourses annually delivered from the pulpit, which, either by the audience or the preacher, are deemed worthy of the immortality of the press. Considered in a literary point of view, the fact cannot but appear a very remarkable one: practically, it is but one out of many melancholy evi-

dences of the indifference which men feel for the concerns of the inner life.

Nevertheless the literature of the pulpit, however comparatively neglected, constitutes a distinct and exceedingly important department of the modern science of divinity. The Germans, with their accustomed ingenuity in devising technical names, have termed it Pastoral Theology; and the Catholic publications of Germany in this department are numerous and highly creditable. As an example of the activity and spirit with which it is cultivated, we can enumerate, of our own knowledge, no less than four distinct serial publications exclusively devoted to it: Heim's *Predigt-Magazin*, published at Augsburg, Rosentritt's *Predigt-Bibliothek*, at Wurzburg, Wilke's *Neue Predigt-Bibliothek*, at the same place, and Florey's *Predigt-Eutwurfe*, at Leipzig; not to speak of the numberless individual preachers of eminence whom modern Germany can boast, or of a vast number of older collections of a character similar to these alluded to above.*

It is hardly necessary to allude to the similar publications of France and Italy. There are few who are not sufficiently familiar with Mansi's *Bibliotheca Moralis Predicabilis*, Houdry's *Bibliotheque des Predicateurs*, Montargon's *Dictionnaire Apostolique*, Nisseni's *Assonti Predicabili*, Paoletti's *Viridarium Sacrarum Concionum*; and the indefatigable press of the Abbé Migne has produced more recently a collection almost as copious and comprehensive as all the rest taken collectively. † If we have referred to them at all, it is for the purpose of calling attention, in the spirit, not of censure but of regret, to the meagre and neglected condition of our own literature in this important branch. Far from possessing any complete or methodized body of materials for pulpit oratory, we

* As, for example, the *Bibliothek der Kathol. Kanzel-beredsamkeit*, of Drs. Räss and Weiss (Frankfort 1829), Müller's *Predigten über die ganze Christliche Moral*, Hauber's *Lexicon für Prediger und Katecheten*, the still older *Magazin für Prediger und Geistlicher*, Züllichau (1789-91), Löhner's *Bibliotheca Concionatoria* (1712), &c., &c.

† *Collection Intégrale et Universelle des Orateurs Sacrés*, 23 vols. 4to. Paris, 1844-5.

can hardly point to a single collection of Catholic sermons in the English language which rise above humble mediocrity; and, though more than one attempt has been made to meet the admitted deficiency by a periodical publication on the plan of those which flourish so successfully among our brethren on the continent, they have all failed;—partly, we must own, through the tasteless and injudicious system upon which they were conducted, but chiefly, we are bound to say, through the indifference and tepidity of those who should better have appreciated their importance.

Under circumstances heretofore so discouraging, therefore, it is with more than ordinary pleasure that we receive a volume of sermons which, while they cannot fail to command attention as well by their own great merit as by the character of the author, must at the same time do a great deal to create a taste for genuine Christian eloquence. Those who have traced Mr. Oakeley's fascinating pen, through his contributions to the *British Critic*, to the *Lives of the English Saints*, and to the pages of our own *Journal*, will not only have given him credit for a perfect mastery of all the graces of composition, but will also have formed a very high estimate of his capacity and qualifications as an ascetic writer. But we doubt whether even those who know him best, will have anticipated from him so complete a command of the most recondite sources of spiritual knowledge—such a ready familiarity with the traditional rules for the guidance of the inward life—and above all, a mind so thoroughly and so deeply imbued with the hidden spirit by which the Church is ever guided, even in the smallest details of her ritual, her ordinances, the selection and distribution of her seasons and her festivals—as is displayed in the volume now upon our table.

However, when we speak of Mr. Oakeley's Sermons as calculated to supply in part the want which has long been felt in this department of our Catholic literature, we must not be understood to class them with the ordinary "Practical Sermons" to which we have heretofore been accustomed. Addressed, as we are apprized in the preface, to a body of young ecclesiastics, and presuming upon the part of the audience a high standard of spiritual capacity, there is in some of them a certain peculiarity of thought which, though in reality practical, in the fullest sense of

the word, for those for whom it was intended, unprepared minds may be disposed to regard as tending towards mysticism, and may, at first, find a difficulty of entering into and appreciating. But what may at first sight appear a difficulty, will be found in reality to constitute the great charm of these admirable discourses.

Some of our readers may perhaps recollect an extremely interesting work to which we called attention several years since, and which we had hoped to see translated into English before now—*Staudenmaier's Spirit of Christianity as Displayed in the Sacred Seasons*. We are forcibly reminded of the tone which pervades it, by the general character of the Sermons before us. Mr. Oakeley's mind is thoroughly impregnated with the spirit of the Church. He is ever alive not alone to the sentiment and the poetry which are discoverable in all her ordinances, but also to the practical realities which they symbolize and they are intended to convey to the christian mind; and thus his Sermons not only fully harmonize with these religious associations; not only abound with allusions to the practical lessons which may be drawn from each particular circumstance connected with the institution of the Church to which they refer, but, in truth, as far as they go, so perfectly represent her entire spirit, that they may almost be said to have been cast in the true ecclesiastical mould.

We shall transcribe one or two passages which may illustrate our meaning.

There is great beauty and truth, as well as novelty, in the following view of the circumstance of the Church's instituting a *general Festival of All the Saints*,—

"But there is one point of view already hinted at, considered in which the Festival of All Saints has an interest, which in such a subject becomes a mystery, especially its own. It is not merely a commemorative, it is also a supplementary Festival. The Church, *as if weary of recording her individual Saints*, or rather seeming to say, with the Apostle to the Hebrews,* 'The time would fail me, were I to speak of them all by name; hopeless of memorializing, yet fearful of excluding, assigns one of the latest days in her sacred calendar to the commemoration of All the Saints, as well those whom she has before celebrated, as those whom she has been constrained to omit. We know that every soul which passes hence

* Heb. xi. 31.

without sinful taint or affection cleaving to it, is admitted at once to the blessed vision of God ; not necessarily to one of those higher mansions of the heavenly courts which are won through signal sacrifices, lengthened courses of labour, or extraordinary mortifications, yet still transcending, in an infinite degree, all our poor conceptions of happiness and glory. And the lowest in that most blessed kingdom is one of those Saints who pray for the Church, and whose piety the Church reciprocates by grateful and loving remembrance. Yes, beloved brethren, many and many are the Saints whose histories are forgotten, and whose very names are unknown. Rather, so naturally shrinking and unobtrusive is saintly virtue, that I would even say, the wonder is, that the memory of so many has been preserved. God would not leave us at least without some choice specimens of His celestial jewelry. He directed passers-by to go and find them out, whom, but for some such interposition, we had overlooked their names, and lost the benefit of their examples. When glorious St. Ignatius, exhausted by his four days' abstinence from food, fell down at the entrance of his cave at Manresa, who was it but the Spirit of God, unwilling to let that treasure be lost to the Church, that prompted the charitable stranger to seek him out, and tend him till he recovered ?* When St. Francis Xavier, at the close of his Indian triumphs, fell sick and died on the sands of Sancian, unattended, unwept, and almost, in the Psalmist's very words, 'without one to bury him ; 't what but a divine intimation disclosed the spot where the ownership of the neglected relics was soon attested by the witness of the miraculous illustrations ?† Still the glory of sanctity has always been denoted to the Church by specimens, and not in all its individual manifestations. Many have been they whose works have outlived their names. Many and many are there, who now receive in heaven the eternal recompence of labours and sacrifices unchronicled on earth ; who are permitted to look down, from their celestial thrones, on the multiplied and successive fruits of their holy deeds. It may be that the reward of the Saints is continually and indefinitely increased by the accession of new triumphs to the Church, through the influence of their examples or of their works. They, says our Lord, who do their good actions to be seen by men, 'have received their reward,'§ once for all, in that miserable distinction ; they whose secret actions, though done to God alone, transpire, and are known in the Church, receive their reward both in heaven and on earth. But there are many whom God withholds from the knowledge even of the Saints on earth, as if to reserve for them a crown all the brighter in the celestial hierarchy. Where

* See Bouhours' Life of St. Ignatius of Loyola. † Ps. cxviii. 3.

† See the Lives of St. Francis Xavier. § St. Matt. vi. 2.

are the authors of those glorious and beautiful hymns, which, while they animate the devotion of the Church on earth, ascend, from year to year, and from age to age, as a kind of spiritual incense to the mercy-seat of God? Who framed the goodly mould to which our praises adapt themselves, when, lovingly and adoringly, at our benedictions, or on the great festival which they commemorate, we recount the origin of the Blessed Eucharist? Who was he that taught us, in accents of burning yet withal most reverent affection, to hail the Star of the sea; or again, to share the Mother's griefs at the foot of the cross? Who indited the prayers in holy Mass? Who wrote our choicest books of devotion? The authorship of some is unknown, of others but guessed, and of most controverted. And yet if sanctity can ever reveal itself by its acts, or be measured by its fruits, all these and the like to these, have been numbered from the first in that heavenly company which we remember with honour and thankfulness to-day. And does not that company include also another class most dear to memory? Are there none belonging to it, whom perhaps some among ourselves have known and loved? Glorious deeds are not necessary to make the Saint withal, though of many Saints the deeds have verily been glorious. The fruits of genius, learning, and literary labour, although, when sanctified by the Spirit of God, among the surest instruments of edification, and therefore the most unfailing sources of heavenly reward, are but mere accidents of the Saintly character."—p. 3—7.

Again, is there much beauty as well as much instruction, in this adaptation to the various ecclesiastical seasons of our devotion to our Lord in the Blessed Eucharist:

" But if our special happiness as Christians be in this, that by the Presence of our Lord with us in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, His absence in the flesh is fully and to all purposes made up to us, how, my dear brethren, can we adopt any course better calculated at once to strengthen our faith and ensure our devotion, than to put ourselves as much as possible into the situation of those immediate disciples of our Lord who had Him visibly among them, and thus to bring His adorable Presence home to our hearts through the medium of the blessed Sacrament, in each of those details which the Gospel history has made familiar? This may be done, first, by shaping our devotion to the blessed Sacrament in conformity with the subject of the various ecclesiastical seasons. This we do on one occasion in an eminent degree; I mean in the beautiful devotion of Maunday Thursday, when our thoughts of the adorable Passion are so signally favoured by the peculiar circumstances in which the blessed Sacrament is then presented to us. And I suppose we cannot in any way consult the wishes of the Church better, than by acting in the same spirit throughout the

different holy seasons of the year. Every day is the blessed Sacrament present on our altars. From the tabernacle wherein our Lord reposes there issues forth the voice, 'Come unto Me all that are burdened, and I will refresh you.' At Christmas this invitation seems to proceed from the crib at Bethlehem; at Epiphany it calls upon us to pay homage to our Lord in His royal court; at Passion-tide to look on Him whom our sins have pierced; while at Easter we may, with blessed Magdalene, kiss the feet of our risen Redeemer, or walk by his side with the two on the way to Emmaus, or rejoice in his company like the eleven as they sat at table, or know Him in the breaking of Bread, or discourse with Him by the lake of Galilee. At Ascension we watch Him as He goes up into heaven; while, in the time succeeding, we behold in the same great mystery of His Eucharistic Presence the compensation of our loss, and the abiding solace of the faithful. And this surely is why the Church has fixed the great Feast of the Blessed Sacrament in the week following upon Pentecost; in order, that is, to remind us that our Lord is not the less with us because He has returned to the Father, nor has fulfilled His promise in any less measure than by bequeathing us Himself in the holy Eucharist as a substitute for His presence in the flesh. In ways like these we shall not merely find inexhaustible matter of devotion, but shall take the best means of sustaining our faith in that high mystery, which is especially designed, not only to keep up the memory of Christ, but to preserve us in perpetual union with Him. They use words without meaning who speak of a Real, without a Substantial Presence. If our Lord be present otherwise than substantially, He is but present *in effect*, not in Person. If He be not contained whole and entire under the sacramental species, He is not personally present in His Church at all; and we never can gain the assurance of that real presence to our own exceeding comfort, without appropriating as a fact, and not merely accepting as a doctrine, this great and most blessed verity.

"And secondly, we may, not at particular holy seasons alone, but at ordinary times also, both make the Gospel history our living rule of life, and strengthen our faith in our Lord's sacramental Presence, by putting ourselves, as it were, into the place of those of whom we read in Scripture, as having been brought into connexion with our Lord when in the flesh. From the Altar, as from the Mount, or in the Temple, our Lord dispenses instruction; let us place ourselves among His hearers: in the Tabernacle of His concealment He withdraws Himself from the world, as in the holy house at Nazareth: let us, then, associate ourselves with Him in His retirement, and entreat Him to hide us from the world. When He traverses—not our streets, alas! for they are not worthy of such a blessing, and must be left without miracles of love, because of the unbelief which domineers in them—but our religious houses or our sacred enclosures, let us fall down before Him, and imagine

ourselves the blind man who begged of Him, with eager importunity as He passed along, and let us say : ‘ Jesu, miserere mei ; Jesu, miserere mei.’* Or when He is borne by consecrated hands to the bedside of the dying, let us, like the faithful woman in the Gospel, seek to touch the hem of His garment, or to rejoice in the light of His Presence, if haply we may come in for some chance benediction, some miracle by the wayside. Thus would the books of inspiration become to us as living oracles, instead of being as dead records ; we should be united in spirit through Christ with our brethren of past ages ; we should feel ourselves children of the same family with those who are no otherwise separated from us than by difference of time and place, which are in fact no essential differences in Him in whom we all are one.”†—p. 274-277.

And on the associating Mary with Jesus, in our devotions for Paschal time—

“ And in truth it is no alien subject to which the custom of the Church invites us, when it asks us to honour Mary while commemorating the victory of Jesus. Whatever exalts Jesus rejoices the heart of Mary. Therefore the Church sings all this season : ‘ Regina cœli lætare, quia Quem meruisti portare, resurrexit sicut dixit.’ Moreover His exaltation was also hers. Can we think that she enjoyed the privilege of a mysterious participation in His Passion, without also sharing the glory, and not merely the joy, of His Resurrection ? If it be said, even of us, ‘ Compatimur ut et conglorificemur,’‡ how much more is it true of her, that her mysterious Compassion was the step to a no less mysterious share in the glorious Resurrection of her Divine Son !

“ It is suitable, therefore, that the time of honouring our Lord’s Resurrection should be no less the time of honouring His blessed Mother. She, too, like her Divine Son, took leave of sorrow when she left the Cross. That holy Sabbath, when His Body rested in the sepulchre, her maternal soul also rested in hope ; and it was something like a real resurrection which her Divine Son announced to her, when He came to her all shining with light and radiant with glory on the great Easter morning. And although Holy Scripture withdraws from our view the record of her high career during the great Quarantine, yet doubt we may not that her path was strewn the while with flowers, yea with the flowers of May.

“ The next we hear of her is on the Day of Pentecost, when we find her name among the Apostles at the council of the Eleven.‡

* St. Matt. ix. 27, &c.

† See Col. iii. 11. ‡ Rom. viii. 17.

‡ Acts i. 14.

She who, when we last saw her, was 'Mater dolorosissima,' now reappears as 'Regina Apostolorum.' During these forty days the Eleven had been gifted with high powers; the Prince of the Apostles had received authority over the flock of God, and all his brethren were made sharers of his great privilege. If *they* are exalted through the Resurrection, had not She received a yet higher place of dignity? Yes; from the great Easter-day Christ entered on the course of which His Ascension was the termination. His blessed Mother, too, entered, at the same time, on her career of glory; from the day of her Son's Resurrection, this earth was no longer worthy of her; the choirs of heaven were impatient of her absence; and having presided over the beginnings of the Church, as before she had guarded the infancy of its Lord, she was ready to be assumed up into heaven, that, at the right hand of her Divine Son, she might watch over His earthly family from a higher eminence, help it by a more effectual aid, and shield it by a more commanding patronage."—p. 230-231.

We might exemplify this characteristic of Mr. Oakeley's mind, even more strikingly, from the Sermon "On the Month of Mary;" from that "On the Worship of the Holy Trinity;" and especially from the admirable discourse on "the Christian Soul, a Sanctuary of the Holy Ghost." But our limited space compels us to withhold several passages, from these and other discourses, which we had marked for extract.

In those which we have given, the reader cannot fail to be struck by the singular union of perfect simplicity with exceeding elegance and even a high degree of poetical adornment. The secret of this rare and enviable success is to be found in the profoundly religious character of the preacher's mind. It is hard to dwell upon the generalities of religion, without falling into vagueness and mysticism; nor is it easy even to approach the region of poetry, without becoming dreamy and unsubstantial, and realizing the character of the "sounding brass and tinkling cymbal." Nevertheless, no one can read even these brief specimens of Mr. Oakeley's style, without feeling that, strange as may seem the combination, it is at once ornate and simple; that his theories are general and comprehensive, but yet most definite and unmistakeable in their application; and that, even where his sentiments, his language, and his views are most highly poetical, they are always solid, impressive, and practical, in the highest degree. He can philosophize with security, because his philosophy is the simple philosophy of religion; his ornament is

never out of place, because it is drawn exclusively from holy things; and no portion of his discourses is more thoroughly practical than that which is at first sight most poetical, because he never indulges a poetical thought except those which are borrowed from the language, the ceremonies, or the ordinances of the Church. Above all, we have seldom met a writer more felicitous in the use of scriptural thought, scriptural imagery, and scriptural language. Far from producing in his page the effect by which it is too frequently attended—an appearance of dryness and dogmatism—it becomes in his hands one of the most striking elements of the beauty as well as the strength and effectiveness of his manner; because it is not inserted or overlaid upon the subject, but forms part and parcel of it. It is the substance and framework of his style.

We cannot bring these hurried observations to a close without venturing a suggestion, which, if it should appear officious, the incidental mention of Staudenmaier will, we trust, appear to justify. Are we not entitled to hope, from a pen so eminently fitted for the task as Mr. Oakeley's, a work upon the plan of "The Spirit of Christianity," to which we have already referred? He has already, in some of his contributions to our own pages, executed a part of the work; and although it is not our province to judge of the execution of this portion, we believe we are but echoing the universal voice when we say, that it has at once established his own eminent fitness, and excited the anxious desire of the Catholic public, for a complete and systematical treatise upon the subject.

ART. IX.—*Compitum; or the Meeting of the Ways at the Catholic Church.* London, Dolman: 1848.

WE welcome with joy the commencement of a new work from the long silent pen of Mr. Kenelm Digby, for although he seeks to shelter himself under a modest incognito, even while half apologizing to such as may

recognise him, for seeking again to engage their attention, there is no mistaking the author of the *Mores Catholici* in the volume before us; and those who have delighted in that singular work, will rejoice to see that the plan of the *Compitum* promises one of equal length; that plan is so fully developed in the first volume, that we feel it no injustice to the work to introduce it to the attention of our readers in this incomplete state. In this work, as in his former ones, Mr. Digby has taken one broad, simple, and leading idea for his subject, from which he never suffers himself to be diverted, pursuing it through endless ramifications of thought, and illustrating it in a style so peculiarly his own, that we must be pardoned for saying a few words concerning it. It would almost seem as if, wearied with the continued clash of argument going on around him, Mr. Digby had determined upon setting it aside, and passing, as it were, within the guard of such as might oppose him, to take their senses by enchantment; high thoughts and lovely illustrations, quaint traits of ancient manners, learned and remarkable quotations, venerable portraits of holy men, slight and familiar things brought into new light—all these, and many more such artistic touches, are used, as a painter brings tint after tint to warm the colouring and heighten the relief of his favourite idea. Those who having discerned the train of reasoning, would desire to guard it with the closeness of the duello, establishing each point as in the presence of an adversary, must be entirely thrown out by the boldness of this author, who enforces his ideas with a depth and earnestness of conviction, which, while it carries with it great authority, seeks rather to raise the feelings of others to its own level, than to soothe or argue with prejudice. The close reasoner may object, that some of the examples given in support of these ideas are exceptional, others too slight to lend weight to a grand theory, that many serve rather as illustrations of the author's idea, than of facts; while of others the bearing upon the argument is not clearly discernible. Upon such grounds as these, we have heard grave accusations against this author's writings, of being too vague and illogical to produce practical benefit. We consider such charges as unjustly brought by those who are too impatient to submit their minds to a train of reasoning, in which they are not suffered to jump to a conclusion, and too critical as to the means employed, to consider the effect produced

by such means. For, observe how single, distinct, and indelible is the impression produced upon the mind by the perusal of these works. All ages, all countries, all minds, from the ancient saint to the scoffing modern poet, have contributed a something to the picture ; but at length, arrayed in this rich and varied garb, we have such a type of the Catholic mind, and of purely Catholic manners, as cannot be contemplated without an elevation of the mind, and a purifying of the moral taste ; and which once fully admitted into the mind, continues there a fixed and most salutary standard. Who needs to be told that such a type is in itself an argument, nay, the very pith and marrow of all argument ? The *truth* itself presented thus in action and life-like to our affections, all objections give way, all contradictions are reconciled and find their place before it. In the *Mores Catholici*, we see the Catholic Church battling with the elements of rough fierce ages, and gradually moulding them into accordance with her own spirit. The present work seems to have taken up the same design, but with a modification rendered necessary by the different character of the time we live in. Those ages have passed away in which the Catholic Church, although battling with the world, still held therein a sovereign position, which the good and the bad alike admitted with deference ; she must now win her way with those who hold aloof alike from her authority and from her love. To point out the affinity which exists between the church and these—we will not call them rebellious children, but aliens from her pale—the predisposition which the nature of man, wherever it exists in an ingenuous and unperverted condition, will have to receive that system which was expressly intended to train up such a nature to perfection ; and how instinctively men in such a condition, fall into that mould of simple, generous, and thoughtful manners, of which the type is to be found only in society as it exists under the direction of the church, is the great aim of this work. It is one which this author is eminently fitted to carry out, and up to a certain point, he has done so with great success ; but at this point there ensues a sense of disappointment, such as we feel when with some of our protestant friends, who ought to be Catholics—but are not—a pondering upon the facts before us, and the mysteries of faith infused, and, at length, a feeling of depression and of unfulfilled expectation, which, in our

opinion, shows the present work to be more imperfectly conceived, although not less admirably executed, than the *Mores Catholici*. It is time, however, that we should suffer our author to speak for himself, and explain his own views, which he does by two beautiful illustrations. The first he introduces by a description of the "old ancestral mansion, still right firm and strong, though somewhat declined and time-worn, of a very ancient family that had ever remained constant to the Catholic Church," and of its owner, "one of those, I believe, as far as regards the world and its society, of whom the sacred text predicteth, saying, 'Sedebit solitarius, et tacebit; quia levabit se supra se ;' probably, too, a living instance of what Savonarola says, 'in proportion as men cultivate the graces of contemplation, they choose a mode of life more and more simple, being content with fewer and fewer things, daily becoming more simple and retired, averse to living with the multitudo, and earnest in seeking the flowery pastures of eternal life.'" The author then continues :

" Reader, in whatever direction we look, the ruins of noble ages are disappearing fast. Each year some fragment falls. Under such an impression, it is therefore natural to wish that there might be an attempt to contrive some means of possessing a source of interest, if not as great, at least analogous and less quickly perishable, by forming a book that might correspond with the mind and conversation of that representative of other times —a book in which, as in such a house, the noise of the present change-loving generation would be excluded ; so that, however we might be disposed to admire or to disapprove of what now agitates the crowd, there would be here an absolute silence, if not a total ignorance, concerning it : a place in which we might find, as it were, chambers all strewed with rolls and records derived from ancient times ; some in long parchment, and worm-eaten and full of canker holes ; others in clasped locks, breathing the peaceful thoughts of the illustrious men in days of yore : antique pictures, such as those, I mean, that seem actually to place the dead again upon their feet, grand imposing figures like those portraits by Titian and Don Diego Velasquez de Silva : then stores of almost endless variety, accumulating from many ages —all things in disorder, perhaps, covered with dust and cobwebs, not the least trace of the art or desire of producing effect— ' Nostracisms and barbarisms,' as the author of the Rule of Hermits says, the reader will find in his work,* nevertheless, along

* *Regula Solitariorum*, i. ap. Luc Holstein. *Codex Reg.*

with things foregone and mildewed heaps, much that is valuable, interesting, instructive, deeply affecting perhaps, capable of reviving long-banished and impressive thoughts, or of awakening curiosity to inquire respecting things that had been never learned. I may err ; but methinks many would desire a book to which they could turn thus, as they would visit one of these old retired and half-forgotten mansions in the country, where no modern changes or frivolities have had influence or access ; full of ancestral traditions, ancestral faith, ancestral manners, *nova ibi verba, quia vetusta*, as Sidonius Apollinaris says.*"—p. 4, 5.

But further on the author suggests a more fixed aim and plan, to which we cannot do justice without using his own words :

" On the elevated range which prematurely hides the setting sun from a city of France, whose ancient is better than its recent fame, and yet in which many of this age have followed gentle studies in their youth, there is a gloomy forest bearing the venerated name of the great saint, whose huge abbey towers still form one of its chief ornaments. With students of that land, which in days of yore the Bretons styled the country of forests, he often took an evening walk outside the gates, to gaze from a distance on that tranquil scene ; but during the summer months coming to reside at the very skirts of the wood, the stranger became familiar with many of its secrets. In the house where he was lodged, there was a small upper room of which the window received the light of the setting sun, and displayed in full beauty the vast undulating tract of the forest as far as the eye could reach. An old map of all its alleys, suspended there time out of mind, was the only decoration of that little delicious chamber, and on that map he used often to trace his walks, unravelling the intricate mazes through which he had wandered during the day. A certain Palmer-like guest one night, as he remained with him alone, observed that it would be well to draw out a map of the intellectual forest through which men travel from youth to age, noting each turn of the various tracts that predeces-sors, as if with human feet, have worn, and showing how wonder-fully nature has provided avenues and attractive openings to guide all pilgrims safely to their end. There was, besides, here a local peculiarity, which seemed to add a peculiar force to the suggestion ; for, far in the level forest's central gloom was one bright spot where stood a convent, girt by a smooth sunny lawn, towards which innumerable paths conducted from all sides the least practised wanderer. Once a monastery of Augustine Friars, a holy sisterhood now pos-sessed it ; the Lady abbess, an aged woman of noble blood, and of more noble mind, whose prayers were sought for by former emperors

and more recent queens, had for her chaplain a real man of God, and now it is to be believed with Him, enjoying the peace he ever loved. Truly the house he lived in was a type of the serene interior world in which he spent his days ; and may this passing tribute to his memory be received with indulgence, as part of the debt of friendship that is now sanctified by death.

" This ancient forest, this vast intricate labyrinth of boughs, through which were found so many paths proceeding from all sides, and yet all centring thus in a religious house, seemed to the stranger to present a lively image of that mysterious existence which the mortal race is leading upon earth : for so in the centre of the vast wilderness through which our spirits wander the Catholic church stands alone, with all ways concentrating and meeting in it ; along all of which signals and crosses have been set up to show how every path leads to it, even when men desire most to stray the farthest.....

" But if we take a lvantage of the peculiar feature presented by this tract of the land of forests, where all ways converge in a centro representing that point towards which, as we shall prove, the human spirit tends, which the Greeks, as if endued with true knowledge, called *τέλος*, the last end, referable itself to nothing else, but to which all other things are to be referred, we shall find that it is in an especial manner one of those figures which St. Isidore says are of the greatest utility, by enabling men to explain things much more easily than by any other mode of discourse ;* that it induces a train of thoughts which may lead us far delightfully over ground abundantly fruitful in the riches of solid learning : for it will not be useless or difficult to show how through this tangled forest of life, darksome and intricate as it may at first appear, there are innumerable roads which all conduct men to the citadel of truth, if they would only follow the directions afforded them on each side, reading the signals set up, as it were, by the hand of God, to direct the pilgrim wandering safe through every way, and then, that having such signals, it is not pardonable to go astray in this journey, which may render us worthy of the eternal home.

" It shall be our object then, in the following books, to show, not only, as the historian says, ' that all those things for which men plough, build, or toil, obey virtue,' but that all words and scenes,— whatsoever may be spoken or beheld, the tastes, passions, prejudices, interests, that sway each being, all sources of ideas, even to the weak touch that moves the finest nerve, and in one human brain causes the faintest thought, shall at some time or other wait upon her purposes in the highest religious acceptation of the term, either guiding or binding men to the Catholic Church, where nought enters of what validity and pitch soever but falls into abatement and low price, being lost in the general effalgence." —p. 6, 7, 8.

* D. Isidori De Summo Bono, lib. iii. 14.

Between these two illustrations, a correct idea may be formed of the book, so far as it has proceeded. The first would certainly not do justice to its purpose, but it is equally certain that the second suggests a purpose which has not been, and, we believe, cannot be carried out. Nothing can be more beautiful than the second and third chapters, the "Road of Children," and the "Road of Youth;" the author describes both states with the love of one who has known them in their happiest aspect; he dwells upon the love the Catholic Church bears to them, all the protection she affords, all the sanctity with which she invests them, but the little ones he describes are the nurselings of the Church, already within her pale, the road to heaven straight before them, and the qualities of their nature so trained by her gentle ministration as to be no hindrances, but helps upon that guarded way which she has opened to them. Alas! when we turn from these radiant pictures to those who are without, we find ourselves involved in a deep mystery, one which our author appears to us to avoid, and which, indeed, he is not well qualified to approach; he who takes delight to bring the wisdom and truth of all ages into unison with the source of all truth, has ever seemed to us to shrink from including Protestants in this charitable harmony, regarding them more as antagonists, than as those who, sitting before the Church's open gates, and basking in the light which issues thence, are yet unable to arise and enter, unable even to see from whence comes all that they unaffectedly hold dear and precious; yet unless we can adopt such a view, bowing our understandings before the dispensations of Providence, we must feel disappointment upon reading these chapters. Lovely, indeed, is childhood's sweetness, its loving nature, its trusting faith, and quick appreciation of what is beautiful and true; even more delightful are the gallant frankness, high courage, and simplicity of youth, its scorn of what is hollow and base, its docile veneration of what is great and worthy;—but whither do all these things lead? *not* to the Church on earth—the facts are against us, and from them we cannot escape. In point of argument, the chapter upon "the Family" is perhaps open to the same objections, but its beauty and completeness make us inattentive to this want; there is not a relation in life that is not touched upon in the short space of a chapter; and a glow of spirituality infused into them, which

makes us sensible how much of the effect upon us of those familiar words and things by which we are surrounded, depends upon the spirit by which they are animated. We pass over the "Road of Servants" and the "Road of Hospitality," full of interesting reflections; that upon "Home" is exceedingly remarkable. How profound is the opening remark, which explains so many of our author's peculiar and beautiful observations upon details.

"The pagan, in modern as in ancient times, may boast of nature, while he rejects faith; but 'he has cast nature off, which is her shield, and nature casts him off who is her shame.' The Catholic Church attracts those who love the simplicity of natural manners, by the harmonies of a restored creation. Hear St. Odo, abbot of Cluny: 'Medicine sometimes cures similar by similar, and contrary by contrary things. Coming therefore to us in our sickness, our great Physician administers some things similar and some contrary to our state; for coming as man to man, He agrees with us in the truths of nature, though as the Just coming to sinners He differs from us in the rigour of justice.*' St. Bonaventura also says, that 'as man consists of a double nature, corporal and spiritual, he must work double operations, that according to both natures he may be directed to eternal things by right intention, that thus the whole man with all his spiritual family may be well ordered and kept in peace, and made a kingdom to God.'† The Catholic religion, therefore, is not presented to us as separated from nature, but in conjunction with it forming a grand whole, fostering all the domestic affections with manhood, gentleness, liberality, and all the virtues which conduce to the happiness of home, banishing not more the luxuries which militate directly against the social state in general, than the false notions of spirituality which would interfere with the free action of the natural relations; for as a recent author says, 'the beauty, peace, unity, and truth of life repose on that religious equilibrium which protects the flesh against the pride of the spirit, and the spirit against the invasions of the flesh.'‡ A desire of conformity with nature, therefore, in which the sweets of home consist, leads to the Church as to God, 'qui creando nobis dedit naturam,' to use the words of Pope Innocent III., 'qui redimendo dedit gratiam, et salvando dabit gloriam.'§ For, in truth, nothing is so natural as Catholicity—nothing so full of heart—nothing so favourable, therefore, to all the sweets of home. Virgins and boys, mid-age and

* S. Odonis, Abb. Mor. in Job, lib. xxiv.

† De septem itineribus æternitatis.

‡ Moreau, *Considerations sur la vraie Doctrine*.

§ Inn. III. *De sacro altaris mysterio*, lib. ii. 61.

wrinkled elders, soft infancy that nothing can but cry, all are in the secret of its charm."—p. 206-207.

This chapter is well placed after that upon "Hospitality," the bounteous liberality recommended in the one, and the simplicity so quaintly set forth in the other, give an idea of a delightful sort of housekeeping. How feelingly are the inconveniences of ostentation deplored.

"' You can go to no expense so magnificent,' says Angelo Pandolfini, combating luxurious habits, 'but you will have persons to criticise and condemn it as deficient. Always there will be either too much or too little. Take, for example, a dinner; though a civil matter, and almost a tax, to preserve the sweet familiarity of friends, yet to how many solicitudes, and vexations, and fatigues will its preparation expose you! I omit the loss, the confusion of the whole house. Add the annoyances to be endured during and after the dinner for what is wanting or redundant,—fatigues incredible, which hardly entitled you to be regarded as soon as the smoke of the kitchen is out.'"—b. i. p. 211.

Truly delightful to the imagination is the great building, the material home, round which all the joys, duties, and charities of life might so suitably cluster,—the noble houses, so stable, preserving the memories of generation upon generation, so vast, that all might find room to expand in them, and all facilities for private retirement or for large gay meetings; how grand would such a house be with its noble chapel, library, and hall, looking out upon the open country, and attracting troops of friends, rich and poor, to rejoice in its bounteous and joyous liberty. Imagine the pleasure of filling and vivifying such a house, as that which a modern traveller occupied at Genoa.

"' Here,' saith he, 'you may wander on from room to room and never tire of the wild fancies on the walls and ceilings; here are corridors and chambers which are never used or rarely visited, to which one scarcely knows the way; and a great hall fifty feet in height, with three large windows at the end overlooking the whole town of Genoa, with its churches and monasteries pointing up into the sunny sky.'"—b. i. p. 224.

We could not but smile at the description of the gentleman's *own room*, so like what you often find appropriated

* *Governo della Famiglia.*

to the master of the house,—generally the worst room in it.

“ ‘Choose,’ says St. Paulinus, ‘a fitting place in the house, remote from the noise of the family, in which, as in a port of safety, you may keep aloof from the tempest of cares, and compose yourself to tranquillity.’* So, in the French royal archives, there is mention, in the year 1406, of the chamber called *le retrait de la reine*. ‘Hear my project,’ says Don Juan Roca, in Calderon’s play, entitled ‘The worst is not always certain :’ ‘I have in my house a closet in which are only books and old papers, and where no domestic ever enters. There you can hide yourself.’”—b. i. p. 227.

But it would be impossible to follow all the incidental and curious traits of manners which follow, giving indications that faith was growing, “not as a faint hot-house plant, isolated, stunted, barren, trimmed, adjusted to be commensurate with the puny dimensions of an English drawing-room, or the wants of a scientific amateur, who seeks only a solitary specimen as a curiosity ; but strong, luxuriant, indigenous, spreading far and wide, deep and lofty, and in its roots and off-shoots inexterrinable,” and amongst them, that moderation and simplicity which would, we believe, be found most advantageous even in the sense of political economists.

“ With the rich all things are rich. They desire that men should gaze with wonder at the gold and silver and ivory and brass of their palaces, like Telemachus on visiting the house of Menelaus, when he compared it with the celestial halls.† And yet there is a silent monitor amidst this pomp that points to the wisdom of the Catholic Church, which ‘in luxury does not behold what the sophist and the advocate of commercial nobility under the influence of modern ideas sees,—the impulse of social activity, and an industry that profits all ; but an inordinate attachment to the frivolities of earth, a crop of parasite plants which exhaust the sap of the tree ; an increase of wants which tends ultimately to the misery of all classes ; an action which concentrates all desires in those channels that lead sooner or later inevitably to moral and social calamities.’”‡ —b. i. p. 215.

The author continues :

“ Let us proceed and examine the further signals yielded by the

* Div. Paulini Epist. ad Celantiam.

† Od. iv. 70. ‡ Le Courtier, Le Dimanche, p. 221.

great aggregate of the family, which are set up to guide those issuing on the roads of the world; for the house has not only by means of the living, direct and indirect instruction, supplied by its union and concord, its servants and guests, its influence on manners by discipline, by its very aspect, and by the recollections with which it was associated—it has also its positive history, its instruction by means of the dead.”—b. i. p. 245.

And he then enters upon a new field, one in which the intelligence, rather than the sensibilities of the heart, is appealed to, and where the indications to the Catholic Church are more direct and clear. He is watchful with a christian’s care, to guard against recommending the vain ostentation of birth, for as he says, “St. Antoninus once beheld a vision of angels seated on a poor man’s roof. No herald can invent or monarch grant, coat arms meet to compete with the glory of that blazon.” Still in the history of every ancient or distinguished family, how many circumstances point to the power and truth of the Catholic Church, the profound convictions under which the pious and heroic deeds of our ancestors were performed, their mottos full of gallantry and faith, the nature of the achievements from which so many derived their arms, these things are obvious; but how much more is there in the secret history of each family, the wicked man cut off by violence, terrible judgments resting upon the oppressor of the poor and the spoliator of the Church, and descending from them to their posterity; and on the other hand, the blessings of peace and a fair lineage upon those who have persevered in faith and quiet well-doing; and most startling of all, the very fact of a long line of Catholic ancestors, to any one who is not ignoble enough to care only for the present. Who would not be inclined to say, “these, my noble forefathers, did not believe in what is base, superstitious, and blasphemous,” and if in casting a regretful glance over the brief but total and gloomy interval which intervened between himself and them, he should find that the parricidal act which separated them, had been the work of some sordid sycophant of the Reformation, would not his heart yearn to disown that act, and to re-unite himself to the heroic race from whom he had descended? It would be impossible to condense the argument of this chapter, or to give an idea of the amusement afforded by the anecdotes of old families and old times, the quaint fragments of old history with which it is richly embellish-

ed. Still more difficult would it be to give an idea of the peculiarly lofty and poetic character of the following chapter upon “Honour.” Here is shown, with an unction not to be described, the true presentment of a noble nature—the high aspirations, the courage and zeal against wrong, the fine sensibility for right, all that we include in the words, “high sense of honour :” these, the finest qualities of our nature, are traced in their devious wanderings, and in that longing after and secret sense of truth which *ought* to lead so inevitably to the Catholic Church. Passing from hence, the author enters again upon a more obvious path, the road of schools ; he has not, however, taken what might be called a beaten track, by observing how directly learning of itself would lead men to recognise the Church ; glancing from this, he points to the immense provision which the Church has made for learning ; the thirst for it which she encouraged, and above all, the use which she alone knew how to make of it ; from her alone this giant’s weapon found fitting direction and control ; and here we must introduce a remark, which strikes us as being an explanation both just and striking, of the different *character* of the importance of letters in those and in the present days.

“‘ Until the sixteenth century letters did not form in society a particular class. The poet was not merely a poet ; the writer had almost always some occupation independent of his writings. Kings and queens cultivated literature ; counsellors of the Parliament, chancellors, or knights, along with monks and bishops, were then the authors of books, for the study of which men were to be prepared in their scholastic years ; but after the foundation of academies a class of writers rose up, whose solo occupation was their pen, and who were called men of letters. In the eighteenth century wit and cleverness became the supreme power, before which all others were to bow ; and the title of man of letters surpassed every other. This led to a change of style ; for letters, no longer the expression of independent convictions and of the universal belief, became an art and a powerful means of action. The artifices of language, the effects which could be drawn from the employment of the choice of words, were the object of a serious and special study. The form gained pre-eminence over the matter ; and those who were skilled in this new art boasted of having created a power which all opinions and all causes would be obliged thenceforth to take into account. But what a terrible responsibility,’ continues Count Molé, ‘rested upon these men ! How necessary is it that those who place themselves at the head of generations which they

are to conduct to good or evil should first reflect on what they have done to be worthy of acting upon minds, and whether before demanding the obedience of others they have learned to respect themselves.''"*—b. i. p. 342.

It was not then from the clash and jar and endless discussion of opinions, that men looked to see the truth emerge—she was not flung like the precious jewel into the whirlpool, that whirlpool of passions and interests, on the brink of which men of worth, beholding with dismay the art and fury of the opponents of all good, perhaps the weakness of those on their own side, can but lift up their hearts to God, hoping that he will defend the right. Truth then descended to us from high places, she was nobly ushered into the world, and the minds of men were alert to apprehend her, and see the characters of her guardians: we will here insert count Molé's graphic description of the fathers of learning in Catholic times.

"' These Benedictins are men with whom one would wish to have lived. They have no pretensions, no affectation, no vanity. When they have genius and wit, it is simply in spite of themselves, and they would avoid it if they could. They repent, but they are sure to return to this sin. On a severe rather than a sombre foundation of character, you see gliding, fugitive, almost veiled traits of refined delicacy and of good humour. The black cowl which rises a little, discloses a pale, sweet, and wrinkled face, which smiles peaceably, and even mocks you somewhat. By the side of these monks—these Mabillons, Archerys, and Montfaucons—there are lay scholars, such as De Boze and Ducange, whose names alone alarm our ignorance, and who are all free from pedantry—amiable, united, simple men, of good and delightful company. The correspondence of all these learned men of Catholic times breathes the sweetest benevolence. The miseries and weakness of the literary life entirely disappear in them. Vanity, detraction, rivalry, plagiary, calumny,—all the bad mean passions of the writing-desk, corrected by the most humble devotion, the most complete obedience, the most sincere humility,—give place only to an excessive ardour for study, and to a mutual friendship, which is constantly manifesting itself. All personal considerations, and the desire of renown, vanish. It is the most moving spectacle in the world. To believe it, one must see how these honourable men endure criticism when just, and combat, or rather refute it simply and gently, when it is erroneous. One who has prepared a vast work, and collected important manu-

* Discourse before the French Acad. March 4, 1846.

scripts, hears that another of his brethren is occupied with the same subject, and immediately gives him up with joy all his materials. Another aids his colleague in his researches, escorts him on his journeys, rejoices in his triumphs. Some old men, cramped with rheumatism, mounted on mules, traverse the rocks and ice of the Apennines with a gourd full of wine and water hanging from their saddle, under a wind that struggles for their cloak and hat all the way, and bring back in triumph five bundles of copied manuscripts. They then fall sick, and begin again as if it was nothing. Happen what will, they are impassible and immovable; provided only that no one in their presence attacks St. Benedict their Father, or the Benedictins. Then they are angry, on condition of repenting and confessing their sin. Their sorrow is sincere and bitter when they are torn from their studies, and charged with secular affairs. Not the least shade of hypocrisy enters into their love of poverty and of studious solitude. As Dom Thierry Ruinart says, 'They had a sincere love for poverty, and they wished that every thing they used should be the simplest that could be found.' When Colbert, after Mabillon had published his *Diplomatique*, sent him a pension of 2000 livres, the learned man refused it. 'I am poor,' he said, 'born of poor parents. What would they say of me, if I should seek in the cloister what I could not have hoped for in the world?' In presence of those singular men, so simple, so calm, and learned, and all whose doctrines and ideas are the contrary of ours, we are riveted with astonishment, as before inhabitants of another planet. The least trace of pomp in their order was repulsive and a scandal to them. Their only combats were in the subterraneous depths of learning amidst the peace of cloisters; and they triumphed with such modesty, that they doubled their victory. Of their adversaries they speak with respect, as holy men 'whose example should teach them to distrust themselves, and to watch carefully against their own judgment being precipitate.' De Rancé had said that Mabillon wrote against his own conviction. Mabillon replied humbly, that he may have been guilty of contradictions and errors, but that he hoped, with the grace of our Lord, that he would never write against his conviction. Then he went to La Trappe, and spent a day with him. 'We embraced,' he says. 'We were both on our knees. He said that sometimes, under the strong impression of a truth, men said things too sharply. I answered, that his book had not in the least affected the respect and veneration which I had for him.' No literary quarrel ever ended like that. It is a pity that the English writer should have forgotten it in his '*Quarrels of Authors*' In continuing to read their correspondence, one is often astonished at the sagacity of these poor and humble scholars. They judged rightly of Italy, France, and England. They were true philosophers. Men of the world have not always this keen and piercing accuracy of glance. The solitary life, now so disdained, is more favourable than one supposes to the observation of human

things. From the depth of his silent grotto, the philosophic spectator has a clearer sight. Sometimes with one word of tranquil irony they can rally a little, without wounding, the faults of those of their own side ; but it is only in extreme cases, when they have to defend their very persons, that they allow themselves even this liberty. In fine, the clearness of their style, the gravity and simplicity of their tone, the solidity and vastness of their researches, their fear of falling into eloquence or elegance, their true modesty, their aversion for disputes, for violent language, and even for the ornaments of style isolate them completely. Their lives are without caprice, as their souls without passions, and their style colourless. It is virtue itself—a sober, close, united stuff, strong and coherent. Every thing with them proceeds from duty, and is directed to usefulness. If they feel their pen yield to a capricious movement, they are alarmed, and believe themselves damned. They march in order, the forehead concealed, the head veiled, each like the other, and with the same grave and gentle pace, regular as one man—true procession of monks, disdaining glory for duty.”—b. i. p. 359-361.

We are sure our readers will not quarrel with the length of this description. But we must now draw to a conclusion, and pass more hastily through the “Road of Travellers,” although containing many beautiful things over which we could well pause ; that portion of the argument contained in the first part of this chapter, our readers will in great measure anticipate, at least all the travellers will, who have seen the length and breadth of the civilized world covered with monuments of the magnificent charity and faith of Catholics, that is, if they are not of those “who would, if power were given, desecrate, efface all Catholic memorials, and lay impious sacrilegious hands on all that is most ancient and holy,” not of those, in short, “who lie three-thirds, and use a known truth to pass a thousand nothings with,” and who consequently “should be once heard and thrice beaten.” As, however, there is a science for every thing, so in this chapter the science of religious travelling is laid down ; a curious one it is, and perhaps of all others the most obsolete, but there are many who would love to revive it, who would hear with joy how to sanctify alike the inconveniences and the pleasures of travel, and who, while delighting in the beauty of nature, would feel it enhanced in interest by tender and pious commune with the saints who have trod the earth like angels, or hidden themselves in mountain, valley, and forest, to make them “vocal with praise.” Kindling with recollections of such lovely scenes, the author here gives

descriptions over which we should pause gladly, for their mere pictorial beauty ; but we must not forget that this is but our introduction to a book which we hope to meet often again, and to see succeeded by many others of the same description.

ART. X.—1. *Annals of the Artists of Spain.* By WILLIAM STIRLING, M.A. 3 vols. 8vo. London : Ollivier, 1848.

2. *Reports of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts ; 5th, 6th, and 7th.* London, 1846-7.

THE ignorance about Spain which prevails in every other country of Europe is certainly wonderful. Many countries of Asia have been better explored. That the religious jealousy of its people, and some additional vague fears connected with it, kept the prying eye of English travellers from its boundaries, we cannot doubt: but even France, except in the shape of a hostile invasion (the natural incarnation of the Gaul) seldom penetrated beyond that huge mountain wall, which sunders—pity it has not done so more effectually—these two neighbouring lands. This utter separation of Spain from the rest of Europe, for several centuries, extends to what might be considered a neutral ground, the vast domain of art. The work before us, which fills up an immense gap in our literature, gives, in the preface, abundant evidence of this. In a rapid analysis of the labours of his predecessors, in England, and on the Continent, Mr. Stirling has shown how little has been known of Spanish painting until very lately, and how inaccurate that little has been. And even at the very present moment, we should doubt whether many, besides a few professed picture-collectors, have any distinct idea of more than three Spanish painters of eminence, Murillo, Velasques, and Ribera, under his Italian *sobriquet* of *Spagnuioletto*. Yet one single Italian city has produced a greater number of artists, whose names are familiar to all that prate about painting. For instance, the three Caraccis, Domenichino, Guido, Albani,

and Guercino, have given a celebrity to the school of Bologna alone, which all the painters of Castile and Andalusia, with Valencia and Estramadura to boot, have not yet procured for the arts of the Peninsula. In addition to the first reason given, of its seclusion from the beat of travellers and collectors, we may account for this on another ground. The patronage of Italian art was much more secular than that under which Spanish art has ever flourished—secular as to persons, places, subjects, and motives. The stern simplicity of Spanish dwellings and Spanish habits, contrasts strongly with the luxurious apartments and splendid galleries of Italian palaces. Hence artists painted for them and for their owners. In other words, the subjects which they too often treated, were in accordance with the voluptuous thoughts of any age or country, and their paintings were liable to all the vicissitudes of other private property, and might be sold or seized, or exchanged, or pilfered, or turned into securities in a thousand ways, which would transfer them to other owners. The cabinet, or gallery, pictures of Italy have thus travelled over Europe, and have made every lover of art acquainted with their authors. And this had taken place already before the great displacer of men and things—foreign invasion—had made wholesale clearances of palaces and churches. But in Spain it could not be so. From Rincon to Murillo, with the exception of the royal painters, whose works were not exposed to commercial risks, the Spanish artists devoted themselves almost entirely to the service of the Church. The architect displayed his skill in raising the splendid cathedrals, Cartujas (*Chartreuses*), or other conventional buildings, which formed the glory of old Spain. The sculptor, who, in modern phrase, would be rather called a carver—for wood was his ordinary material—profaned not his chisel by producing lascivious, or even profane, forms, but laboured his life long on sacred images, or the storied panels of a choir, and produced those life-like speaking representations of holy persons, which strike one with awe in the Spanish churches. And another branch of this art is peculiar to Spain. The silversmiths, or, as Mr. Stirling truly calls them, “sculptors and architects in plate,” (p. 159,) instead of manufacturing, like Cellini, mythological saltcellars, passed their lives in elaborating those magnificent *Custodias*, or *Remonstrances*, of which a few

yet remain, to astonish the traveller, and which are nowhere else to be found.

It required nothing short of sacrilege, carried on by men utterly reckless of its extent, to dislodge these treasures of art; and, unfortunately for Spain, the two most effectual instruments of the crime have been let loose upon her. First, the foreign foe came, not merely as a despoiler, to pillage and ruin, but like a calculating burglar who, before he breaks into a house, has ascertained the value of the plate and money within, and where it is kept; and so, coolly executes his scheme of plunder. Never before did a picture-dealer go through a province at the head of twenty or thirty thousand men, with his list prepared of what paintings he would purchase, and diffident of the success of his profession as a soldier, rely upon the security of his trade as a broker. Soult pulled down his Murillos at the head of his troops, but, under the shadow of their bayonets, took care to make a regular deed of contract with their trustees, in which the buyer had the dictation of his own terms. And after the heartless soldier of the Revolution, who cared little for the curses of the poor whom he spoiled, came the soul-less politician of the modern continental school, who minded as little for their prayers. The suppression of the religious orders, the sale of Church property, and the spoliation and ruin, which followed as a consequence, of magnificent ecclesiastical edifices and establishments, have led to a still further dispersion of the monuments of Spanish art. But there has been one poor compensation in this second and domestic act of Vandalism. The paintings or sculptures thus carried away from their original positions have not been sent abroad, but have been preserved in the country. Miserably placed, badly lighted, wretchedly framed, often horribly neglected, and surrounded with trash of every description, the master-pieces of Spanish art are now to be seen, in the principal cities, collected into what is called a gallery, but what was a church, or a refectory, or a cloister of some convent, never intended, and therefore totally unfitted, for their reception.

In Italy too the same error has been committed, and has been copied everywhere, of tearing away the artist's work from the spot for which he designed, toned and proportioned it, where it was surrounded by accessories to which it was adapted, or which were made expressly to

heighten its effect, and of hanging it on the walls of a hall or gallery, where a painting with colossal figures by Caravaggio is placed perhaps above a minutely finished Breugel, because they fit to the place, but not certainly to the eye or its laws of vision. But at any rate in other parts of Europe some little care has been taken to make the gallery suited to the specimens which it contains, and often costly buildings have been erected for their preservation. The unsettled state of Spain, which has not yet allowed the roads to be mended, has not permitted this attention, at least in the provinces, to the splendid productions of its artists. And greatly do we fear, that, as prosperity returns to that long agitated nation, its first efforts will be manifested far more by an ambition to raise cotton-mills and iron-foundries, than to erect *pinacotheks* and *glyptothecks* for its master-pieces of art. Indeed, more important duties of restoration than this, weigh on the national conscience. And bad as is the present collection of paintings in what are now called their galleries, besides the convenience for inspecting them which is now afforded, we rejoice that the churches are spared the profanation to which the curiosity of the picture-gazer generally subjects the house of God.

But to return. Spanish art is, more eminently than any other, the daughter of Religion ; because, unlike the Italian or Flemish schools, she never turned her back upon her mother, nor called down her censures on herself; but to the end remained her child and handmaid, working faithfully for her, and on her own principles. There never has been in Spain a profane, or to speak more tenderly, a *classical* school of art; a school of nudities, that is, of mythologies, of heathenism, and of the vices. Nay, even more. The extra-religious domain of Spanish painting, would naturally be the same as of its poetry, not the classical, but the romantic, world. In a nation which, up to the very moment when its arts reached a great development, was still engaged in the christian war against the Moslem, in which the spirit of chivalry had been prolonged by its two chief sources, great courage animated by strong religious feeling, we should hardly have been surprised to see the great deeds of the Campeador and his brother heroes immortalized by the pencil, while Mars or Brutus might have been easily despised, beside real and recent and virtuous feats of war. But even in the face of these

more national and noble themes, painting has remained, in Spain, true to her maiden-love of the celestial alone ; she has given them up to poetry, and she has disdained aught less elevated than the glory of God and His Saints.

But Mr. Stirling has expressed all this in language which, as coming from one by no means partial to the Catholic religion, will be more striking and convincing than any thing that we can say. We must therefore make room for a long passage from him.

" Spanish art, like Spanish nature, is in the highest degree national and peculiar. Its three principal schools of painting differ in style from each other, but they all agree in the great features which distinguish them from the other schools of Europe. The same deeply religious tone is common to all. In Spain alone can painting be said to have drawn all its inspiration from Christian fountains, and, like the architecture of the middle ages, to be an exponent of a people's faith. Its first professors, indeed, acquired their skill by the study of Italian models, and by communion with Italian minds. But the skill which at Florence and Venice would have been chiefly employed to adorn palace-halls with the adventures of pious Æneas, or ladies' bowers with passages from the *Art of Love*,—at Toledo, Seville, and Valencia was usually dedicated to the service of God and the Church. Spanish painters are very rarely to be found in the regions of history or classical mythology. Sion hill delights them more than the Aonian mount, and Siloa's brook than ancient Tiber or the laurel-shaded Orontes. Their pastoral scenes are laid, not in the vales of Arcady, but in the fields of Judea, where Ruth gleaned after the reapers of Boaz, and where Bethlehem shepherds watched their flocks on the night of the nativity. In their landscapes it is a musing hermit, or, perhaps, a company of monks, that moves through the forest solitude, or reposes by the brink of the torrent : not there

*" Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet
Ducere nuda choros."**

" Their fancy loves best to deal with the legendary history of the Virgin, and the life and passion of the Redeemer, with the glorious company of Apostles, the goodly fellowship of Prophets, and the noble army of Martyrs and Saints ; and they tread this sacred ground with habitual solemnity and decorum..... Far different [from those of the Italian artists] were the themes on which Murillo put forth his highest powers. After the ' Mystery

* 1 Horat. Carm. lib. iv. v. 5, 6.

of the Immaculate Conception,' he repeated, probably more frequently than any other subject, the 'Charity of St. Thomas of Villanueva;' and it was his finest picture of that good prelate, inimitable for simplicity and grandeur, that he was wont to call emphatically 'his own.'*

"The sobriety and purity of manner which distinguished the Spanish painters, is mainly to be attributed to the restraining influence of the Inquisition. Palamino † quotes a decree of that tribunal, forbidding the making or exposing of immodest paintings and sculptures, on pain of excommunication, a fine of fifteen hundred ducats, and a year's exile. The holy office also appointed inspectors, whose duty it was to see that no works of that kind were exposed to view in churches and other public places. Pacheco, the painter and historian of art, held this post at Seville, and Palamino himself at Madrid.....Another cause of the severity and decency of Spanish art, is to be found in the character of the Spanish people. The proverbial gravity—which distinguishes the Spaniard, like his cloak—which appears in his manner of address, and in the common phrases of his speech, is but an index of his earnest and thoughtful nature. The Faith of the Cross, nourished with the blood of Moor and Christian, nowhere struck its roots so deep, or spread them so wide, as in Spain. Pious enthusiasm pervaded all orders of men; the noble and learned as well as the vulgar. The wisdom of antiquity could not sap the creed of Alcala or Salamanca, nor the style of Plato or Cicero seduce their scholars into any leaning to the religion of Greece or Rome.....After all the revolutions and convulsions of Spain, where episcopal crosses have been coined into dollars to pay for the bayoneting of friars militant on the hills of Biscay, and the Primacy has become a smaller ecclesiastical prize than our Sodor and Man; it is still in Spain—constant, when seeming most false—religious, when seeming careless of all creeds—that the pious Catholic looks hopefully to see the Faith of Rome rise, refreshed, regenerate, and irresistible.‡ Nurtured in so devout a land, it was but natural that Spanish art should show itself

* chap. xii. p. 876.

† Pal. tom. ii. p. 138.

‡ "See the able article on 'Spain,' in the 'Dublin Review,' No. xxxvi., art. 4, containing an interesting sketch of the present state of the Spanish Church, which, though drawn by the too favourable hand of an enthusiastic partisan, displays that knowledge of the subject in which some zealous Protestant travellers who have lately written books about it, are so lamentably deficient, and the absence of which few of their Protestant readers ever seem to detect."

devout. The painter was early secured to the service of religion. His first inspiration was drawn from the pictured walls of the churches or cloisters of his native place, where he had knelt a wondering child beside his mother, where he had loitered or begged when a boy : to their embellishment his earliest efforts were dedicated, out of gratitude, perhaps, to the kindly Carmelite or Cordelier who had taught him to read, or fed him with bread and soup on the days of dole ; or who had first noticed the impulse of his boyish fancy, and guided 'his desperate charcoal round the convent walls.' As his skill improved, he would receive orders from neighbouring convents, and some gracious friar would introduce him to the notice of the bishop or the tasteful grandee of the province. The fairest creations of his matured genius then went to enrich the cathedral or the royal abbey, or found their way into the gallery of the sovereign, to bloom in the gardens of Flemish and Italian art. Throughout his whole career the Church was his best and surest patron. Nor was he the least important or popular of her ministers. His art was not merely decorative and delightful, but it was exercised to instruct the young and the ignorant : that is, the great body of worshippers in the scenes of the Gospel history, and in the awful and touching legends of the saints, whom they were taught from the cradle to revere. 'For the learned and the lettered,' says Don Juan de Butron, a writer on art in the reign of Philip IV., 'written knowledge may suffice ; but for the ignorant, what master is like painting ? They may read their duty in a picture, although they cannot search for it in books.* The painter became, therefore, in some sort a preacher ; and his works were standing homilies, more attractive, and perhaps more intelligible, than those usually delivered from the pulpit. The quiet pathos, the expressive silence of the picture, might fix the eye that would drop to sleep beneath the glozing of the Jesuit, and melt hearts that would remain untouched by all the thunders of the Dominican.'—vol. i. pp. 10-16.

But we feel sure that our readers will desire us to expatiate on this topic even further. It is our earnest wish to encourage the feeling, or rather to establish the principle, that religious art will make religious artists, and cannot be carried on without them. It is well known that early Italian art was not only eminently Christian, but either produced, or nourished in holiness, such men as the Beato Angelico, Simone Memmi, and Fra Bartolomeo. Now Spanish art will be found to have done the same. We will begin with an illustrious example. But first we

* 'Discursos Apologeticos.' Madrid, 1626. 4to. p. 36.

must give some account of the rise of art in Valencia, to the school of which it belongs. Mr. Stirling thus describes it:—

"The city of Valencia, so full of beauty and delight, says the local proverb, that a Jew might there forget Jerusalem, was equally prolific of artists, of saints, and of men of letters. Its fine school of painting first grew into notice under the enlightened care of the good archbishop, Thomas of Villanueva. Illustrious for birth, piety, and benevolence, and admitted after his death to the honours of the Roman Calendar, this excellent prelate, once a favourite preacher of the Emperor Charles V., became a favourite saint of the south, rivalling St. Vincent Ferrer, and receiving, as it were, a new canonization from the pencils of Valencia and Seville. There were few churches or convents, on the sunny side of Sierra Morena, without some memorial picture of the holy man, with whom almsgiving had been a passion from the cradle, who, as a child, was wont furtively to feed the hungry with his mother's flour and chickens, and, as an archbishop, lived like a mendicant friar, and, being at the point of death, divided amongst the poor all his worldly goods, except only the pallet whereon he lay. These pictorial distinctions were due not only to his boundless charities, but to his munificent patronage of art, which he employed, not to swell his archiepiscopal state, but to embellish his cathedral, and to instruct and improve his flock."—vol. i. pp. 353-4.

A Saint then has the honour of being the founder and patron of the school of Valencia; and we need not be surprised if it had saints among its artists. One of its greatest ornaments, both in skill and in virtue, was Vincente de Juanes, more generally known by the name of Juan de Juanes. Mr. Stirling shall once more speak for himself, and give an account of this great artist:—

"Being a man of a grave and devout disposition, his fine pencil was never employed in secular subjects, nor in the service of the laity, but wholly dedicated to religion and the Church. Cumberland, in 1782, doubted if any of his pictures were even then in lay hands. With this pious master, enthusiasm for art was inspiration from above, painting a solemn exercise, and the studio an oratory, where each new work was begun with fasting and prayers. His holy zeal was rewarded by the favour of the doctors and dignitaries of the Church. For the archbishop he designed a series of tapestries on the life of the Virgin, which were wrought for the cathedral in the looms of Flanders. He was largely employed by the chapter, and for most of the parish churches of the city; and many of his works adorned the monasteries of the Carmelites, Dominicans, Jesuits, Franciscans, and Jeronymites.....He was

also honoured by commands far higher than those of abbots and archbishops, and which were amongst the highest marks of heavenly favour that could be given to the devout artist. On the evening of an assumption-day, the Blessed Virgin revealed herself to Fray Martin Alberto, a Jesuit of Valencia, and commanded that her picture should be painted as she then appeared, attired in a white robe and blue mantle, and standing on the crescent-moon ; above her was to float the mystic dove, and the Father Eternal was to be seen leaning from the clouds, whilst her Divine Son placed a crown upon her head. To execute this honourable, but arduous task, the Jesuit selected Juanes, whose confessor he was, and described to him with great minuteness his glorious vision. The first sketches were, however, unsuccessful : and the skill of the painter fell short of the brilliant dream of the friar. Both, therefore, betook themselves to religious exercises, and to their prayers were added those of other holy men. Every day the artist confessed and communicated before commencing his labours ; and he would often stand for whole hours with his pencils and palette in his hand, but without touching the divine figure, until his spirit was quickened within him by the fervency of his prayers. His piety and perseverance at last overcame all difficulties ; and he produced a noble picture of our Lady, exactly conformable to the vision, which long adorned the altar of the 'Immaculate Conception' in the Jesuits' Convent, and became famous amongst artists for its excellence, and amongst friars for its miraculous powers. In Valencia it enjoyed the title of 'La Purissima,' and was widely known by an engraving ; after the expulsion of the Jesuits, it remained in their church till the War of Independence ; but its subsequent fate has not been recorded."—vol. i. pp. 356-8.

But Spain has, in the truest sense of the word, given birth to a painter-saint. His life is in every respect so beautiful, that though it occupies a considerable space, we cannot resist the temptation of giving it at length, as abridged by Mr. Stirling ; premising only that we do not thereby mean approval of some levities to be found in the narrative.

" Although Spain has produced many devout artists, clerical as well as laic, to Pedro Nicolas Factor alone have the honours of canonization been accorded. His father, Vincente Factor, was a native of Sicily, and by trade a tailor ; and coming to Valencia to seek his fortunes, he there fixed his abode, and married Ursula Estana. The first fruit of this union was a son named Bautista, who afterwards became a grave and learned doctor of law at Xativa ; the second was Pedro Nicolas, who was so called because he was born on St. Peter's day, 1520, and because his father regarded St. Nicolas with peculiar devotion. This auspicious birth

took place in a house adjoining, and afterwards taken into, the Augustine Convent, and in a chamber occupying the spot where the Host was afterwards kept. In honour of the event, the tailor and his wife were wont, in after years, to wash the feet of twelve poor men and a priest every St. Nicolas's day, and gave them a meal, and two reals each in money. The saintly and artistic tendencies of their second son soon began to develop themselves. Whilst yet a child, he took great delight in fasting ; his parents' oratory was his favourite haunt, and to make little altars and images of saints his favourite pastime. Neglecting his lessons one day at school, the fact was maliciously pointed out by another boy to the master, whose leatherthong, which served him for a birch, immediately descended on the shoulders of the future saint, and called forth, not only renewed application, but a display of Christian meekness very rare amongst boys or men ; for the sufferer, as soon as the pedagogue's back was turned, instead of doing battle with the traitor, humbly kissed his hand, and thanked him for his good offices. His food and clothes were frequently given to the poor, and much of his time was spent in the hospitals, and in attendance on the sick, especially those affected with leprosy and other loathsome diseases. Meanwhile he prosecuted his theological studies with great ardour ; and he also acquired a knowledge of painting, although the name of his master has not been recorded. His father, who seems to have thriven by the needle, wished to set him up in trade as a dealer in cloth, and even offered him one thousand ducats for this purpose ; but the monk being strong within him, he resisted the parental entreaties, and entered the Franciscan convent of St. Maria de Jesus, a quarter of a league distant from Valencia, in his seventeenth year. There he became distinguished during his novitiate for his rigorous observance of the rules of the order, and he took the final vows on the first Sunday of Advent, 1538. His life was henceforth devoted to the earnest discharge of all the duties, and to the practice of every austerity which, in the eyes of his country and Church, could elevate and adorn the character of a mendicant friar.

" As soon as he was of sufficient age, he received priest's orders, and was ordained a preacher at the Franciscan Convent at Chelva, a house not unknown to legendary fame. In its garden no sparrows were ever seen, although the adjacent walls swarmed with them, because, in former times, a pious gardener-monk, whose pot-herbs had suffered, and whose soul was vexed by their depredations, had prayed for their perpetual banishment. Amongst the groves, too, of this garden was a cave, called the Cave of Martyrs, because it had been the favourite oratory of two religious, who were afterwards put to death by the infidels of Granada. In these sparrowless shades, Factor spent much of his time ; and, in this cavern, being unable to discipline himself to his own satisfaction, he caused a novice to flog him until his body was lacerated and

empurpled to his heart's content. His zeal for his own flagellation was extraordinary. When he held the post of master of the novices, who were twenty-two in number, in the Franciscan convent of Valencia, reversing the usual position of novice and master, he frequently caused them to flog him by turns, ordering one to give him a dozen lashes for the twelve apostles, another fifteen for the fifteen steps of the temple, and the rest other numbers on similar protsets, until he had received chastisement from them all. If compelled to inflict the scourge with his own hands, he accompanied the strokes with a solemn chaunt. In the choir, at the altar, and in the pulpit, he was equally unwearied in the performance of his sacred functions. Being a good musician, his services were highly valued in the musical parts of worship; and his fame for sanctity attracted many people to the church where he officiated. Whilst engaged in public or private prayer, he frequently fell into ecstasies or raptures, sometimes of long duration, in which he was so unconscious of material things, that sceptical bystanders sometimes thrust pins into his flesh, without exciting his attention thereby. As a preacher, his eloquence and earnestness gained him a high reputation. In the pulpit, his face often became radiant with supernatural light; and, on one occasion, a hen and chickens straying into the church, stood motionless at his feet, as if he had been another St. Anthony, 'which,' says his biographer gravely, 'all men took for a miracle.' His humility was so great, that he would frequently lie down in the cloister, or even in the street, to kiss the feet of the passers-by. His charity was unbounded, and he was rarely seen with any other clothing but his brown frock, because he could not refrain from giving away the under garments with which his friends provided him; and one of his few recreations was to stand, ladle in hand, at his convent door, dispensing soup and 'olla,' and spiritual counsel to the mendicant throng. No saint in the calendar ever fasted more rigorously; or more rigidly went barefoot, and dined to bread and water. Like his great chief, St. Francis de Paula,* he was a determined woman-hater; but in spite of his labours, his mortifications, and his prayers, he was sometimes, like other holy men, tempted by demons in fair, seducing shapes. His severest trial of this kind took place in his own cell on a St. Ursula's night, when he was in great danger of being worsted, had not that Virgin Martyr appeared in a flood of glory, and scared the tempter away.

"In painting, his favourite subject was the Passion of our Lord, on which he endeavoured to model his own life, and which sometimes so powerfully affected his fancy, that he used to retire to solitary spots amongst the hills, to meditate on it with tears. He painted many representations of this religious mystery in his own convent of Santa Maria de Jesus, where the greater part of his life

* St. Francis of Assisium.

seems to have been spent. He frequently, however, visited other religious houses, especially those to which he was guardian, as those of Chelva, Val de Jesus, and Gandia. For these establishments he executed pictures, sometimes in fresco, and not unfrequently illustrated and explained by pious verses of his own composition.

" His reputation for sanctity having spread far and wide, on the establishment of the royal Convent of Barefooted Nuns at Madrid, in 1559, its founder, the Infanta Juana, with the consent of the king, appointed him confessor to the sisterhood. In this nunnery, rich in reliques presented by kings and popes, he executed a picture of ' Christ at the column.' But the ceremonial and distractions of a court-life, soon vexed his austere soul, and led him to determine on returning to the quiet of his Valencian cloister. With his staff in his hand, and his loins girded for the journey, he passed the avenues of the Prado and the gate of Atocha, and turned aside to offer up a prayer in the stately church dedicated to the Virgin of Atocha, one of the oldest and holiest effigies in Castile. As he knelt at her splendid shrine, beneath its lamps of silver, where so many crowned heads before and since have bowed, it is recorded that the image miraculously addressed him in these words : ' Fray Nicolas, why dost thou depart, and forsake the brides of my Son ?' (Porque te vas, y dexas solas las esposas de mi Hijo ?) Amazed and terrified by the portent, the poor confessor remained speechless and trembling until the Virgin, who seems to have spoken merely to try his faith, reassured him by adding, ' Go in peace,' (Vete in buen hora,) which he accordingly did, and arrived safely beneath the shade of his native palm-trees in the garden of Valencia.

" The remainder of his life was spent for the most part at the convent of Sta Maria de Jesus, where he painted the ' Triumph of the Archangel Michael ' in the cloister, and enriched the choir-books with illuminations, and became more and more distinguished amongst his fellow friars for spiritual gifts, frequently holding mysterious colloquies with the image of Our Lady, and ' shining forth in miracles and holiness, like the sun amongst stars.'

" In 1582 he undertook a journey to Catalonia, where he resided for eighteen months, visiting the various convents, and preaching in the principal cities. On his return to Valencia, in November, 1583, he was seized with a fever, which, acting on a frame already exhausted by labours and privation, carried him off on the 23rd of December, in the sixty-third year of his age. On his death-bed he displayed the same humility and devotion, and enjoyed the spiritual distinction for which he had been remarkable through life ; his last wish was to be buried in a dunghill, and the midnight before his decease sounds of celestial music proceeded from his cell. His body being laid out to public view, was visited by the Grand Master of Montesa, many of the nobles, and all the clergy

of Valencia ; and reliques of the dead friar were so eagerly sought for, that a poor student, under pretence of kissing his feet, actually bit off two of its toes before the corpse was consigned to its sumptuous tomb in the chapel. All his sayings and doings were diligently chronicled ; and his friend, Fray Cristoval Moreno, dispatched a monk to Catalonia, to collect the particulars of his last journey, which were afterwards recorded in the life published in 1588 by authority of the Patriarch Juan de Ribera. Numberless examples were there cited of his prophetic and miraculous powers, in which he rivalled his friend, Luis Beltran, who likewise became a saint of great fame at Valencia. Hearing a report of the king's death during the sitting of the Cortes at Moncon in 1563, Factor is said to have retired to his cell, and after inflicting grievous self-chastisement, to have received a communication from heaven, that the report was groundless, as it turned out to be. The victory at Lepanto and the death of Queen Anna were announced to him at Valencia, at the very time that these events were taking place, —the one in the Gulf of Corinth, and the other in the capital of Spain. Countless sick persons were restored to health through his prayers ; and by virtue of a lock of his hair a hosier's wife at Barcelona obtained a safe and easy delivery, and a rector of the same city was cured of gout in his legs. Witnesses were found to make oath, that they had seen on the friar's hands the stigmata, or marks of the nails, like those of our Lord and of St. Francis de Paula (of Assisium.) These and similar prodigies at length obtained for Factor the honours of canonization from Pope Pius VI., who, on the 17th of August, 1786, declared him a 'beato,' or saint of the second order. In 1787, a medal, bearing his head, was struck in his honour at Valencia by the Royal Academy of San Carlos ; and in 1789, a small engraving of the new saint was executed by Moles.

"Factor's pictures," says Cean Bermudez, "although somewhat poor in colouring, displayed considerable skill in drawing ;" and they were full of that devotional expression and feeling that belongs to the pencil that speaks out of the fulness of a pious heart. Unhappily, none of his works are now known to exist, either in the Museum of Valencia, or in the Royal Gallery at Madrid ; perhaps none of them have survived the fall of the convents.....Ponz esteemed the 'Triumph of the Archangel Michael,' in the cloister of Santa Maria de Jesus, as the painter's best work, praising it as worthy of the school of Michael Angelo, and deplored the injuries which it had sustained both from time and neglect.

"Moreno has preserved some fragments of Factor's writings, both in prose and verse. The former consist chiefly of letters addressed to nuns. There is likewise a curious 'Spiritual Alphabet, (*Abecedario Espiritual*), in which each letter begins with a name or title of the Supreme Being,—as A. *Amor mio*, B. *Bien mio*, C. *Criador mio*, and the like. The verses are devotional hymns

on the ‘Love of God,’ the ‘Union of the Soul with God,’ and similar subjects.”—pp. 368-79.

Many other instances may be collected of the piety of Spanish artists. Mr. Stirling thus describes Vargas, an eminent painter:—

“Vargas died at Seville in 1568, with the reputation of a great painter and a good and amiable man. To a natural modesty and kindness of disposition, he added that sincere and fervent piety not uncommon amongst the artists of the age, and so well befitting one whose daily calling lay amongst the sublime mysteries of religion, and required him to fix his contemplations on things above. After his decease, there were found in his chamber the scourges with which he practised self-flagellation, and a coffin wherein he was wont to lie down in the hours of solitude and repose, and consider his latter end. Notwithstanding these secret austeries, he was a man of wit and humour withal; as appears by his reply to a brother painter, who desired his opinion of a bad picture of ‘Our Saviour on the Cross’: ‘Methinks,’ answered Vargas, ‘he is saying, “Forgive them, Lord, for they know not what they do.”’”—p. 313.

Again, Nicholas Borras was not only a painter of great ability, but a religious “of scrupulous piety, and austere habits.”* Fray Juan Sanchez Cotan was another very eminent religious painter. He was hardly known till his forty-third year, when he became a Carthusian monk in 1604.

“This step,” says Cean Bermudez, “greatly aided his progress both in virtue and in painting, and, like other holy artists, he found in prayer his best inspiration.....Fray Juan, at his death, which took place at Granada, in 1627, was reckoned ‘one of the most venerable monks, as well as one of the best painters in Spain.’ ‘He had preserved,’ says Palomino, ‘his baptismal grace and virgin purity;’ his brethren were wont to call him ‘the holy friar Juan.’”†

One of the strangest characters in the history of art is certainly Alonso Cano, a mixture of cleverness in his profession, eccentricity of conduct, and goodness of heart. He was made a Canon of Granada, without being in orders, and the violence of his temper involved him in all sorts of mishaps. But after having been deposed, and

* Vol. i. p. 380.

† pp. 436, 439.

reinstated, through royal patronage, never in Spain refused to art, "the remainder of his life was chiefly devoted to pious exercises and works of charity. Poverty and wretchedness never appealed to him in vain, and his gains, as soon as won, were divided amongst widows and orphans. His purse was, therefore, often empty, and on these occasions, if he met a beggar in the street, whose story touched him, he would go into the next shop, and asking for pen and paper, sketch a head, a figure, or an architectural design, and give it as his alms, with direction for finding a purchaser, at a price which he affixed to it. His benevolence of heart being equalled by his readiness of hand, these eleemosynary drawings were rapidly multiplied, and a large collection of them came into the possession of Palomino."*

His death-bed was most exemplary and edifying, but not without a dash of his two other characteristics—his artistic feeling, and eccentricity of mind. He would not be attended by his own curate, because he ascertained from him that he had given communion to converted Jews, for whom he had an abhorrence almost amounting to a mania, ludicrous in its manifestation. And when the person selected by him to attend him, held before him, in his dying moment, a wretchedly executed crucifix, Cano, with his feeble hand, put it aside. The good man was shocked and reminded him what it was, saying: "My son, what are you doing? This is the image of our Lord, the Redeemer, by whom alone you can be saved." "So I do believe, father," said the dying man, "yet vex me not with this thing; but give me a simple cross, that I may adore Him, both as He is in Himself, and as I can figure Him in my mind."† No one who has seen Alonso Cano's own representation of the Crucifixion, will be astonished at his fastidiousness; we never recollect seeing a picture of it more forcible and striking than one by him at Seville.

But we have in the account of Alonso Cano's death,

* Vol. ii. p. 791.

† Page 798. We have changed the neuter in Mr. Stirling's translation into the masculine. The Spanish would be either, but the last clause shows that the words must refer to our Lord, and not to the cross.

another trait which we would not gladly pass over. He had been most unacceptable to the Chapter of Granada, upon whom he was thrust by Philip IV: he had been in a perpetual quarrel with them, he was at last expelled by them, and reinstated against their will, and we are told that “he never forgave the Chapter for the attempt to depose him.” (p. 795.) Yet when he was taken ill, the Chapter, as appears from entries in its books, not only voted 500 reals on the 11th of August “to the Canon Cano, being sick and very poor and without means to pay the doctor,” but eight days after made a further grant of 200, to buy him “*poultry and sweetmeats!*” It surely was not what we call *charity*, but what *is* charity, that dictated this dulcet vote; so very unlike that of a modern corporation in favour of a decayed brother.

Similarly distinguished in the twofold sphere of religion and art, were Pacheco, Carducho, Cespedes, the greatest artistic genius perhaps of Spain; and if we may judge from their choice of abode and favourite subjects, Morales “the divine,” and Zurbaran. But our readers will be more anxious to know what was the moral and religious character of the prince of Spanish painters, Murillo. We think the inscription chosen by himself for his tomb, as the motto of his life, will, better than many words, describe his principles. It was—

“ VIVE MORITURUS.”

“Live as one who hath to die.” “The friend,” writes Mr. Stirling, “of good Miguel Manara, and the votary of the holy Almoner,” (St. Thomas) “of Valencia, he practised the charity which his pencil preached; and his funeral was hallowed by the prayers and tears of the poor, who had partaken of his bounties. His story justifies the hortatory motto graven on his tomb; he had lived as one about to die.”* In fact, his sacred pictures are so many evidences of his deep religious sentiments.

We have not troubled ourselves, in this review of Mr. Stirling’s work, with mere artistic details. For these we must refer our readers to the book itself. It contains inaccuracies, where religious topics are concerned; and, like all protestant works on Spain, there are to be found in it the common-places of “superstition,” “priestcraft,”

"idolatry," and so forth. But the extracts which we have given will show, that in spite of all that prejudice (too vulgar now to have been expected in a refined and warm-hearted lover of art,) he fully bears testimony to the high religious and moral tone of Spanish artists, as of Spanish art. Independently of this, Mr. Stirling has given us the first work worthy of its subject which English literature possesses. He has not found much that was new, nor was it to be expected. Diligent searchers had gone before him, and had collected valuable materials which Mr. Stirling has ably digested, and most pleasingly rendered and arranged. The dictionary of Cean Bermudez, is a vast storehouse of the literature of Spanish art, and must form the groundwork of any attempt at its history. But besides this, Mr. S. has scrupulously sought out, and diligently employed, every other work, or scattered document, that can further illustrate the style, character, or performances of each great artist. Heartily, therefore, do we recommend his work, and hope to see it, on that very account, purged of those blemishes, which, while they grievously pain every Catholic reader, offend no less against good taste, no mean acquirement in a writer upon art.

While we have been perusing Mr. Stirling's volumes, and indulging in pleasing musings concerning them, they have almost unwittingly brought our thoughts to a subject, not unconnected with their theme. Here we see the natural growth of a grand national school of art, starting with great principles, with recognised types, with sublime, but understood, subjects, with defined limits for the imaginative and inventive powers; and by ever adhering to all these, while every accessory changed with time, producing, with due variety, a unity of purpose, of thought, and of effect, which makes it, essentially and exclusively, the school of a people. Here the mind at once seizes upon the controlling and modifying power, that has effected this: the only real Unity of thought, and mind, and of the affections—Religion. As it created, so it gave growth to, Spanish art. It began and it perfected. The principles, the types, the subjects, the boundaries, all were her prescriptions.

Now we are about to make a great experiment, in connection with art, upon which posterity will have to pronounce, whether it has been a grand triumph or a most

egregious failure. In the first place we are going to apply to art the power of huge mechanical pressure, the grand discovery of our age. The ancient Roman slowly carved and polished his column out of porphyry by steel and sand: we should blow it out of the rock by gunpowder, and cut it like chalk with a steam-saw. The Greek patiently sculptured his statues from the obstinate marble; we squeeze ours in *carton-pierre*, or cast them in pottery, and nickname it *Parian*. We cut iron bars as our fore-fathers cut paper; we shape anything out of anything—out of glass, or gutta percha, or papier-maché, or iron, or felt, or zinc, or clay; material is nothing, if enough pressure can be applied to it. So far it has succeeded, and we are determined to push our principle into the domain of art. What generations of men did it not require to erect one great cathedral! Its upheaving from the soil was the work of centuries, so that the laws which directed it, became one after the other obsolete, and each edifice stands the built-up chronicle of national architecture, on which, from crypt to spire, are recorded in plain hieroglyphics, the revolutions of taste and the developments of mechanical skill. But now in a few years of an architect's life, the Thames sees its banks crowned by an edifice of the dimensions of six or more cathedrals, one in plan, in design, in materials, and in execution. The palace of Westminster is a phenomenon such as the world has not seen since the days of Roman edification. How the old crane on the top of Cologne cathedral would stare, could it stretch its neck far enough, at the aerial railways that bestride the English building, project pensile over its loftiest towers: and marvel at seeing a boy quietly raise to the top, and deposit on its exact bed, a mass which would have made its poor sides ache for half an hour to get up, and much more to steer to its destination! Thanks to our mechanical skill and power for this.

Having thus, as if by magic, erected the building, we are going to try if we cannot succeed in the same manner with pictorial art, to decorate it. Avowedly we have no British school of painting. We have probably the first animal painter, and the best marine painter, and some of the best landscape and portrait painters in Europe. But even so we have no school. Landseer and Stanfield stand alone; our portrait painters make likenesses but not pictures. Our historical painters, though belonging to the

same Academy, copying the same models, and living in the same city, form nothing that approaches to a school. Let any one remember Herbert's House of Nazareth, and Etty's Joan of Arc, hanging together on the same wall, and say what they had in common. Well—having neglected to form and train a national school of art, we are going to try if we cannot create one. On a sudden our usual process is to be undertaken; vast spaces are to be covered with frescoes, beyond what Italy or Spain ever opened to its artists; and the first manifestation of high art is to be, in our country, not a rude embryo, or a promise of greater things, but a magnificent and finished production, embracing every department of sacred and profane, ancient and modern, sea and land, war and peace, fabulous and historical, from Arthur and his round table to Wellington and Waterloo. All this and much more is, in a moment, to be brought into life, there, where Europe, present and future, will be best able to judge us. Can the sudden pressure of ambition, or of gold, produce artistic genius, or at once ripen it, if not before cultivated? Has it ever yet proved a hot-bed plant, and submitted to be forced? This is our first great experiment.

The second, to our minds, is still more serious. In describing, a few sentences back, the range of the subjects adapted for the decoration of the parliamentary edifice, we were obliged to omit one class—the religious. We may truly say that this is necessarily excluded. It is not for a moment our opinion that strictly religious subjects could have been introduced into the series. But this is our point. It is the first time that an attempt has been made to form a great school of art, by the State and not by the Church, through the agency of the head without the heart, with exclusion of the only principle which can give unity of purpose or of manner. In other words, no artist, (and certainly no school of artists,) has ever reached grandeur in depicting the real, who has not deeply imbued himself with enthusiasm from the ideal. And where is this to be found? Greece or Rome found it in Nymphs, or Cupids, or Apollos, or other abstract types of beauty and grace. But these cannot now act on the imagination or affection of any, Christian or infidel. The type to us is as cold as the marble, or as dull as the bronze, which embodies it.

The Catholic Church unveiled to art a new world of the ideal, in two marvellous unions of what before had been

incompatible ; the union of beauty with purity ; and the union of sorrow with divinity. Upon these art has fed and grown till now, wherever it has attained true greatness ; we are going to experimentalize whether she can be made to do so now without them. The separation in mind and imagination of perfect beauty from all that is voluptuous and earthly, the effort by art to produce this cloudless image, this stainless humanity, is surely the most refining process through which the mind can pass, in its preparation for giving life to all that is tender, gentle, fair, and sweet. It is the milk wherewith infant art should first be nourished ; it should be the youthful artist's dream, as it was Raffaele's, when he painted the *Madonna of San Sisto*. And in her alone, whom he thus pourtrayed, has this graceful and sublime abstraction of beauty been fulfilled. If this study is necessary for the tender, the other is no less so for the heroic. The perfection of the heroic is innocent suffering. Yet sorrow, bodily pain, and the outward marks of insult, are of themselves but poor subjects for art. They are opposed to the natural estimate of the sublime ; they are mean in the hands, and in the eyes, of unchristian art. No man could ennable them. Among the works of the ancients, is there one in which even the effort is made to give dignity—not to deep tragic grief, but to abjection, poverty, or the sufferings of a criminal ? The so-called dying gladiator, with the form of a hero, an attitude of consummate skill, and one single wound, comes nearest to the attempt ; and yet it is incapable of moving any tender emotion. We admire indeed, but we pass on to another. But, in fact, so unnatural in ancient art is the idea of exciting any feelings at all by one belonging to the class of a slave, that antiquarians consider the statue to represent a warrior, and not a prize-fighter. Now on the other hand, let us consider what the Christian artist is taught to do. First, he has to imagine wretchedness as deep as may befall man, poverty, scorn, universal dereliction, calumny ; mental anguish, agony, a crushed soul, and a wrung heart ; bruises, buffets, wounds, the halter round the neck, the thorns round the brow, the scourge upon the back, and the cross on the shoulder ; all these in one person combined ; and then, he has to depict him, not dignified, not of noble bearing, not raised in mind, by haughty abstraction, over his woes, but looking out from the midst of

them upon you so sweet, so solemn, so tender, and so bewitching, that you weep, and love, and burn, in looking upon them. The painter must have come up to the conception of the truth, but to his mind the ideal, of the sublime in suffering—the extreme of griefs borne as none but God could bear them. Morales has done this, and has been therefore called the "divine."^{**}

If the study of the Madonna is the most perfect initiation into the tender, that of Our Lord is the surest instruction in the sublime, in art. But where these are not subjects of thought and of frequent representation, neither can they be models of training, or exercises of the powers. It is not the study of such subjects in the works of other artists, it is not the abstract belief in such themes, it is not even the mere artistic or romantic enthusiasm respecting them, that will give inspiration; it is only the firm and devout conviction of the reality of our types, produced by them as familiar objects of daily thought, or rather meditation, that will gradually purify the image of all that is terrestrial, and make it the die which impresses our work with its own truthful likeness. Where devotion is precluded and unknown, towards the two most perfect models of artistic beauty and grandeur, there cannot ever be a school of Christian art. And as there never yet has been a great historical school formed save by this, we repeat, an experiment of a novel character is about to be made, the erection of a national school without the aid of religion.

But there is another difficulty in the way of arriving at anything complete in this new effort to develop art. History in every age comes in contact with religion; and many of the noblest scenes in our annals, as in those of every Christian country, must present many religious and ecclesiastical elements. Yet the traditions which connect the present generation with them have been completely broken, and whatever they contained of the picturesque and the sacred has been ruthlessly consigned to the regions of the legendary and the superstitious. Is this feeling to

* In the Church of the Capuchins at Bruges will be found an exquisite Morales, given to it by Mr. Steinmetz of that city under such conditions as prevents its ever being sold or removed. Mr. Stirling does not mention this picture.

be persisted in, or is it to be reversed? Let us see the consequences of the former alternative, by two or three examples.

Let us imagine that a great national building in France had to be decorated by the combined genius and skill of its great painters; and that the general scheme was to comprise all that was great and noble in the annals of the country, in men and in events. Could we imagine it possible that St. Louis of France would be totally omitted in the pictorial annals thus designed?—that he would not once appear, whether as the sovereign seated beneath the oak, and dispensing justice or favour to every petitioner, or as the soldier of Christ, taking the cross with his nobles, (a splendid scene,) or dying of the plague resigned and patient—kingly and saintly in an ignoble death? Now the place which St. Louis held in the estimation of *his* countrymen, St. Edward the Confessor held in that of *ours*. The laws of good King Edward, were the standard of our forefathers' ideas of legislation. His reign was in fact the dawn of peaceful rule. In it was performed the most important and difficult of all social operations, the complete absorption of one race into another, like that of the Lombards into the Italian, or the Visigoths into the Spanish. The Danes, after forty years of intolerable tyranny, gradually, under his mild sway, melted into the population, and disappeared from the eye of the law. But independent of the importance of his reign in a political point of view, the personal character and incidents of this prince afford a merited, and a most hopeful theme for pictorial art. His wonderful escapes in infancy and in youth from the fate of his murdered brother, his mild and wise legislation, the death of Godwin, his death, with the miraculous token that forewarned him, are all admirable passages for the pencil. But there are two which we should still more like. If, as we hope, this national palace is to be accessible to the people, and its walls are to teach them lessons of virtue united with greatness, would not a salutary one be given to noble and to simple, by the picture of good St. Edward distributing his alms, with his own hands, among the poor? Or would the lesson be too stern for the one, and too suggestive of regret for the past in the other? Again, they who have seen in the old frescoes of Italy what a beautiful and solemn scene is the enshrining, or bearing to the tomb of one whom all men

have loved in life, and revere, as a saint, after death, will easily understand what a splendid and instructive painting the burial, or later enshrinining of St. Edward would make. But really we feel quite ashamed of ourselves, in the face of foreign nations and of posterity, to see this great and holy king totally omitted in the Walhalla of English royalty; while Queen Boadicea, about whose very reality no one cares a rush, and Raleigh throwing his cloak for Elizabeth to walk on, and the murder of Rizzio, are to figure in the Royal Gallery or the Royal Antechamber.

But connected intimately with this saintly monarch is another important consideration. There we are building or rebuilding and decorating, what? Why—his own very palace or abbey. That noble minster to which this edifice will and can be only an adjunct, as its very name testifies, was his foundation, originally built, endowed, and named by himself. Within a few yards of the palace stands his tomb, desecrated without, inviolate within, stripped of its gold and pearls, but rich with his holy remains; by it stands his chair, on which every monarch of this realm has been careful to be crowned, as though anxious to inherit his spirit with his throne; surely as a matter of history and of justice the very founder of the place deserves commemoration. The account of the event furnishes a series of beautiful subjects, illustrative of the manners and feelings of the time. 1. The king announces to his council his intention of fulfilling his vow, made when in distress, to go on pilgrimage to St. Peter's shrine at Rome. The assembled prelates and nobles entreat him not to leave his kingdom. 2. An embassy composed of bishops is sent to the Pope, who substitutes for the pilgrimage, the foundation or restoration of a church and abbey, in honour of the Prince of the Apostles. 3. The King consequently repairs to the small abbey of Thorney, ruined by the Danes, and on its site erects the church which received the name of Westminster. If no other subject is admitted, surely the commencement of what is growing up into one of the grandest groups of buildings in the world, ought to be commemorated in it.

But this brings before our minds another very important omission in the proposed scheme of decoration. There is not one single picture illustrative of the rise or progress of the very arts here employed, or of literature of any sort. And indeed how could such be introduced, without shock-

ing every English sense of propriety? For you must throw open to the spectator the interior of monastic life. You must show the aged monk in a nook of his abbey-library engaged in writing, or in illuminating the great choral books of his church. You must in another compartment, exhibit the monastic workshop. There the thoughtful and intelligent designer stands with his novices, in the midst of shrines, and reliquaries, and pyxes of quaint forms, and precious materials; here one is busy engraving the pure-gold chalice, there another is fitting the alternate jewels and glowing enamels in the costly reliquary; while the heavier metal-work of tomb and altar-screen lies scattered about. In another place you will see the religious artificers conducting the whole manufactory of their glorious glass pictures from the furnace to the window, colouring, drawing, and tinting, with pencils that might have been dipped in the rain-bow, figures, to which heaven's sun was to give life and glory. Again, the carver should be seen, artfully extracting from the gnarled oak features of graceful sweetness, and forcing the rocky stone to yield the image of compassionate sorrow to stand beneath the rood. In fact, to build these very houses of parliament, every old church has been ransacked for models, and thousands of casts have been taken from the works of monastic hands; and not a throne or a gate, scarcely even a lock or a door-handle has been admitted, which has not been copied from the metal-work of those ages, preserved in collections.

Now surely it would be graceful, if not even just, to make due acknowledgment to those to whose ingenuity we owe the first introduction of every fine art, and to whose industry we are indebted for the abundant monuments of labour and skill by which we are now enabled to perpetuate it. But here the difficulty meets us: must this be done at the expense of three centuries of false teaching of the people concerning the "dark ages of monkish ignorance," and must we open to the public gaze, fervid with toil and ingenious production as the beehive, those religious retreats, which they have been taught to consider as only the receptacles of lazy drones, who were well smoked out, if not occasionally burnt, with the faggot of Harry's orthodoxy? We fear that this consideration, this very shame of having told lies so long, will deter the nation from admitting the history of art into the

very palace consecrated to its development. For our part we should say, let tardy justice be done, and let us not be ashamed to own, that when at last, in the middle of the nineteenth century, Great Britain resolves to erect the most sumptuous public building in Europe, she is compelled, to ensure perfection to the work, to borrow every detail, as well as every feature and proportion, from those calumniated ages ; so that no spire, or tracery, or buttress, or niche, or canopy, or crocket, or jamb, or panel, or boss, or bit of metal-work, has been admitted, which could not be justified by monastic, or ecclesiastical models of Catholic times.

What we have said of the decorative arts, may be said of every other branch. How will you represent the rise of architecture, (our *Baukunst* rather) better than as Overbeck has done in his magnificent composition of the arts rising under the auspices of religion ? He has introduced the architect of St. Stephen's at Vienna, explaining his plans to his pupils ; and how could the same be represented in England, except by some one like St. Edward at Westminster, or St. Wilfrid at Ripon, or William of Wyckam at Winchester, planning or watching the erection of our ancient cathedrals, either in their rude germs, or in their grander expansion ? How could you show the rise of national music but as the same great artist has done it, or as was done in a picture now in the Royal Academy, only that instead of St. Gregory, we should have St. Osmund, instructing his choristers in his Sarum chaunt ? How should the first dawn of experimental science be exhibited, but by a peep into the laboratory of Friar Bacon ? How the rise of agriculture better than by the monks of Crowland draining the morass, and changing it into a paradise ? How, in fine, the rise of our great cities more picturesquely than by the good Fathers of Lindisfarne, with their treasure of St. Cuthbert's body, settling on the sedgy banks now crowned by Durham's awful minster ? But in fact on every side, in whatever relates to the social, moral, or literary history of England, we are met by the bugbear of religious prejudices, and by the real difficulties of religious art ; by subjects for which there is no preparation in the artist's training, no store of images or recollections in his mind, no affection or veneration in his heart. They must therefore be set aside.

We are naturally led by the consideration of this sub-

ject, to say a few words on the work already executed in the new Houses of Parliament; because it partly affords a test of the truth of our allegations. The central picture in the House of Lords represents a religious subject, the "Baptism of Ethelbert," and has a counterpart opposite in "The Spirit of Religion." These pictures, especially the first, have received high commendation; and it must be observed, that every design having passed the ordeal of a Royal Commission, composed of noble patrons, and acknowledged admirers, of art, they must be considered as sanctioned by authority, and evidences to the world of the public taste in this country. We are not now looking at our subject with a technical eye; we do not speak of the drawing, or the colouring, or the execution as fresco, of the work; Mr. Dyce will meet with far better judges than ourselves, in these artistic matters. We deal with the case as one of higher interest. Has the baptism of Ethelbert succeeded as a great work of historico-religious art? In spite of the many excellences of the work, we must answer negatively. It does not come up to the grandeur of the subject. The artist was cramped, for he *could* have done it more justice: but he had the fear of a Commission before his eyes. We will not find fault with secondary points—as the King being in an attitude and in an attire which reminds one forcibly of the ancient representations of Henry II., undergoing his penance at St. Thomas's shrine: and yet having on his head his kingly crown, the only part of his royal array that must have been indispensably laid aside, for baptism to be administered, as is represented, by affusion; or as the Pontiff, on the other hand, being without his mitre, in an act in which it is expressly prescribed. Catholic eyes seize on such defects easily, and perhaps posterity may again look at paintings with Catholic eyes. But what we really miss throughout the picture, is "the Spirit of Religion," such as should have dispensed with the composition opposite altogether. The day of allegorical paintings is gone by; the world was surfeited of them by the *seicentisti* and the puerilities of Louis the Fourteenth's artists. They belong to Versailles and *rococo*, not to the palace of Westminster and Gothic compartments. Never was there a more splendid reality embodying "the Spirit of Religion," than the historical baptism of Ethelbert. There is Religion, come several thousand miles over sea and Alp, and

through many unsettled regions, to bring to an almost unknown race, the knowledge of her sublime truths, and various learning, and with these the blessing not of civilization, but of *debarbarization*, the arts of more advanced nations, the virtues of social life, and the beauties of peaceful sway and loving subjection. And this Religion comes, the first unarmed invader of the English shore, yet a bannered host. A band of meek, and black-robed recluses from the ruins of the Cœlian hill, have undertaken the conquest, and have marched into Kent, bearing before them, as Venerable Bede informs us, the image of our Redeemer, and His saving Cross. But chiefly she comes in the person of their leader, the bishop of the picture, on whose figure and countenance should be impressed the training of long years of austerity, the noble bearing of the Roman citizen, and the beaming enthusiasm inspired by the consciousness of the sublimity of his mission and of his present act. While Religion thus presents herself in the likeness of her highest minister, she comes not unattended by the symbols of her gifts and her authority. From St. Gregory's Epistles we learn how careful he was to furnish his missionaries with all the requisites for the splendid performance of every religious function; and no doubt on occasion of the first, and a royal, baptism in England, nothing would be wanting to give it solemnity and even magnificence. We have therefore, on the one side, all the barbaric pomp of the Saxon Bretwalda brought forth, to honour a state festival; then the rugged features, the stalwart frames, the gold and steel armour of the Saxon thanes; men who never before experienced awe or deep reverence, now at last subdued in mind and attitude, expressing wonder at the mystic rite, amazement at their sovereign's submission, a half superstitious veneration of the mysterious strangers who so calmly exercise their power, and a subdued curiosity about the rich and novel appurtenances of the new worship. And on the other side, we have the might of Religion displayed in its gentle majesty, subduing yet winning, humbling the pride of race and of rude strength, and the boast of warlike glory, but enriching tenfold by nobler arts and unseen blessings, and opening to the intelligent eye of the barbarian, brighter visions of hope, and sublimer domains of thought, than it had ever before contemplated. By the mysterious rite performed, the king is put

in possession of fellowship with the christian monarchs of Europe, baptism is the gate at once into the Church and into civilization. And all that, by contrast, indicates the superior culture, and the higher refinement of the Roman churchmen, and the messengers of the Supreme Pontiff, should surround them ; that array of ministers and those symbolical adjuncts which always accompanied a bishop in so great a function, ought to have been present. Again we repeat, that in the whole range of our history, there is not a scene which, painted, could more perfectly have exhibited “the Spirit of Religion” than this which soars over the royal throne in the House of Lords. But Mr. Dyce has chosen, or has been compelled, only to record with his pencil, the simple fact, that King Ethelbert was baptized.

Turning now to what is intended to represent “the Spirit of Religion,” we must be content to say that we do not understand it accurately. A bishop seems to be instructing a monarch in the bible. The prelate is certainly of the earth earthly, a solid mundane frame in an inaccurate cope ; very different from the sweet and noble, bearded saints that we see in our good old masters. Although the Commissioners, in giving the subjects for painting, do not explain what they mean by “the Spirit of Religion,” or “of Chivalry,” we cannot be wrong in thereby understanding “the principle or power existing in these influences, which, when animating the breast of man, can make him perform heroic and almost superhuman things for their sake.” Thus the “Spirit of Chivalry” would nerve the true knight to encounter any risk or danger, and rush upon an entire host of foes, to rescue an oppressed or captive damsel ; or to face Mahound and Termagaunt themselves, in obedience to her chaste command, if free ; or would impel him to take the cross, and endure famine, and plague, and war, in paynim land, to rescue the sepulchre of his Lord. And thus, “the Spirit of Religion” is that still sublimer inspiration which, for the sake of higher rewards, will make a man brave danger or suffering, or despise greatness and wealth, and urge him on to marvellous deeds. It is the spirit of the martyr, and no less of the humble friar, who alone lands on the coast of Africa to redeem, or free by exchange, his fellow-christian slaves ; it is the principle which has made the monarch resign his crown for God’s sake. In Mr. Horsley’s pic-

ture, the king's crown is not on his head: is it to signify that he has so laid it down? If so, let us be allowed to say, that the symbolism of the power required to effect this is wanting. Never yet has bible-text or bible-comment acted thus upon the mind and feelings of a royal scholar. No crown was ever yet laid down at the foot of the bible. If the power of Religion to work this wonder had to be expressed, there is a symbol that would have shown at once to the eye, the motive, the power, and the effect. The bishop should hold in his hand, not a book, but a Crucifix.

The want of a religious school of art, or rather of a school with religious traditions in concert with the great themes on which it has to be exercised, is thus clearly seen in what has already been done. We may perhaps be glad, in some respects, that such subjects as we have before touched upon should have been omitted, because we could hardly hope that the great body of English artists would give their souls to the execution of them, with the feeling they would require. Hence, the Commissioners have been justly cautious not to trench upon the doubtful ground of the Reformation or other religious crises: and the only pictures which can be called strictly religious (except the scriptural ones in the Peers' robing-room) are "the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons by St. Augustine's preaching," and "the Reformation," symbolized by "Queen Elizabeth receiving the Bible in Cheapside." And if by this latter picture it is meant to convey the impression, that till this event occurred, the Bible was not known in England in the vernacular tongue, it will tell a simple untruth; a thing to be avoided in painting as much as in words.

We have sufficiently expressed our fear respecting the success of the experiment about to be tried, of suddenly creating a national school of high art, without the aid of the religious element. But we must further express our regret that some of the arrangements made by the Commissioners are only likely still further to hamper art, and what is worse, to restrain and limit the great moral results which might be anticipated from so extensive a pictorial undertaking. We will venture to make some remarks upon this subject.

We assume that the greater part of the paintings will be accessible to the public. The great galleries, and

corridors, and waiting rooms must be decidedly so. We do not suppose that an attorney's clerk carrying a bag for Scotch appeals, or a barrister hastening to argue a peerage case before a committee of privilege, will loiter to look at the pictures; but we hope that the people, women and children too, will be admitted as they are to the museum, to enjoy a sight of so glorious a national work. If none are to look at it but peers and commons, we certainly grudge its expense. Now, one of the first rules in painting for the public, on a great scale is, that all should be simple and intelligible. This should be the case in regard to order and choice of subjects, to composition and to details. The great axiom should never be forgotten, that pictures are the books of the ignorant. Now let any one examine the subjects chosen for the various passages and corridors, and see what amount of information or moral impression will be communicated to the beholders by the paintings on their walls. It will not be like the rudely storied bridges of Lucerne, where the peasant can read the history of every remarkable event in his country's history in successive pictures, nor like the more finished portico at Munich similarly decorated; but it will be so many broken sets of historical matters, not one complete, and each returning back over the same period, so that no unity of plan or object can be discernible. For instance, St. Stephen's Hall has to illustrate "some of the greatest epochs in our constitutional, social, and ecclesiastical history, from the time when the Anglo-Saxon nation embraced Christianity, to the accession of the house of Stuart." (7th Report, p. 10.) The ecclesiastical epochs are the two just mentioned. The others contain some fine subjects, but some that will afford little scope for intelligible impression. For example, "a sitting of the Wittenagemot" can present little that is real; nor will it be easy to impress any distinct character on "an early trial by jury." Then, afterwards, the central corridor takes us back to "the Phœnicians in Cornwall," and "a Druidical sacrifice," and "the English captives in the slave market at Rome." These are chosen by way of contrast with some very modern subjects, "Cook in Otaheite," a "Suttee sacrifice stopped," and "negro emancipation." But the very key to the selection is too ingenious to be easily grasped by a common spectator; and it will require a Felix Summerley to write a hand-book of the paintings in

Westminster palace, and a man at the gate to sell it, for the understanding of what a brief inscription and a date ought to make intelligible to every Englishman.*

But the taste for contrasts seems to us to have betrayed the Commissioners into a decided immorality. The "Peers and Commons' corridors" contain sixteen compartments for paintings, and the subject for this noble and important space, seems to our humble judgment, strangely chosen. The whole is to be devoted to the unhappy and inauspicious reigns of the Stuarts, commencing with the Long Parliament, and ending with 1689. But the selection of the particular subjects is made upon a principle still more difficult to approve. It is expressed in these words. "It will be seen that the subjects have been selected on the principle of parallelism, and that an attempt has been made to do justice to the heroic virtues which were displayed on both sides," (p. 10.) When the Commissioners on the Fine Arts received their appointment, they accepted the office of public instructors, by all that they should bring to act upon the public mind. In every great struggle for mastery there will be heroic *deeds* on both sides, and individual acts of a generous nature; but surely on the one side these will be, at best, the fruit of a mistaken conscience acting honestly in a bad cause; often they will be the result of personal generosity or better impulses, which only lend a false lustre to that cause. But after all, there is a right and a wrong side in the contest; and they should be boldly discriminated. Men should be taught that no amount of heroism, or of individual excellence can sanction a cause which is wrong in principle, and so vitiated in its very root. Now, let us imagine a chartist taking his son to the peers' corridor, to indoctrinate him in the "heroic virtues" of those who expelled "the fellows of a College in Oxford," and beheaded

* Again, we must go back to "the Norman Porch" for "Canuto reproving his Courtiers," a pendant for "Elizabeth at the sea-side, after the defeat of the Armada." Now both these, especially the first, are necessarily low pictures. The sea will not admit of a high back-ground, nor of trees to fill up the upper space. Canute must even be seated, and so lower the line of figures. Yet to this subject has been allotted a space 18 feet 2 inches high, by 10 feet 10 inches wide!

Charles I.* He may tell him that the Commissioners of the crown, so far from wishing to condemn the rebels as they have been called, and give any preference to their cavalier opponents, have expressly aimed in those grand corridors, to put them on a footing of perfect equality, and do justice to the heroic virtues of both. This, surely, is not a principle to be thus publicly avowed.

We have said that genius must be hampered by the plan pursued, because little or no scope is given for the greater faculties of invention and arrangement. There should doubtless be a controlling power, but much more ought to be left to the artist than is now done. Mr. Dyce, by some signal good fortune, is the only one who has had fair play. The Queen's robing-room is to be decorated with the history of Arthur and his knights, and the entire management is in his hands, of principals and accessories. This gives a good artist a fair chance. He can select such subjects as will harmonise and yet contrast, and make an epic of his work. This *tocador de la Reyna*† will be the only apartment in which unity of idea will prevail. But how much better would it be, if this principle were further extended. In one small room are to be crowded our eight principal poets: how can justice be done to them, by one picture for each? In the Villa Massino at Rome, three German painters were engaged, by the late Prince, to illustrate by their pencils, the three great poets of Italy. Overbeck, Cornelius, and Veith were the artists; but to each was entrusted a separate room, and Dante, Tasso, and Ariosto have space enough, each to display his various charms. The selection and combination of the subjects exhibits each artist's genius even more than his execution. Shakespeare cannot be represented by any one picture. His versatility, and immense scope require a series of paintings to do him justice. He has indeed fallen into good hands; and we are much mistaken if the public does not regret, on seeing Mr. Herbert's Lear, that he was not allowed room enough to display the poet in more than one mood. The artist has not only chosen a grand subject, but he has treated it with a solemnity, a sternness, which

* His burial is the subject given, but this of course intimates his violent death.

† The name of a delicate *boudoir* in the Alhambra.

almost elevates it to a sacred character. His picture adheres to the wall, as fresco should, not merely by the firmness of the *intonaco*, and the tenacity of the colours, but by its accurate fitting to the space, to its light, to its lines, and to its materials. It is a part of the building: not an easel painting transferred to the wall. In like manner we would much rather give one artist a room or a gallery to himself, and let him plan the paintings that are to adorn it, than follow the present method of crowding several into one room, and producing a patchy and ill-barmonized collection, rather than series, of pictures.

There is one other point to which we wish to draw attention, and we will conclude. It is to the distribution of subjects in regard to their age. We cannot but think that the eye will look for some proportion between the architecture and the style of art. It is true that we shall never be able to disguise the fact, that we are in an edifice raised in the nineteenth, and not in the fifteenth, century; but even so there will be certain incongruities that will shock too much. For instance, the Royal Gallery will have pictures beginning with Queen Boadicea, and ending with the Death of Nelson, and the meeting of Wellington and Blucher at Waterloo. There will also be the Death of Wolfe, and Lord Cornwallis receiving the sons of Tippoo. The Gallery itself is to be dedicated "to the military history and glory" of Great Britain. If we must needs show forth the glory of our country in the field, by scenes of bloody encounter, why not commemorate Cressy, and Agincourt, and Poitiers, where the mailed warriors and unerring bowmen of old England would agree much better with the rich Gothic decorations of the apartment? The introduction of files of red-coated guards charging with bayonets, or uncoated tars working their guns, would be utterly unsuited to the place. Some of the subjects too have been so vulgarized, by mean representations for years, that they could hardly be brought up again to the heroic standard. But the Committee rooms may be considered as the modern every day rooms of the building. They are plain square apartments, with immense wall-spaces; with no more than simple decoration; while their furniture, occupants, and purposes, belong to the life of the age. Here modern subjects might be introduced in perfect keeping, and with great effect. There would be room, if one pleases, for the whole Peninsular war, and, what would be

still more appropriate, for the commemoration of great legislative measures, which are generally the result of the patient labour of the Committee room. But the Royal Gallery we would have filled with the choicest deeds of true greatness in the annals of our country, in those ages which preceded the architectural age of the building. We would have that apartment, beyond others, to be the Gallery of British virtue, whether shown forth in feats of chivalry, or in generous acts of virtue, whether foreign or domestic. Several such have been chosen, as the actions of Alfred, Bruce, and Philippa. But what has the buccaneer Blake to do in such a place, or the marriage of Henry V? Then, when we get nearer our times, we have nothing but a series of battles fought amidst clouds of "villanous saltpetre," in no less villanous costumes. These will no doubt rivet the attention of the passer-by: but they will not be the instructive lessons of an age of peace. A grand episode in a battle may be made a moral lecture; but the din of war itself, the strife, and the agony, the gashing and the blood-pouring of the field are not good to be paraded before a nation, which hails a victory not as an arch of triumph, but as the gate of peace. Again we most fervently trust, that this gallery, and indeed every other nobler part of this magnificent palace, be dedicated to the truly great, the truly glorious, and only to the truly good. Let the history of England be read on its walls, even by the unlettered beholder. Show him nothing but what you would inspire him to imitate, or what at least you would not be sorry to hear him praise. Let the arrangement of subjects be more simple and more intelligible. In rooms particular ideas or points may be illustrated, but the corridors and waiting rooms, and lobbies, must be for the people, and brought to their level. If we are making a new experiment in art, we are also making one in its effects. For the first time we are going to instruct by pictures. Let not the chance be lost, by over ingenuity, or complex efforts. A chronological arrangement will give every variety, and be most intelligible.

We know how difficult it is, in England, to obtain a hearing, unless some privilege of name or of position gives one a title to it. We have no doubt the nation considers the whole matter of the building as one belonging to "the Woods and Forests," just as building a new seventy-four does to the Admiralty; and it does not see why it should

trouble itself about the painting of the one, any more than about the decoration of the state-cabin of the other. It is somebody's place to look after each, and John Bull's, yearly to grumble at the estimates for both. Each may be a failure in the end—the one may lag miles behind its experimental squadron, and have to be cut down; the other may be pronounced by foreigners and good judges an abortive effort in regard to art. However, they have been duly paid for, and there is an end of the matter. We trust however that the apathy which has been shown till now on the subject of the national palace, as the great field and monument of national art, will not continue. We sincerely hope that men of intelligence and of public standing will take the matter up, and that artists in particular will give their views openly and boldly. For we are sure that the Royal Commission is formed of men too high-minded to be unfavourably biased in their award of the commissions still at their disposal, by any candid and open remonstrances or appeals. Their reputation individually, as well as the glory of national art, is at stake: and mistakes, in great works like these, are irreparable. Such an opportunity as the present will not return. If it does, it must, and only can, be, by some grand Catholic undertaking.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Ecumenical Council of Trent.* Translated by the Rev. J. WATERWORTH; with Essays on the External and Internal History of the Council. 8vo. London: Dolman, 1848.

THE return of the third centenary commemoration of the opening of this memorable council (1545), has brought with it a number of valuable and important publications connected with its history and proceedings. Editions of its canons and decrees—some of them of more than ordinary sumptuousness—have been specially prepared for the

occasion ; and in Germany, where its interest comes more home to the public mind, the festival has been marked by more than one important historical and controversial publication. Perhaps it is hardly right to enumerate Wessenberg's general work on "The Councils of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries" among this class, although its chief interest centres in the great council of Trent, and it has given occasion to many rejoinders on this subject from the Catholic historians of Germany, especially Dr. Hefele of Tübingen.* But a second work by Dr. Rutjes,† professedly designed as a Fest-gabe for the tercentenary festival, contains, along with a translation of the canons and a summary of the chapters, a concise and comprehensive view of all that is most important in the proceedings of the council ; while the more elaborate work of Brischar‡ may be regarded as a resumè of all the weighty historical and polemical controversies which have arisen out of the subject.

It is pleasant to find that, for once, we have not been behind our active and enterprising brethren abroad. Mr. Waterworth's massive and elaborate volume comprises all the most important features of these publications. It contains a complete and most careful translation of the canons and decrees, and of all the bulls, briefs, and other documents connected therewith ; together with a condensed history of the entire proceedings of the assembly. Indeed, the latter might well have been offered as a distinct and independent work. It occupies above two hundred and fifty pages, and contains, as far as regards mere history, almost every single detail of interest or importance connected with the deliberations of the council.

It is divided into two parts. The first (which is called the external history of the council) comprises the history

* Kritische Beleuchtung der Wessenbergischen Schrift über der Kirchen-versammlungen des 15ten und 16ten jahrhunderts. Von Dr. J. C. Hefele. Tübingen.

† Geschichte des hochheiligen und allgemeinen Conciliums von Trient übersichtlich dargestellt, von Dr. Heinrich Rutjes. 8vo. [London], 1846.

‡ Beurtheilung der Controversen Sarpi und Pallavicini, in der Geschichte des Trierter Concils. Von Dr. J. N. Brischar. 2 vols. 8vo. Tübingen, 1844.

of the circumstances which led to its convocation—the origin and progress of the heresy of Luther—the early efforts towards a reunion of parties—the first demands for a council—the deliberations about the place of sitting—the impediments which arose to prevent its meeting under Clement VII.—and the various convocations and prorogations which preceded its actual assembling under Paul III.

The second part contains the actual history of the sessions—its opening at Trent, December 13th, 1545—its translation to Bologna after the eighth session, March 11th, 1547—its languid and inefficient sittings in that city—its suspension in the September of the same year—its resumption under Julius VII., May 1st, 1551—its second suspension, April 28th, 1552—the ineffectual attempts made to resume it under Paul IV., and its final re-opening and concluding sessions at Trent, under Pius IV.

It is because of the exceeding difficulty of compressing all this within the narrow limits of an introductory essay, that we have said the history might well have been made an independent work, for, strange as it may seem, we do not hesitate to say that it would have been far less troublesome to have written the same history at twice the length which Mr. Waterworth prescribed as his limit. Indeed, we can hardly speak too highly of the manner in which this portion of the work is executed. It is only one who has plodded his laborious way through the five ponderous quartos of Pallavicini, that can fully estimate the nature and extent of the service which Mr. Waterworth has rendered by this compilation. Of course we need not say, that by far the larger part of Pallavicini's work is occupied by his controversy with Fra Paolo, and his detailed accounts of the minute proceedings of the council. These, as a matter of necessity, Mr. Waterworth has omitted. But we can safely state, after a very close and careful examination of the most important sessions, that there is no fact of moment mentioned by Pallavicini which Mr. Waterworth has overlooked, and no discussion of interest the leading characteristics of which he has not preserved.

We have not been able to enter so minutely into the translation of the canons and decrees, and therefore we shall not pronounce so unreservedly of this part as a whole. But, as far as we have had leisure to examine,

we do not hesitate to express, not alone our complete satisfaction with the manner in which the translation is executed, but also our full confidence that, from the style in which so much has been done, the same character must pervade the entire performance. After having confronted the translation, word for word, with the original in some of the most difficult and technical passages of the entire, (as, for example, the chapters of the sixth session,) we are enabled to state, that not only is the meaning fully and faithfully, and even literally, preserved, and the strict technical phraseology fully, equivalently, and intelligibly rendered ; not only are all the niceties of language (especially those which are known to have been adopted for a particular purpose) rigidly adhered to, and, indeed, in a way which no translator not fully acquainted with the history of the debates could have maintained ; but, moreover, this is done in such a way as never to violate the strict proprieties of language, but even, generally speaking, to maintain so much of ease and freedom of style as is compatible with the nature of such a subject, or indeed consistent with the dignity and solemnity of such an authority.

We cannot, therefore, bring these observations to a close, without expressing our strong and earnest hope that Mr. Waterworth may be induced, by the success of this important volume, to pursue the design which he announces in his preface, and prepare for publication a complete translation of at least the decrees of the general councils. It is, no doubt, a large and laborious undertaking ; but his 'Faith of Catholics,' no less than the present volume, point him out as a person eminently fitted for the task ; and the preparatory studies in which these works have necessarily engaged him, have supplied advantages which it is the lot of few to enjoy.

II.—*The Bass Rock; its Civil and Ecclesiastic History, Geology, Martyrology, Zoology, and Botany.* 8vo. Edinburgh, Johnstone, 1848.

In a recent number of the *Quarterly*, * an amusing article—attributed, we believe correctly, to the Sheriff of Moray—is devoted to the subject of Scottish Topo-

graphy ; wherein is set forth, with considerable *naiveté*, the marvellous ignorance and credulity of the worthy ministers of the Kirk, whose united proclamations compose the voluminous publication known by the name of the "Statistical Account of Scotland." Of this work, originally compiled under the direction of Sir John Sinclair, a new edition has lately appeared : and in this, with pious fidelity, are preserved all the lamentable absurdities so characteristic of its predecessor ; several of which have been pointed out very agreeably by the learned Commissary aforesaid.

Such as it was, and is, the Statistical Account of Scotland is identified with the Kirk thereof. But those meek and saintly dissenters from its establishment—the Sons of the Free—emulative of John Wesley's determination as to Music and the Devil—have resolved that their Erastian brethren shall not monopolize all the good things. Accordingly, as Topography falls within the range of that Scientific Cyclopædia to which they aspire, willing hands have not been wanting to do their best in this department : and lo ! by the aggregated efforts of five notable wits, the world is benefited by a "history" of the Bass Rock ! *Concordia res parvæ crescunt.* Of these five sages, two, we believe, are not in communion of, but in sympathy with, the Free Kirk.

The subject of this Herculean labour—the "*Solgoosifera Bassa*" of Drummond—is well known to every school-boy as an insulated rock, rising upwards of four hundred feet above the sea-level, some two miles from the shore, a little to the East of North Berwick, at the mouth of the river Forth. In olden times, when there was Faith in the land, the blessed St. Baldred established his lonely hermitage on this islet of the ocean. At a later period, and nearer to our own times, this retreat of sanctity was changed to a dungeon, and the home of the anchorite became the powder magazine of a State fortress. At all times it has been the haunt of the wild-fowls ; for centuries the cradle of the Solan Goose ; as now it is the *Mecca* of the devotees of the Free Kirk of Scotland. Concerning which country it may be said—as Misson previously observed of England—"formerly they had but very few Asses, but of late this species has multiplied exceedingly."

Of the five divisions which constitute this local co-part-

nery, those brief portions assigned to the *Fauna* of the ocean-girt rock, are alone worthy of commendation. That relating to its Zoology, by Dr. Fleming, is terse and comprehensive: the Botany, by Professor Balfour, accurate, but seasoned with the cant peculiar to his school of herbalists. The chapter on Geology, by Mr. Miller, has all the vicious familiarity of popular lectures, mixed up with wild speculation and crude theory: it is the coarse concoction of a vulgar individual.

While these three departments of science are disposed of in one hundred and eighty-six pages; the remaining four hundred and twenty-eight embrace what is facetiously denominated the "Civil and Ecclesiastical History," and—oh marvellous!—the "Martyrology" of the Bass. This Civil and Ecclesiastic effusion is by an uncivil *pseudo-ecclesiastic*, named M'Crie, to whose father's pen we owe the biography of John Knox, and his conpeer in evil, Melville. Violent in his abuse, and unscrupulous in his assertions, as was the sire; he has yet been distanced by his son in bigoted malevolence. Judging from the man, his opinion must unquestionably be correct, that "the Christianity of the Scottish Church has only revived with the revival of Presbyterianism!"

With no less zeal, and of equal amiability, is Mr. James Anderson, on whose brawny shoulders has been imposed the weight of begetting *Martyrs*. "Forty, save one," is the number of "the worthies who were immured in this Scottish Bastile," according to Mr. Anderson; all of whom were committed thereto for *rebellion against the law of the land*; just as Thistlewood and his companions were sent to the Tower of London. It is all very well, and perfectly just, to say, that no man ought to be persecuted for his religious opinions, be those what they may. This is but right. To his Maker, and not to his fellow-creature, is a man responsible for his creed. It is also permissible to say of a particular law, that it is unjust or iniquitous; but it is equally clear that so long as such a law exists, it must be obeyed. Abrogate, by every legitimate mode, an improper or unjustifiable statute; but until that can be effected, it is the bounden duty of every subject to submit to its provisions. This must be obvious to all but Caffres or Free Kirk-men. And it must be equally obvious, that whoever dares to contravene such

enactment, is an offender against the common weal, and must be treated as a disturber of the peace of society. Such was the conduct of Mr. Anderson's "Martyrs." They had outraged the law; they had menaced and set at nought the constituted authorities; and by their insubordinate and turbulent proceedings, had sought once more to plunge the country into that state of anarchy and confusion from which it had only recently been rescued, and to counteract the measures adopted for the settlement and security of the Government. Were such conduct as that of these Covenanting rabblers to be suffered, there would be an end to all order and jurisdiction: and were the converse to hold good, then, prior to the Emancipation Act of 1829, would *two-thirds* of the population of Great Britain have been warranted in taking arms against the Sovereign and the Parliament; and even now,—with far more excuse than Mr. Anderson's criminal friends—while one single antagonist clause remains on the code against them—be justified in compelling redress by seditious or rebellious procedure. And to such a course of action what could the Andersons or McCries object?

This, however, is a great and undeniable fact,—that pure Presbyterianism is levelling and republican in the extreme. With some few exceptions, the established clergy of Scotland have, to their credit, repelled its anti-social dogmas; and, by their quiet and orderly conduct, lent a steady support to the government of the realm. Not so their "more righteous" dissenters, and the herd of the Free Kirk, who, doubtless, with Mr. Anderson, consider themselves confessors on the same ground as that on which they range their predecessors of the Bass. It is fortunate that the world is too far advanced to admit of a rampant Calvinism; and we may look upon the conduct of these Free Kirkers as one of the last wriggles of the tail of the old serpent, which, prior to the days of Captain McQuhae, lashed the Scottish shores.

Before throwing aside this singular mass of rubbish, it is amusing to note what seems to constitute martyrdom in the eyes of Mr. Anderson. Of the thirty-nine on whom he is pleased to confer the crown, the utmost term of *imprisonment on the Bass* to one was *six years*; to another, *four*; to a third, *three*; and so, from two and a half years downwards. Several were only there for a week or two: it is doubtful, on his own showing, whether

some of them were there at all!—and the only one—BLACKADDER—who died while in confinement, fell a victim to a complication of previously existing disorders; while, of the entire number, one alone—Mitchell—was deservedly executed, for an *attempt to murder* Archbishop Sharpe in the broad daylight in the then principal street of the city of Edinburgh!

How different the records of the Catholic Church!

“*Terrore victo sæculi,
Pœnisque spretis corporis,
Mortis sacræ compendio
Vitam beatam possident.*

“*Traduntur igni Martyres,
Et bestiarum dentibus ;
Armata sævit ungulis
Tortoris iusani manus.*

“*Nudata pendent viscera ;
Sanguis sacratus funditur :
Sed permanent immobiles
Vitæ perennis gratia.*”

But here comparison is unseemly and intolerable. *Quæ autem conventio Christi ad Belial?*

III.—*The Garden of the Soul; or a Manual of Spiritual Exercises and Instructions for Christians, who, living in the world, aspire to Devotion.* London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son. 1848.

THIS well-known Prayer-book and Manual of Devotion has passed far beyond the period during which a work remains open to criticism. We are happy to see two new editions appear from the press of Messrs. Richardson, already so advantageously known by the numerous devotional works that have issued from it.

The larger of these two editions is beautifully printed in a large, clear, and legible type, and contains several improvements upon former editions. Among these we may notice an improved version of the Hymns. A specimen of the one that is so well known, the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, we cannot forbear giving entire.

“*Come, Holy Ghost, Creator, come,
From thy bright heavenly throne ;
Come, take possession of our souls,
And make them all thy own.*

“Thou who art called the Paraclete,
Best gift of God above ;
The living Spring, the living Fire,
Sweet Unction and true Love.

“Thou who art sev'n-fold in thy grace,
Finger of God's right hand ;
His promise teaching little ones
To speak and understand.

“Oh ! guide our minds with thy blest light,
With love our hearts inflame ;
And with thy strength, which ne'er decays,
Confirm our mortal frame.

“Far from us drive our hellish foe,
True peace unto us bring ;
And through all perils lead us safe
Beneath thy sacred wing.

“Through thee may we the Father know,
Through thee th' eternal Son,
And thee, the Spirit of them both,
Thrice blessed Three in One.

“All glory to the Father be,
With his co-equal Son.
The like to thee, great Paraclete,
Till time itself is done. Amen.”—p. 237.

The Reverend editor has shown much judgment in the few curtailments and the re-arrangement of its parts which distinguish the present edition ; and we sincerely hope that it will soon become as generally known, as we are sure it will prove acceptable where it is known. The second edition is the same work in a smaller size, in clear, bold, legible type.

IV.—The Court and Times of James the First. Illustrated by Authentic and Confidential Letters. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by the Author of “Memoirs of Sophia Dorothea.” 2 vols. 8vo. London : Colburn, 1848.

THE exceedingly curious and interesting tract appended to the “Memoirs of Charles I.,” to which a portion of our present number (Art. 1.) is devoted, tempted us to depart from the order of publication. Both that collection, and the Memoirs whose title we have here transcribed, form part of one and the same series, which we hope to see continued

through the reigns of Charles II. and James, so as to form a complete collection of original Memoirs of the Stuarts ; but, although reserved for notice here, the present work is earlier in point of publication, as well as prior in the order of time.

The student of English history cannot fail to have observed, in all the later historians, frequent references to "Birch's Collections." These and the companion volumes owe their origin to that industrious historical scholar, who died in 1776. We shall transcribe the editor's account of its preparation :

"Having access to almost every important public and private collection of manuscripts in the kingdom, he entertained the idea of putting together a consecutive series of the most interesting correspondence of the seventeenth century. With this object he selected, instead of the communications of the great officers of state to each other, of which he had already given one example in the Thurloe State Papers, the far more entertaining correspondence of the professed writers of news, or 'Intelligencers,' as they were then called, who were employed by ambassadors in foreign countries, and great men at home, to furnish them with a continual account of every event that came under their observation. To these he added the private letters of men of eminence, holding distinguished employments abroad, as well as those of a few eminent characters about the court, likely to be well informed of what was going on around them. Among these are Robert Cecil, Marquis of Salisbury; Dudley Carleton; Viscount Dorchester; Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury; Henry, Earl of Northampton; William, Earl of Pembroke; Edward, Baron Wotton; Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset; George Calvert, Baron Baltimore; Viscount Andover; Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey; Sir Thomas and Sir Clement Edmondson; Sir Isaac Wake; Sir Henry Fanshawe; and Sir John Throckmorton. Having caused transcripts of these to be made from the originals, he had commenced preparing them for publication, when the task was interrupted by his death, and his papers were shortly afterwards transferred, by bequest, to the British Museum, where they still remain. Since then, several collections of historical letters have been published, in which a few of those in Dr. Birch's selections have appeared, but very rarely have they been given entire. In general such collections have been printed as examples of style and language at different periods, or as in some way characteristic of the writer or illustrative of his career. However valuable these may be to the antiquary, they want, by their isolation, that interest which belongs to a consecutive series.

"In the present instance, the communications of two or more

contemporaneous writers read like so many different diaries ; the lightest gossip of the court minglest with the important details of transactions of State ; a piquant anecdote is contrasted with a grave conspiracy : and a momentous discussion in the House of Commons is relieved by an interesting recollection of Shakspeare's theatre, or a lively account of Ben Jonson's masque. By so many observers of various humours writing at the same time, not only is the reader secure against any omission of facts it is desirable he should know, but he is presented with the minutest details of every transaction that transpired, at a period wonderfully fruitful in strange events."—vol. i. p. iii, iv.

"In the course of the volumes, ample details will be met with respecting the careers of Hay, Montgomery, Rochester, Mouson, Brett, and Buckingham—the lights of the male harem that succeeded each other in the affections of this Christian Pacha. Their several histories are not without some instructive features : but the contemptible cowardice of Montgomery, the atrocious villainy of Rochester, the insignificance of Mouson and Brett, and the extravagant folly of Buckingham, reflect no small portion of their own discredit on their patron. Hay, Earl of Carlisle, alone seems to have attained a respectable position. He possessed in an eminent degree the prudence of which the others were deficient. On the approach of a rival whose superior attraction he dreaded, he solicited a diplomatic employment abroad, and in its duties put forth sufficient talent to entitle him to more distinction than can be allowed to a mere favourite. In short, it was the age of the Gavestones and the De Spencers revived, without that energy in public opinion that pursued these minions with so signal a punishment. But that energy was coming—and it came with a vengeance."—vol. i. p. viii.

The collection commences with the death of Elizabeth, and is continued, without any break, to the death of James, where it is taken up by the letters contained in the "Memoirs of Charles I." When we consider the enormous mass of letters which it comprises, the number of writers will not appear large; the bulk of the correspondence being from the pen of three or four of those professed news-purveyors—the "private correspondents" of those days—to whom the editor refers; some of whom, as Dr. Mead and John Pory, figure both in this collection and that of the reign of Charles. The most prolific writer among them all is John Chamberlain, the correspondent of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Dudley Carleton. His letters amount to nearly two hundred, and extend over the entire reign of James.

It would be impossible to over-estimate the value of

such a collection as this. It is to such materials as form the staple of it, that we are to look for the true private history of the times. The editor appears to have discharged his duty with great care and industry. His illustrations, principally personal and biographical, are concise and satisfactory, and his selection of documents is extremely interesting. We shall only hope that he may be induced to complete the series, by publishing all that remains of the correspondence of the reigns of Charles II. and James II.

V.—*Ruins of Many Lands.* By NICHOLAS MITCHELL. With Illustrations. London : Tegg and Co.

A SHORT, but very beautiful, poem is in our opinion introduced to the public under this unpretending form. We are not acquainted with Mr. Mitchell's other works, but the one before us is evidently the production of a man of genius and learning. The plan of this poem is simple,—a glance at the great ruins of the world, or rather, we should say, at the great surviving monuments of the world's history during the "dark era," the "classic era," and the ensuing, or, as the author styles them, the "miscellaneous ages," with the incidents and reflections arising therefrom, form its subject. Of course, the whole value of such an idea must depend upon the mode in which it is carried out; and we cannot enable our readers to judge of this adequately but by placing before them passages from the work itself. We have not space for many extracts; the first is taken almost at random from the "dark era," after a beautiful description of the site of ancient Babylon :—

" Albeit, though doubt and mystery round us spread,
Each mark of ancient grandeur hath not fled.
Far in the western wild, begirt by sands,
A rugged pile, like some grim giant, stands ;
Fragments of sculptured stone bestrew its base—
Stage after stage the platform lines ye trace ;
High on its brow a dark mass rears its form,
Defying ages, mocking fire and storm :
Struck by a thousand lightnings still 'tis there,
As proud in ruin, haughty in despair !
Oh ! oldest fabric reared by hands of man,
Built ere art's dawn on Europe's shores began !

Rome's mouldering shrines, and Tadmor's columns gray,
Beside yon mass seem things of yesterday !
In breathless awe, in musing reverence bow,
'Tis hoary Babel glooms before us now ;
The tower at which the Almighty's shaft was hurled,
The mystery, fear, and wonder of the world."

The second is of a more impassioned character, and in our opinion of singular beauty :—

" And what the deadly Plague Fiend's course may stay ?
 ' No blood of beasts,' the priests of Moloch say ;
 ' A high-born infant cast ye to the fire,
 And then will cease the god's afflicting ire.'
 She comes—the Mother comes ! yes, one is found
 To offer all she loves !—your trumpets sound,
 And shout Astarté, and dread Moloch's name ;
 Prepare the furnace, and make fierce the flame.
 Oh, beautiful that daughter of high zeal !
 Struggling with woo, yet seeming not to feel :
 Resolve sits stately on her radiant brow ;
 With heaven's own light her eye seems flashing now ;
 A robe of Sidon's purple wraps her form,
 She, the fair halcyon, calm in terror's storm :
 Her raven hair falls cloud-like o'er her breast—
 And there, with smiling lip, her babe is prest.
 Eternal Nature ! must thy ties give way,
 And truth and love black error's law obey ?
 Can she, the mother, view the rising blaze,
 With heart unharrowed and unshrinking gaze ?
 She gives her babe to dark Phœnacia's god,
 To soothe his wrath, and stay his withering rod.
 The priests approach, with slow and solemn pace,
 To rend that nestler from its hiding place ;
 She firmly stands, with calm and rigid air
 Looks at her first-born child—'tis smiling there,
 With eye of guileless mirth and lip of bloom,—
 Ah, little dreams it of its fiery doom !
 That reckless, gleesome look—it reached her heart,
 Religion fades, heroic dreams depart ;
 Soft o'er her soul the dew of nature steals,
 A mother's love, and all her woe she feels.
 Oh ! now her arms around that babe are cast
 In wild caresses—must they be her last ?
 Back from the priests she shrinks—her youthful frame
 Recoils and shudders at the hissing flame ;
 And fear grows frenzy as they still advance,
 While beauteous horror lightens in her glance.
 ' No, no !' she cries ; ' I dreamed some blinding spell
 Was cast around me by the fiends of hell.'

Heaven's laws I reverence ; but I cannot part
With this fond thing, the life-blood of my heart.
What ! give to fire—Oh, hear me, gods above !—
My own, my beautiful, my cherub love ?
Yes, I repent ; my infant shall not brave
Those raging flames, ten thousand lives to save.
Ah, will ye, priests ! my treasure from me tear ?
Nor heed my pangs, nor pity my despair ?
My husband ! father ! shield me—snatch away
From fiery death the helpless, sinless prey !
Hold, ruthless murderers ! on my knees I fall ;
Could my blood turn to tears, I'd shed it all.
A moment stay—this boon ye'll not deny—
If one must perish, let the mother die.
I'll bear your fires, and think your tortures mild,
So you forget the past, and spare my child.'
Thus spoke a mother's love ; each age the same,
Bright burned in darkest years that sacred flame ;
But Moloch's priests affection's prayer deride,
Friends steel their hearts, and fill their souls with pride ;
Poised o'er the flames the brazen image stands,
The babe is placed upon those giant hands.
They bend—it drops ! behold that frenzied eye ;
Hark ! through the shrine that wild and startling cry ;
It reaches furthest courts and vaults below,
Each pillar seems to echo shrieks of woe ;
Then all is hushed—she sinks upon the floor,
Her heart is still—the mother's griefs are o'er !"

We are sure our readers will not regret the length of this extract : the whole work deserves a far more attentive commentary than we are able to give it. The notes are valuable and interesting. We presume these are considered as the "illustrations," rather than the two common woodcuts which preface each part.

VI.—*The Catholic Almanack, and Guide to the Service of the Church, for 1849.* With Illustrations. London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son.

ALTHOUGH there are not many who wish to be reminded that they are growing old, yet we can well believe that few will object to have their years numbered by so tasteful and convenient a time-reckoner as this pretty little volume. With the matter usually contained in the almanac, it contains a large amount of useful information on subjects of religious interest ; for example, a complete calendar, adjusted according to the actual order of festivals for the

coming year, so as almost to form a substitute, at least for the laity, for the ordinary Catholic Directory.

VII.—*The Rights of Industry.—Part III.—On the Best Form of Relief to the Able-bodied Poor.* By G. POULETT SCROPE, M.P., F.R.S. London : James Ridgway, Piccadilly, 1848.

THIS most important subject is here discussed with great clearness and ability, and a conclusion is come to with which we entirely agree. The first point established is, that the applicants for relief should be set to work, not indeed for regular wages, as has been done in France and Ireland, but for ration-pay, for their necessary support. It is next shown that out-door productive labour is to be preferred to the stone-breaking system ; first, because it is productive ; secondly, because it is not so offensive and demoralizing to the honest poor man as that which is useless, and resembles the penal tasks of criminals ; thirdly, by the saving it effects to the rate-payers, it rather improves than lessens demand ; and fourthly, it has been shown to be as good a *test* of pauperism as the workhouse itself, while it is free from its most serious disadvantages. The writer then passes to the consideration of the best form of out-door work, and premising that it must all be, not for private, but for public benefit, proposes three plans : First, road-making, or public works, under the regulation of a Union Board of Works. Secondly, the reclamation of waste land, for the sale of which, acts of parliament might, if necessary, be obtained, as they are for railways ; and, lastly, and in case of necessity, colonization. Such is, briefly, the argument of the pamphlet ; it seems to us to be a right view of a subject upon which the importance of having right views can hardly be too highly estimated, and we should, therefore, be glad to see it widely circulated.

VIII.—*The True Cure for Ireland;—The Development of her Industry.*
Being a letter to the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, M.P., &c., &c.,
By the Rev. G. H. STODDART, A. M. London : Trelawny ;
W. Sanders, 6, Charing Cross, 1847.

THIS little pamphlet has, at least, one merit ; it is filled, not with complaints, but with remedial suggestions. It advocates a line of policy of which no one can dispute the excellence : to develop the industry and resources of Ireland, rather than to maintain her in miserable idleness. As means towards attaining this end, it recommends :

1. The employment of able-bodied paupers, by the Poor-Law Guardians, upon the lands of such farmers as are unable to cultivate them themselves, the expenses to be repaid by the produce. 2. A plan for a society to make dry peat and peat-charcoal, from the bogs, and to reclaim, at the same time, the sub-soil for cultivation ; showing, by statements and estimates, the great probability of demand and profit. To determine upon the merits of such extensive plans, requires great information and experience, but in a necessity that is still so urgent, no plans ought to be rejected, without receiving, at least, an impartial and careful consideration.

IX.—*Ἡ τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἰακώβου Λειτουργία. The Greek Liturgy of St. James.* Edited, with an English Introduction and Notes, together with a Latin Version of the Syriac Copy, and the Greek Text restored to its Original Purity, and accompanied by a Literal English Translation. By the Rev. W. TROLLOPE, M.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge. 8vo. Edinburgh, H. Clarke, 1848.

THIS is the first of a projected series of liturgical publications, and is intended to be followed 'in quick succession' by the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, as also the Apostolical Constitutions. We shall reserve for the more advanced stage of the publication some observations on this interesting subject, which we have long contemplated.

For the present it will be enough to say, that the Liturgy of St. James is perhaps the most interesting with which Mr. Trollope could have commenced as a specimen of his intended series. The text is derived substantially from that of Assemanni's *Codex Liturgicus*, but with continual reference to all the other sources of emendation which the works of more recent critics have supplied. The notes are partly critical, partly polemical. Mr. Trollope is a decided Anglo-catholic, but strongly anti-Roman in his tendencies ; and his annotations on all those passages which bear upon transubstantiation, the commemoration of the dead, &c., are coloured by these tendencies. It is fortunate that St. Cyril of Jerusalem has commented upon the very same passages, and, notwithstanding our respect for Mr. Trollope's learning, we believe the student of antiquity will prefer St. Cyril's commentary upon these passages to those of the modern commentator, however learned and ingenious.

Nevertheless, we cannot but receive with great satisfac-

tion so interesting an accession to our very limited stock of liturgical literature, and we shall look forward anxiously for the remaining volumes of the series.

X.—*Dr. Gauntlett's Three Hundred and Seventy-Three Chants for the Psalms, in four parts.*—*Three Hundred and Seventy-Three Chants, ancient and modern, set to the Psalms, so that each Psalm has one or more Chants, descriptive of its character and sentiment: the whole arranged in a four part harmony, for voices and organ accompaniment.* By HENRY JOHN GAUNTLETT, Mus. Doc. London: Lonsdale, Old Bond Street; and Houlston and Stoneman, Paternoster Row. 1848.

WE should consider that this work required only to be known, to command the widest circulation; nor can it fail to be speedily and generally known, for Dr. Gauntlett, setting before him a most desirable object, has pursued that object with such a practical and pains-taking earnestness as ensures its success. The object is to render the singing of the Psalms of David, both in congregations and in families, more easy and acceptable, more suitable in the performance, and more universal. By Catholics, richly furnished as they are in all selections and combinations of Holy Scripture, and in all that the grandeur of human thought, kindled by divine inspiration, has, for eighteen hundred years, been able to contribute to devotional exercise,—the *want* of such a compilation as the present will not be so deeply felt; yet it is one in which they must sympathise; for to us the Psalms cannot be indifferent in any form which leaves them their original sublime simplicity. To protestants they must be all in all; for they contain whatever is flexible, tender, or inspiring in their form of worship; they, therefore, will be delighted to find the chanting of the Psalms recommended with all the eloquence of real love; and all the musical learning which Dr. Gauntlett has brought to bear upon it, made so available and practical, that every congregation in the country, possessing the rudiments of music, may, without further teaching, instruct themselves from his book. The work is divided into five parts, four of which are counterparts, except so far as that the psalms are set in the four parts of Bass and Treble, Alto and Tenor; these are given in the ordinary clefs and time, suited to ordinary voices, and to a moderate amount of musical knowledge; under the music is given the whole psalm, disposed in the versicles or parallelisms corresponding with each other, which have so often been observed upon, as:

Judah was his | sanctuary
And Israel his | dominion, &c.

So marked as to show the proper accentuation and division of the words. Each psalm is introduced by a few words explanatory of its spirit and purpose, and each volume is prefaced by an eloquent enforcement of the beauty and value of the psalms as a congregational exercise, and by instructions as to the best method of singing them. The fifth part belongs to the organist, combining the four parts in a full and easy accompaniment. Nothing is wanting which could conduce to the facility and completeness of this devotional exercise, nor has Dr. Gauntlett omitted anything which a protestant could do, to make it a real exercise of the heart and the understanding. We should not fulfil our task did we not add that, in perfect consistency with his pious purpose, the author has made his book so cheap as to be universally accessible; the price is but six shillings for the five volumes of this well executed, well got up, and useful work.

XI.—*L'Anima Amante; or, The Soul Loving God.* Translated from the Italian of the Very Reverend J. B. PAGANI, Provincial of the Order of Charity in England. London : Burns, 1848.

To those who are acquainted with Dr. Pagani's 'Anima Divota,' it would be more than superfluous to use many words in recommending its companion volume, the 'Anima Amante.' It combines the solidity of a theological treatise with the unction and fervour of a book of devotion, and is at once a most learned and interesting dissertation on the nature, obligation, and motives of the virtue of divine charity, and a most instructive and practical exhortation to its observance.

Indeed, we have seldom met with a book of devotion which more happily unites learning and piety, the loftiest spirituality with the most humble and practical self-discipline, and which appeals so successfully both to the head and to the heart in the enforcement of its lessons of love.

It is almost out of place, in speaking of such a volume, to advert to a matter of so minor importance as its mere material execution. But we cannot omit the opportunity of expressing our admiration of the beauty and accuracy of Mr. Burns's typography, and of the elegance, tastefulness, and perfect appropriateness of the style of decoration which he has introduced in this and his other religious publications.

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